This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

M. TVLLI CICERONIS
TVSCVLANARVM DISPVTATIONVM
LIBRI QVINQVE.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER.
London: AVE MARIA LANE, E.C.
Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

M. TVLLI CICERONIS
TVSCVLANARVM DISPVTATIONVM
LIBRI QVINQVE

A REVISED TEXT
WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY
AND A COLLATION OF NUMEROUS MSS.

BY

THOMAS WILSON DOUGAN, M.A.,
FORMERLY FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST;
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND

VOLUME I
CONTAINING BOOKS I AND II

CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1905

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

LIBRARY
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR
UNIVERSITY

VIRO EGREGIO

NOSTRAE AETATIS PHILOLOGORVM CORYPHAEO

IOHANNI E. B. MAYOR.

89941

PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH many excellent editions of the Tusculan Disputations have been produced on the Continent within the last hundred years, yet, if we except Orelli's Oxford edition of 1834 and a translation of Tischer and Sorof brought out by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, not one has appeared in the British Islands since that of Davies, whose first edition was printed at Cambridge in 1709.

The present edition of the Tusculan Disputations has grown out of lectures delivered in Queen's College, Belfast. Originally intending the critical notes to be a very secondary portion of my work, I had supposed that I could obtain the necessary readings from existing editions, especially from those of Orelli, Kühner and Moser. I soon, however, became dissatisfied with the *apparatus criticus* supplied by the works, otherwise excellent, of these scholars. In the first place the method of citing readings from the Oxford MSS ("*duo Oxx., quattuor Oxx., 7 Oxx. etc.*") no particular Oxford MS except Ball. (and there are *two* Balliol MSS) being separately indicated, proved very irritating. These MSS were admitted not to be very valuable but they have been consulted by scholars ever since the Renaissance and have therefore had considerable influence upon the formation of the text. The citations of Küh. Mo. and Or. are derived from an edition published at Oxford in 1783 containing readings from nine Oxford MSS. I have not seen this edition but my collation of the twelve MSS now in Oxford shews that the references made to the Oxford MSS by the above-mentioned scholars are usually very inaccurate, and the inaccuracy of the edition of 1783 is no doubt the cause. Later on, being in Berne, I consulted the Berne MS to see how the whole passage I § 88 stands in it. I was surprised to find that instead of reading *carere in malo* as stated by Orelli on the authority of Usteri, a Berne Professor,

who supplied him with an account of its readings, this MS very plainly and clearly reads *morte.*

More recently I visited Wolfenbüttel and examined the three less important MSS of the Tusculans contained in the Library there, the best MS having been thoroughly collated already by Seyffert. Kühner's edition is one for which I have the highest admiration. There is perhaps no work from which I have learned more Latin. It was therefore surprising to me to find readings constantly attributed by him to G 2 G 11 or Aug. which are not contained in those MSS. He even confuses G 11 with Aug. in his preliminary notice of these MSS. When a scholar so eminent deals so inaccurately with the readings of MSS contained in a town not fifty miles distant from his own, a new collation of MSS seems desirable.

The fact is that no MS of the Tusculan Disputations has been fully collated hitherto except Gudianus 294.

I have looked into upwards of eighty MSS and examined several test passages with a view to ascertaining the value of each. Thirty of these MSS I have carefully read through and collated in detail.

All these thirty are in my opinion worth collating, in some cases for their intrinsic merit, in others for their influence upon the development of the printed text, in others for the light which they throw upon the grouping of the MSS. Some of these MSS have never been referred to in any edition up to the present time. Amongst these are K E E 2 B 2 and J.

K is a first-class MS contained in the Bibliothèque Communale, Cambrai. My attention having been drawn to it by the article of Dr Rossbach, mentioned below, I collated it in the British Museum to which it was lent for me by the courtesy of the French Government.

E is a first-class MS contained in the British Museum (15 C XI). It was formerly in the King's Library and its collation had been begun by Bentley, as shewn in my introduction. The first published reference to this MS that I have seen occurs in *Philologus*, Feb. 1904, vol. 63, p. 101 in an article by Dr Otto Rossbach. I fully collated it two years ago in the British Museum and had my whole edition ready for the press when this article appeared.

E 2 is a good second-class MS contained in the British

Museum (15 B XV). This MS also belonged formerly to the King's Library and its collation had been begun by Bentley (see Introduction).

B 2 though a late MS is faithfully copied from an early one and is worthy of a place in the first class. It has never been collated before, nor, so far as I know, referred to by any scholar.

J is a good MS of the second class, preserved in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge. This MS, which has never been collated before, very closely approaches one of the Vienna MSS (Kühner's Vind. 1, my W 2).

Other MSS here collated have never been fully collated in any previous edition. Some of these are very important.

The Vatican MS 3246 is second to none and the corrections which it contains are as important as are the original readings.

The Vienna, Munich, and Duisburg MSS have had very great influence upon the formation of the text. The citations of editors from these MSS and especially from D are very frequently wrong.

Five Palatine MSS are referred to in Gruter's Hamburg edition of 1618 as having been collated for the editor by Andreas Schottus. I have only found four Palatine MSS of the Tusculans in the Vatican Library. Of these P 1 distinctly belongs to the first class.

The necessity for a proper collation of the Berne MS is I think obvious. The Peterhouse MS (Π) is referred to here and there by Davies and subsequent editors but has never been fully collated. A Cambridge MS is also referred to as Cantab. If this is identical with the MS now in the Cambridge Univ. Library (my C) its readings have often been very inaccurately quoted by Davies and subsequent editors. C is very closely related to D and Π to E 2. Both C and Π are good second-class MSS.

The previous editions of which I have most frequently made use in writing the explanatory notes are those of J. Davies (here referred to as Dav.); J. C. Orelli, Zurich, 1829 and Oxford, 1834 (Or.); G. H. Moser, Hanover, 1836 (Mo.); G. Tischer edited by G. Sorof, 6th ed. Berlin, 1872 (TS.); R. Kühner, 5th ed. Hanover, 1874 (Küh.); O. Heine, 4th ed. Leipzig, 1892 (Hei.).

The following editions are also referred to:

C. Cratander, Bâle, 1528 (Crat.), with marginal readings from

a good source; M. Manutius, Venice, 1555 (Man.); D. Lambinus, Paris, 1566 (Lamb.); Bouhier, Amsterdam (3rd vol.), 1739 (Bouh.); J. N. Lallemand, Paris, 1768 (Lall.); Ernesti, Halle, 1776 (Ern.); F. A. Wolf, Leipzig, 1792, 1807, 1825 (F.A.W.); C. G. Schütz, Halle, 1816 (Sch.); P. H. Tregder, Copenhagen, 1841 (Tr.); R. Klotz, Teubner text, Leipzig, 1852 (Kl.); Baiter and Kayser, Leipzig, 1863 (Bai.); M. Seyffert, Leipzig, 1864 (Sff.); C. F. W. Müller, Teubner text, Leipzig, 1878 (Ml.); Th. Schiche, Leipzig, 1888.

Notae ineditae of Bentley are frequently referred to; these are contained in a reprint of Davies' 3rd ed. published at Oxford in 1805.

I have to express my deep sense of the kindness and courtesy which I invariably experienced from the Librarians of the several libraries in which the MSS which I have collated are preserved.

Since the MS of this work was accepted by the Cambridge University Press it has been read through by my friend, Prof. J. S. Reid, who has contributed those explanatory notes which are enclosed in square brackets. My indebtedness to Dr Reid dates from my undergraduate days. It would be difficult to estimate how much I owe to the lectures and tuition then received from him and to his published works, especially to his masterly edition of the Academics, the work which introduced me to the study of ancient philosophy.

My best thanks are due to my friend and former pupil, Prof. R. K. M'Elderry, M.A., for much assistance in the revision of the proofs of this work as it passed through the press; also to my friend and former pupil, Mr R. M. Henry, M.A., for notes acknowledged in the commentary; and to both gentlemen for the detection of several oversights that otherwise would probably have escaped my notice.

The labour of revision, necessarily heavy at the best in a work involving so many references, was considerably lightened owing to the marked efficiency of the readers at the Cambridge University Press.

THOS. W. DOUGAN.

BELFAST,
1st Nov. 1904.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	xiii
Section 1. (*a*) Cicero's philosophical works	xiii
(*b*) The date of the Tusculan Disputations	xvi
(*c*) The dedication to Brutus	xix
Section 2. Cicero's sources for the Tusculan Disputations I, II	xx
Section 3. The MSS of the Tusculan Disputations	xxvi
(*a*) Their classification	xxvi
(*b*) Their description	xxviii
(*c*) Analysis of MS errors	xlv
Section 4. The argument of books I and II	lvi
Section 5. The spelling adopted in the text	lxii
II. TEXT, MS READINGS AND COMMENTARY	1
III. (*a*) EXCURSUS I.	240
(*b*) EXCURSUS II.	242
IV. INDEX	244

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

(a) *Cicero's Philosophical Works—two groups.*

When Caesar won the battle of Pharsalus, on Aug. 9th, 48 B.C., Cicero was in the Pompeian camp at Dyrrhachium. Dreading the violence of the war-party among the Pompeians he sailed, about the 7th of October, from Patrae to Brundisium. There he spent eleven months in great anxiety. He had separated from the Pompeian war-party and was uncertain as to Caesar's ultimate triumph. He had been with Pompey and feared the victor's resentment. From time to time indications of Caesar's attitude towards him, ever increasingly reassuring, came to his knowledge. But such reassurances were qualified by the fear that the Pompeians might ultimately triumph or that they might seize Italy before the dictator's arrival there. The return of Caesar to Italy towards the end of September 47 B.C. brought Cicero's apprehensions to an end. Nothing could be more kind or considerate than the manner of the dictator, whom he presently met as the latter approached Brundisium from Tarentum. And the Pompeians, who had not taken advantage of Caesar's difficulties in Egypt and Asia Minor to make a descent upon Italy, would hardly attack the conqueror after his return, but would, Cicero felt sure, seek terms of peace. Cicero returned to his Tusculan villa and soon afterwards to Rome. He had now access to his books and, for the first time since the outbreak of the Civil War, he had the mental calm necessary for the resumption of his literary work.

Cicero was by nature and training peculiarly fitted for a literary career. Before his entry upon public life he had appeared as an author. The *De Inuentione* and his early translations were perhaps little more than the academic exercises of an enthusiastic student; yet the translations from Aratus proved worthy to be made by Lucretius one of his models of style. His services to literature constitute his principal

merit. On these, and not on his genius as an orator, rests his chief title to fame. Beside these his achievements as a statesman sink into insignificance. Yet literary fame was never the special object of Cicero's ambition. Throughout his best literary period it is for the law courts and the senate and the popular assembly that we find him constantly yearning, and it is only when these are inaccessible that he betakes himself to writing. His speeches arose in the main out of the circumstances of his political career. These and the writings inspired by his consular achievements are almost his only contributions to literature from the time of his entry upon public life to the time when his prosperous course was checked by the circumstances that led to his exile. When his wings had been clipped and he found on his return in 57 B.C. that the ascendency of the Triumvirs and the jealousy or indifference of the Optimates prevented them from growing again, his energy found vent in literary activity. The three books *De Oratore* were given to the world in 55 B.C. The books *De Re Publica* were begun in the summer of 54[1], and were in everybody's hands at Rome in May, 51[2]. The work *De Legibus* seems to have been begun in 52 B.C. Cicero's studies were interrupted by his government of Cilicia and the subsequent outbreak of the Civil War. When he returned to Rome towards the end of 47 he found no opportunity for a renewal of his triumphs in public life in a state in which the senate and popular assembly merely registered the decrees of an autocrat, and political trials were for the most part conducted *in camera* in Caesar's presence. Literature alone was open to him. His resumed activity was chiefly directed towards the continuation of his works on oratory. The *Brutus*, begun in the latter part of 47, and the *Orator*, important works, were completed in 46, as were probably the *Partitiones Oratoriae* and the *Libellus de Optimo Genere Oratorum.* His non-rhetorical works of this year—the *Paradoxa*, probably begun before 53 B.C., and the *Laudatio Catonis*—had a political motive.

So far Cicero's philosophical works, with the unimportant exception of the *Paradoxa* and the early work *De Inuentione*, had dealt with oratory and the science of politics: his energy, when restricted to literary work, was directed towards that department of literary work which was most closely connected with the public life which he loved; its direction is now changed, and the beginning of 45 B.C. marks an epoch in the history of his writings. His dissatisfaction with the political situation continued; the news of the battle of Munda, fought on the 17th of March, reported in Rome on the 20th of April, 45,

[1] Att. iv 16, 2. [2] Fam. viii 1 end.

dispelled the last hope from the direction of the Pompeians. Domestic troubles increased; in the end of 47, or early in 46, he had divorced Terentia, to whom he had been married for about thirty years, and his marriage with Publilia in December, 46, brought him nothing but disappointment. These circumstances contributed to render the consolations of philosophy necessary to Cicero. But the event that decisively influenced the course of his studies was the death of his daughter Tullia in February, 45 B.C. From that time onward his philosophic writings, with the single exception of the *Topica*, a slight work written in the summer of 44 B.C., deal with ethics and theology. And he wrote very little besides. The *epistula ad Caesarem de ordinanda re publica* was indeed written, though never delivered. The projected πολιτικὸς σύλλογος, *more Dicaearchi*[1], was never worked out.

The death of Tullia plunged her father into unutterable grief. Fleeing from the Tusculan villa, where the sad event occurred, he shut himself up for some three weeks in the house of Atticus in Rome. From thence he moved to Astura, where he arrived on the 7th of March. There spending his days in the woods adjacent to his villa he sought relief in uninterrupted work[2], and between the 7th and 15th of March[3], 45 B.C., he wrote the *Consolatio* or *de Luctu Minuendo*. On the 16th we find him making inquiries from Atticus with a view to writing the *Hortensius*. This work served as an introduction to the series of philosophical writings now projected by him, the *Consolatio* having been directed to the particular end of mitigating his own grief. The *Hortensius* was finished in the middle of April, 45 B.C. Next, between that time and the 13th of May, the two-book edition of the *Academica* ("Catulus" and "Lucullus") was written[4]. The first book of the *De Finibus* had been sent to Atticus for publication by the 29th May, and the edition of the *Academica* in two books earlier than that date[5]. The recasting of the *Academica* in four books was made in the end of June, and the books were actually delivered to Varro on the 19th or 20th July. By the end of June the last four books *De Finibus* were completed[6]. After the completion of the four-book edition of the *Academica* and of the *De Finibus*, Cicero wrote the Tusculan Disputations[7].

[1] Att. xiii 30, 3.
[2] Att. xii 20, "totos dies consumo in litteris."
[3] O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel des Cicero* pp. 51 and 276, and Att. xii 20 *ad fin.*
[4] O. E. S. p. 55 and Reid, *Academics*, Introd. pp. 30, 31.
[5] Att. xiii 32, 3.
[6] Att. xiii 19, 4.
[7] De Diuinatione, ii 1, 2, quoted on next page, note 2.

(b) *The date of the Tusculan Disputations.*

The precise date of composition of the Tusculan Disputations cannot be positively determined. The facts which bear upon the solution of this question are:—

1. several references contained in the work itself;
2. the passage in *De Diu.* ii 1, 2–4;
3. two allusions in the letters to Atticus;
4. the dates of composition of most of his subsequently written philosophical works.

Taking these in detail:—

1. (*a*) the *discessus* of Brutus referred to in *Tusc. Disp.* i 4, 7 took place on the 20th of July, 45 B.C. Cicero was in his Tusculan villa from the 20th to the 24th July and left for Astura on the 25th. See the commentary *ad locum.* The subjects of the five books of the Tusculan Disputations are represented to have been discussed on these five days, 20th to 24th July, and the books were no doubt planned during those days, as Dr O. E. Schmidt assumes[1].

(*b*) The fourth book *De Finibus* is mentioned in *Tusc. Disp.* v 11, 32 as lately read (*quia legi tuum nuper quartum de Finibus*). That book was finished, as we have seen above, by the end of June, 45.

The facts which I have just stated in sections (*a*) and (*b*) above suffice to discredit the view of Heine that when on the 28th and 29th of May he writes to Atticus (*Att.* xiii 31 and 32) for certain books of Dicaearchus, Cicero is collecting material for the Tusculan Disputations. That work had not then been planned. A thoroughly satisfactory theory is given by O. E. Schmidt (*Briefw.* p. 375). The materials referred to were wanted by Cicero for the πολιτικὸς σύλλογος *more Dicaearchi* of *Att.* xiii 30, 3.

2. In *De Diu.* ii 1, 3 Cicero states that the three books *De Natura Deorum* were completed (*perfectis*) after the publication of the five books of the Tusculan Disputations, and he announces his intention of adding a work *De Fato.* As he mentions the *De Senectute* in § 3, that work was also written before the *De Diuinatione*[2].

If we were to take the statement strictly that the Tusculan Dis-

[1] *Briefwechsel*, pp. 58 *ad fin.* and 430.

[2] Diu. ii 1, 2. "Totidem subsecuti libri Tusculanarum disputationum res ad beate uiuendum maxime necessarias aperuerunt.... § 3. quibus editis tres libri perfecti sunt de natura deorum...quibus, ut est in animo, de fato si adiunxerimus, erit abunde satis factum toti huic quaestioni....interiectus est etiam nuper liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus."

putations were published (*editis*) before the books *De Natura Deorum* were written (so the word *perfectis* seems generally understood), since we find the collection of material for the latter work begun on the 5th August, we should place the date of composition of the Tusculan Disputations between the 20th July and the 5th August. If the books could be spoken on five afternoons they could no doubt be written out in fifteen days. But this would have involved working twice as fast as he worked over the writing of the *De Finibus*. There would seem to be no reason for this acceleration of the rate of speed at which he worked, and, as we shall see below that the second at least of the books *De Diuinatione* was not written till after Caesar's death, this theory would allow Cicero seven months and ten days for the writing of the *De Natura Deorum*, the *Cato Maior*, and the first book *De Diuinatione*. As he was in or near Rome during most of that time, this sudden change from double speed to a little over quarter speed would be unaccountable, especially as we find him working fast again during the period between the middle of March and the end of October in the year 44 B.C.

It is true that Cicero does not seem usually to have had more than one philosophic work in hand at a time. The recasting of the characters and rearranging the division into books of the Academics is hardly an exception. But there are remarkable internal resemblances between the Tusculan Disputations and the *De Natura Deorum*. No other two works of Cicero have so much in common, and I think it very probable that for some reason Cicero may have worked at both of these subjects during the same period. And this theory, if correct, may throw light upon the meaning of the word *perfectis* in the passage in *De Diuinatione* referred to above. After Cicero had got the Tusculan Disputations off his hands by publication (*editis*) he proceeded to complete (*perfectis*) the *De Natura Deorum* with which he had also been occupied.

3. In Att. xv 2, 4 we find Cicero writing, on the 18th May, 44, *quod prima disputatio Tusculana te confirmat sane gaudeo*. And in Att. xv 4, 2 on the 23rd May, *redeamus igitur ad Tusculanas disputationes*. These extracts shew that the work had been published before the 18th May, 44, but they do not prove, as Heine (*Einl.* p. iii) and others seem to assume, that Atticus received the book only about that time. Cicero was very anxious at that time. In a letter of the 4th May he says that it was less dangerous to speak against the party of the tyrant during his life than after his death. Atticus was also anxious, certainly on Cicero's account, possibly on his own. It is evident that he had written to Cicero (mainly perhaps to fortify him) stating that he

was fortified by the first book of the Tusculan Disputations (*de contemnenda morte*), i.e. that he learnt from Cicero himself that, if the worst came to the worst, death was to be despised. This remark could be made only when the occasion for making it arose, whether the book had been recently received or long before.

4. (*a*) In *De Diu.* i 5, 8 Quintus says *perlegi tuum paullo ante tertium de natura deorum.*

(*b*) In *De Diu.* ii 9, 22 Caesar is referred to as dead.

(*c*) In *De Diu.* ii 2, 7 Cicero uses the expression *nunc, quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus.*

(*d*) The *De Fato* was written after the death of Caesar, and probably not long after that event, cf. § 2 above. It probably followed immediately upon the *De Diuinatione*, cf. § 2.

(*e*) On the 11th May, 44 B.C., Cicero writes *legendus mihi saepius est Cato Maior ad te missus*[1].

(*f*) On the 3rd July Cicero promises to send the *De Gloria* to Atticus, and he sends it on the 11th[2].

(*g*) The *Laelius* was written before the *De Officiis*[3].

(*h*) The first two books *De Officiis* were written by the 5th Nov. 44 B.C.[4]

It is to be noted that the reference to Caesar as dead and the expression *nunc, quoniam de r. p. consuli coepti sumus* both occur in the *second* book *De Diuinatione.* That book was, therefore, written after the death of Caesar. The words *de r. p. consuli coepti sumus* would seem to fit the few weeks that followed the death of Caesar, 15th March to 11th April, 44 (the senate being prorogued on the latter date).

Cicero was in or near Rome during those weeks and could attend the senate, and for a time he had expectations of a return to constitutional government. They would not apply to a later date as he was presently undeceived and writes to Atticus the words referred to in § 3 above, with reference to the danger of speaking freely.

I cannot see how the words in question could point to the end of September or beginning of October, 44, as they are taken to do by Prof. Reid in an *obiter dictum* in his introduction to the *Cato Maior*, p. 9 note, for, besides other considerations, the *De Gloria* was sent to Atticus on the 11th July, and as it is not mentioned in the *De Diuinatione* ii 1, 2–4 it is reasonable to infer that it had not been written when that work was published.

I take the second book *De Diuinatione* to have been written very soon

[1] *Att.* xiv 21, 3.
[2] *Att.* xv 27, 2 and xvi 2, 6.
[3] *Off.* ii 9, 31.
[4] *Att.* xvi 11, 4.

after Caesar's death, while Cicero still had some hopes of a return to constitutional government. The first book I take to have been written before that event. The *Cato Maior*, as we have seen above, was written before the second book *De Diuinatione*, and no doubt also before the first. The statement contained in Cicero's letter of the 11th May, quoted above, may seem to conflict with this view. But the reference in that passage is not an ordinary reference to the sending of a new work. It is very similar to the reference to the Tusculans discussed in § 3 above. Cicero must read and take to heart (to fortify him in that dangerous time) his own work on old age (which has much in common with his book on despising death), a work which he had dedicated to Atticus. It would be very different if Cicero had merely written *misi tibi Catonem maiorem*, 'I herewith send you my new work, the *Cato Maior*, dedicated to you.' The book may have been and probably was published four months earlier.

The *De Natura Deorum* had not been published very long before the *De Diuinatione*, cf. the words *paulo ante* in i 5, 8 quoted above. The question what length of time can be denoted by *paulo ante* is precisely similar to the question what length of time can be denoted by *nuper* in *Tusc. Disp.* v 11, 32 quoted on p. xvi. The difficulties that would arise from making either expression denote much less or much more than about three months are I think obvious. If we take *nuper* to denote three months we should have Cicero writing the fifth book of the Tusculan Disputations about the end of September, 45 B.C., a view which would agree with that of Dr O. E. Schmidt, who does not indicate the process by which he has worked the question out,—"Die Ausarbeitung fand aber erst im August und September statt[1]." Similarly, if we take the first book *De Diuinatione* to have been finished by the end of February, 44, and go back three months (*paulo ante*), we have the end of November, 45, as the date of publication of the *De Natura Deorum*.

The results thus arrived at appear to me to give us approximate dates for the composition and publication of the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, *De Natura Deorum*, *Cato Maior*, and *De Diuinatione* completely consistent with all the facts that bear upon the question.

(c) *The dedication to Brutus.*

Cicero dedicates this work to M. Junius Brutus. To Brutus Cicero also dedicated the *De Claris Oratoribus*, *Paradoxa*, and *Orator*, all in 46 B.C., the *De Finibus* in 45, and the *De Natura Deorum* published after the Tusculan Disputations.

[1] *Briefwechsel*, p. 58.

The motives that prompted to such complimentary notice of Brutus were various.

The friendship of the two men dated from before the year of Cicero's proconsulship of Cilicia, when it was temporarily weakened by Brutus' endeavours to induce Cicero to coerce the Salaminians of Cyprus to pay off with exorbitant interest a loan that they had received from him. After the battle of Zela, Brutus, by order of Caesar, sent to Cicero the letter which let the first ray of sunlight into his long anxious soul[1]. On receiving this letter in autumn 47 B.C. Cicero began his work *De Claris Oratoribus*.

Cicero and Brutus were in intellectual sympathy. Both were philosophers of the Academic school, both were orators, both were students and writers.

Brutus was also in favour with Caesar.

Dr O. E. Schmidt[2] holds that Brutus accepted Caesarism hoping to succeed the childless despot, his mother Servilia also influencing him.

Brutus married Cato's daughter Porcia on the 22nd June, 45 B.C. This event may have contributed to bring about the altered feeling that found vent on the 15th March, 44 B.C.

Cicero's relations with Brutus are well treated of in Dr Sandys' *Orator*, Introd. liv–lviii.

SECTION II.

On Cicero's Sources for the Tusculan Disputations, Books I—II.

Book I.

In a well-known passage in a letter to Atticus (*Att.* xii 52, 3) Cicero states the general plan upon which he wrote his philosophical treatises—"Ἀπόγραφα *sunt, ...uerba tantum adfero, quibus abundo.*" And this statement is in harmony with what we know as to the rapidity with which Cicero wrote these works. We may therefore be predisposed to believe that the material for most of Cicero's philosophical works was derived from Greek sources and that he copied wholesale, with little recasting, from the source or sources which he used in each instance.

As to the particular source from which Cicero obtained his material

[1] *De Claris Oratoribus* § 11. Cf. O. E. Schmidt, *Briefw.* p. 33.

[2] *Briefwechsel*, p. 243.

for the first book of the Tusculan Disputations very conflicting opinions have been held.

P. Corssen[1] thought that Posidonius was marked out as the source for the entire book by the many facts which we know with regard to the views of Posidonius, and by the predominance of Stoic lore throughout the book.

Rudolf Hirzel[2] thought the Stoic views so vague and general that Cicero could have developed them himself; that much that coincides with Posidonius' known views may be common property of all philosophers; that Cicero's work throughout is that of a Sceptic, and that he must have had the work of a Sceptic before him; and that the style of the scepticism displayed points to Philo.

L. Reinhardt[3] thinks §§ 1–18 Cicero's own; §§ 19–22 from Dicaearchus; §§ 23–38 Cicero's own; §§ 39–52 from Posidonius, but § 41 from Dicaearchus; §§ 53–77 Cicero's own; §§ 78–81 of uncertain source; §§ 82–119 Cicero's own.

Kühner[4] holds almost the whole of the Tusculan Disputations, and Cicero's works on ethics generally, to be derived from Stoic sources. But he thinks that in §§ 26–49 some views derived from other systems are intermixed with Stoic material, and that in §§ 50–81 Stoic doctrines are intermixed with material mainly drawn from Plato.

He thinks it clear from §§ 42 and 78 that Cicero had the work of Panaetius before him. For §§ 82–94 he takes Crantor περὶ Πένθους to be the source; for §§ 97–99 Plato's *Apologia* 40 c foll.; for §§ 102–108 Chrysippus.

O. Heine[5] thinks it certain that a Stoic work is the source for §§ 26–81. He rightly finds little trace of scepticism, while the arguments throughout have a Stoic colouring. He notices the argument from the *consensus gentium* as specially valued by the Stoics, and the doctrine that the soul consists of the finest particles and therefore ascends at death to the aether, which is similar in nature, as purely Stoic. He notes the Stoic view of the three powers of the soul (*natura*, *sensus*, *ratio*) (§ 56) as found also in *De Natura Deorum* ii 12, 33 where it is probably to be referred to Posidonius. Now Posidonius was a Stoic who blended Platonic with Stoic views, so that he attributed to the soul pre-existence and immortality, and abandoning the view of previous Stoics, separated the seat of the

[1] *de Posidonio Rhodio dissertatio*, Bonn, 1878.

[2] *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's phil. Schriften*, Leipzig, 1877–83, iii 405.

[3] *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.* vol. 153, pp. 475 foll.

[4] Ed. of 1874, *Proleg.* p. 6.

[5] 4th edn *Einl.* p. xix.

passions and desires from that of the reason. Heine therefore concludes that he was well fitted to supply the material for all this part (§§ 26–81) including the arguments drawn from the Phaedo, Phaedrus and Meno, which he finds[1] so interwoven with Stoic views and expressions that they can hardly, as he thinks, be taken directly from Plato. In the second part of the book (§§ 82–117) the numerous passages which are common to the Tusculan Disputations and Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* shew that these two works must have had a common source, and Plutarch expressly refers in four places to Crantor's περὶ Πένθους as his source. Cicero was familiar with this work of Crantor and drew from it material for his own *Consolatio*. The coincidences are set forth in detail by O. Heine[2], § 91 *natura si se sic habet ut quo modo initium*..., with Plut. c. 15; § 92 *habes somnum imaginem mortis* with Plut. c. 12; § 93 *ante tempus mori miserum* with Plut. cc. 18, 23, 24, 28; § 94 *apud Hypanim fluuium...bestiolas* with Plut. c. 17. Both works also contain the stories of Cleobis and Biton, Trophonius and Agamedes, Silenus, Midas, and the Terinean Elysius. I may add that Plut. also notices the death of Theramenes, p. 105 b.

The quotation from Callimachus *Tusc. Disp.* i § 93 is given in Plutarch without mention of Callimachus (c. 24) μεῖον γὰρ ὄντως Τρωΐλος ἐδάκρυσεν ἢ Πρίαμος. Heine thinks that Crantor (who was dead by 270 B.C.) can scarcely have quoted Callimachus (who died about 240 B.C.). He thinks that Cicero and Plutarch had a later source in common. The epigram of Callimachus upon Cleombrotus, quoted by Cic. 1 § 84, is not in Plutarch, but Heine thinks that it was probably in their common source. Corssen[3] thought that Posidonius was the source for all the matter contained in the first book of the Tusculan Disputations. In that case Cicero might have found Callimachus' epigram in Posidonius. But Heine seems right in finding it improbable that Posidonius should have copied a work so well known and so widely read in his day as that of Crantor, and in laying stress on the fact that Plutarch always refers to Crantor, and not to Posidonius, as his source.

To take book 1 in greater detail:—

§§ 1–8, introductory, are admitted to be Cicero's own.

§§ 9–17 Kühner seems to refer to the same source as §§ 82 foll., i.e. to Crantor, since the argument is the same. Heine notes, *inter alia*, that Crantor employed this argument (that the dead are not unhappy since they have not any consciousness nor even any existence), comparing *Tusc. Disp.* i § 87 foll. with Plut. *Cons. ad Apoll.* c. 15, but says that Cicero's argument is specially Epicurean and thinks Cicero's treatment

[1] p. xx. [2] pp. xx, xxi. [3] *op. cit.*

suggestive of Epicurus. L. Reinhardt[1] thinks that we have here an attempt of Cicero to solve a philosophic problem by means of rhetoric, or an attempt to shew how far he can go when he philosophises by means of his own resources alone.

§§ 18–25. Kühner is uncertain whether the various views of philosophers here stated with regard to the soul have been collected by Cicero or copied from the work of some Greek philosopher. Heine is uncertain whether these views have been derived from the same source as the matter for the discussion that follows, but is certain that they were not collected by Cicero. L. Reinhardt thinks that the remarks about the theory that *cor = animus* and about *concordes* etc., shew that § 18 belongs to Cicero himself and not to a philosopher who had thought out the contrast between soul and body. From § 21 he finds that Cicero had Dicaearchus' Κορινθιακοὶ λόγοι before him and that Dicaearchus in his first book brings in many philosophers as speaking, and he therefore sets down Dicaearchus as the source for §§ 19–22 and also for § 41, which he shews to be very closely parallel to these sections. I take it to be clear that § 41 is derived from the same source as §§ 19–22, but I think it probable that that source was Posidonius.

§§ 26–49. The arguments contained in these sections Kühner thinks derived from Stoic sources, with Roman illustrations introduced by Cicero, and some views drawn from other systems or put forward as his own.

Chapters 22–34 (§§ 50–81 incl.) Kühner regards as almost wholly taken from Plato. That Cicero had a work of Panaetius before him he thinks clear from §§ 42 and 78. That somebody (? Posidonius the pupil of Panaetius) had Panaetius before him seems clear from the present sections. The view of Heine which derives §§ 26–81 throughout from a Stoic source, and in fact from Posidonius, seems far more satisfactory. There seems to be very little in these sections that Posidonius might not have written if we except the Roman illustrations, and these are unusually few. I see no evidence to shew that in §§ 56–65 Cicero may not have derived the basis of his arguments from Posidonius. It is quite possible that Posidonius used the argument from Ἀνάμνησις, as Heine evidently thinks, but on the other hand he may not have accepted this doctrine, and Cicero may have worked it in independently of his source. Cicero deals with this doctrine in a very inaccurate and perfunctory manner, and the attempt at *contaminatio* may be one cause of the confusion of thought which is very noticeable in these sections. The argument from the simple nature of the soul is Platonic, but may

[1] In *N. Jahrb.* cited above.

have been adopted by Posidonius also. § 66. This extract inserted from the *Consolatio* gives the substance of the argument of the preceding sections. Was this extract derived from Crantor, and if so whence were the preceding sections derived? Rather I think that this and the preceding sections and the arguments put forward in the *Consolatio* for the immortality of the soul were derived from Posidonius, for we know that he held this doctrine and we do not know that it was held by Crantor. §§ 68–70. Here we have Stoic teleology. § 71 continues the argument begun in § 56 (see explanatory notes). §§ 72–6 are derived ultimately from Plato, especially Phaedo pp. 80 foll., but perhaps directly from Posidonius. §§ 77–81 probably from Posidonius, the Roman example of *P. Crassi nepos*, and perhaps that of *Africani fratris nepos*, being Cicero's own. Compare *De Diuinatione* ii 9, 22 'clarissimorum hominum nostrae ciuitatis gravissimos exitus in Consolatione collegimus.'

§§ 82–97 from Crantor, directly or indirectly, with Roman examples of his own.

§§ 97–99. This extract from Plato's *Apologia* may have been used by Crantor.

§§ 100–102. The illustrations here given were probably found by Cicero in his source.

§§ 102–8. These extracts from Chrysippus (cf. *permulta alia colligit Chrysippus*) cannot have been used by Crantor who belonged to the previous generation. Heine thinks it doubtful whether they were taken from a work of Chrysippus by Cicero himself, or were merely reminiscences of lectures, since some of his examples are found in Sext. Hyp. iii 226, and in connexion with them the stories of Silenus and of Cleobis and Biton, and the quotation from Euripides' Cresphontes.

The contrast between the treatment of funeral honours etc. here and in the first part of the book (§§ 27 foll.) is noteworthy. There men's view of the importance of sepulture is made an argument for immortality. It may have occurred to Cicero that this argument had to be met in part II, and he may have resorted to Chrysippus for material.

§§ 109–111 from Crantor, directly or indirectly, with Roman illustrations inserted by Cicero.

§§ 113–117 from Crantor directly or indirectly.

§§ 112, 118, 119 Cicero's own.

Book II.

There are fewer and less clear indications of the source from which Cicero drew his material for the second book. The book contains much pure Stoicism. Heine[1] cites the following instances:—§ 31 the doctrine that without *prudentia* no virtue is conceivable, and that the four cardinal virtues enjoin the endurance of pain; § 32 that virtue cannot be lost, and that the possession of one virtue implies the possession of all virtues; § 43 the definition of virtue as *recta animi adfectio*; § 47 the expression *quae conixa per se et progressa longius fit perfecta uirtus*, this being the doctrine of *προκοπή*; § 51 the statement that there is no known example of the ideal wise man; § 63 the same distinction between *perfecta uirtus* and the *opinio honestatis* of the unphilosophic multitude which we find in *Off.* iii § 17. Hence a pure Stoic source has been thought of. Kühner[2] says that Chrysippus seems to have been chiefly followed by Cicero in the first four books. But Chrysippus could not have written § 47 *est enim animus in partes tributus duas quarum altera rationis est particeps, altera expers* (see explan. n. *ad locum*), and the criticism of Stoic syllogism could not come from him. Hence Hirzel and Heine reject Chrysippus. Hirzel[3] thinks Philo the source for Book II as well as for Book I. Heine objects that if Philo had employed such Stoic arguments as we find in Book II, and in the first part of Book I, his contemporaries would have set him down as a Stoic and not as an Academic.

There is more to be said in favour of Panaetius or Posidonius as source. Panaetius wrote a letter to Tubero *de dolore patiendo*[4]. Zietschmann[5] thought this Cicero's source. And Cicero derived his material for *de Officiis* i–ii from Panaetius. But there are no facts to connect Panaetius with the second book of the Tusculans except the letter above referred to. Cicero was also beholden to Posidonius for material. He had a book of Posidonius before him when writing the third book *de Officiis*[6] and probably drew more from it than the statement in *de Officiis* iii 2, 8 would lead us to suppose. His probable obligation to Posidonius in the first book of the Tusculans has been already dealt with. Bake[7] gives good reason for believing that Cicero drew upon the Προτρεπτικά of Posidonius for his Hortensius. The division of the soul into a rational and irrational part in § 47 is in

[1] *Einl.* xxii. [2] Ed. 1874, p. 8. [3] *op. cit.* p. 406 foll.
[4] Fin. iv 9, 23; Acad. ii 44, 135; T. D. iv 2, 4.
[5] *de Tusc. Disp. fontibus dissertatio*, Halle 1868.
[6] Att. xvi 11, 4. [7] *de Posidonio* p. 245.

harmony with what we know of the views held by Posidonius. See explanatory note there. The criticisms of Stoic extreme views contained in Book ii of the Tusculans seem also possible to Posidonius, while it is difficult to think of any other philosopher who could have been at once the author of these criticisms and of the Stoic utterances cited above.

Much of the argument employed in Book I to shew that death is to be despised also serves to prove that pain is to be endured. Cicero, having in consequence less material available for Book II, uses more padding here than in Book I. Thus the introduction §§ 1–13 is longer. He quotes frequently from Latin poets and translates at considerable length from Greek poets. He indulges in § 35 in fallacious criticism of the Greek language, *de suo*. He illustrates from the XII Tables, and introduces several Roman examples.

SECTION III.

On the MSS of the Tusculan Disputations.

(a) *Their classification.*

All MSS of the Tusculan Disputations are descended from an archetype which cannot have been later than the 6th or 7th century A.D., and may have been much earlier.

From this archetype two groups of MSS are derived: group α comprising all the best MSS now extant along with others of less value; group β comprising the source of the lost MS from which the bulk of the corrections in V, as well as several MSS of the second and third class, are derived.

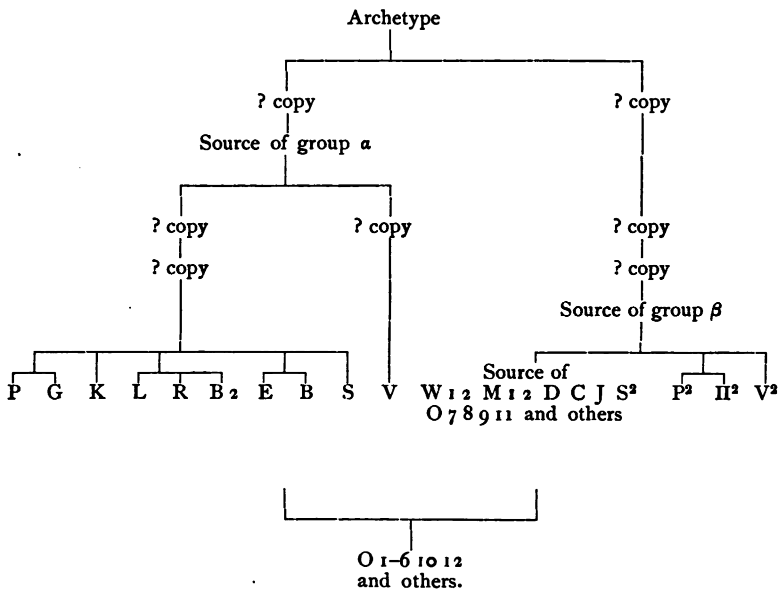
Besides these two groups there are several MSS, including O 1–6 10 12 which have been copied from MSS that had, by correction or eclectic compilation, received readings from both groups.

The archetype of group α was an uncial MS belonging probably to the 7th or perhaps to the 6th century A.D. The errors presented by the MSS of this group have to a large extent arisen from the misreading of symbols and contractions; there was less fixity with regard to the use of these in the 6th and 7th centuries than at a later date, while earlier they were much more sparingly used.

The archetype of group β was probably not much earlier than that of group α. V^2 presents a remarkable number of readings which are

evidently correct and which are not found in the MSS of group *α*, but on the other hand, as shewn a little further on, it presents a great number of errors, several of which are clearly due to the use of contractions in the original from which its corrections were taken.

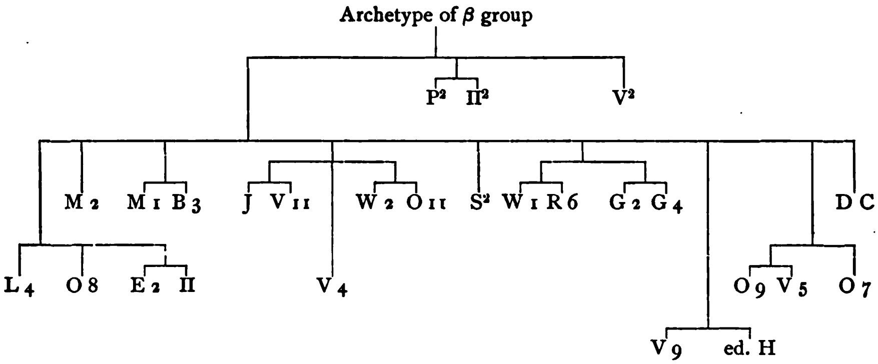
There is so much difference between the readings of V^2 and those of the MSS of group *α*, that it seems probable that several stages intervened between the two sources of groups *α* and *β* and their common archetype.



The MSS of group *α* are obviously derived from a common source. I have arranged them in the table in the order of their nearness one to another. R and B 2 are very closely related: as also are R and L; so too are E and B. K is related to R but not quite so closely as either L or B 2.

V is the most independent member of the group. It is the only early MS that has not the words *iussu tyrannorum* after *ponamus* in 1 § 75. This MS marks the nearest point of contact between group *α* and group *β*. Hence I think that it has probably been copied from an earlier MS than that from which the other members of group *α* are derived.

The inter-relationship of the most important MSS of group *β* is indicated in the following table:—



Where V^2 is rightly altered it very commonly agrees with D C O 7 W 1 and often with M 1. Where the alteration of V^2 seems wrong but may be right it agrees in one case with W 1, in two with D C, and in three it is alone in its reading. Where V^2 is obviously wrong it agrees in only one instance with D C. This shews that the peculiarities in D C have not come down from the immediate source of V^2.

Among the MSS which have been due to compilation from both groups are O 2 12 (closely related); O 3 4 (very closely related); O 6 10 (closely related); O 5 (related to O 6 10 but not so closely); and O 1. Of these MSS the last stands nearest in the main to the MSS of group *β*. R 7 R 17 and G 3 are noteworthy MSS which elude classification in either group and seem to have had their text formed on an eclectic principle.

The same principle seems to have been at work upon W 1 2 M 1 2, which belong mainly to the *β* group, but their texts seem to owe something to the *a* group and still more to shew signs of interchange of readings within the *β* group.

(b) *Their description.*

The following MSS of the Tusculan Disputations are referred to in this edition:—

In the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

R (R 1). No. 6332. Written on parchment, in brown ink, apparently in the 9th century. Corrected here and there in darker ink by an early hand. This MS is written στιχηδόν. For specimens see Tregder's edition (Copenhagen 1841) Introd. p. 7, and Graux, *Stichométrie*, in the *Revue de Philologie* II 127. Besides the Tusculan Disputations this MS contains also *Cato Maior* down to the words *quondam nominati* near the end of that work.

R 2. No. 6333 in the Paris Catalogue, in which it is thus referred

to:—"*Membranaceus, olim Mazarinaeus; 13° saec. uid. exaratus.*" Contains also *Timaeus* and *Partitiones Oratoriae.* At the top of the first written page are the words "*ex bibliotheca Dn̄i Guillelmi Sacheri ac dono dedit AED., Desfontaines fratribus.*" This MS often agrees with the best. In II 50 it reads *pudens* and in II 60 *quem cum* with some of the best and in II 20 *latere* with the best. In I 48 it has *leto nubila*, with BS[1] and others, against the best, and in II 39 *continuatur* with a few against the best.

R 3. No. 6334. "*Membranaceus, saec. dec. quarto uid. exaratus.*" Contains *T.D.*, *N.D.*, and *de Diu.* Many signs of carelessness and much interpolation. In II 49 it reads *dubitant* with others.

R 4. No. 6335. "*Membranaceus, saec. dec. quinto uid. exaratus.*" Contains *T.D.* and *Somnium Scipionis.*

In I 4 it reads *grecię* with others; in I 62 *animo* with V 5 9 O 7 ed. H.

R 5. No. 6336. "*Chartaceus, saec. XV uid. exaratus.*"

It reads I 16 *aueo,* II 46 *utor,* II 49 *dubitant* with a few others.

R 6. No. 6337. Contains *T.D.* and *Paradoxa.* This MS has copious marginal notes written in the same clear hand as that of the text, and it is beautifully illuminated. It has the correct reading in several instances along with very few others. In II 47 it alone has *connixa*: in II 42 *permanantibus* with V² alone; in I 88 *carere enim in malo* with V 6 marg. alone; in I 112 *aueo* with O 2 alone; in II 2 *liberemur* with L 4 alone; in II 60 *epigonis* with O 10 alone; in II 26 *et proprium numerum* with E 12 O 11 ed. P alone.

It has the right reading along with others in I 4 *graeciae*; I 13 *recordere*; I 15 *aestimo* (the best have *estimo*); I 16 *aueo*; I 91 *animum*; I 92 *cum in eius*; I 107 *sensu omni*; II 30 *sint*; II 52 *obuersentur*; *animo*; *nicocreontis*; II 57 *quo est missa*; II 60 *tantum operae*; II 60 *amphiarae.*

But I 19 *nominari*; I 20 *disclusit*; I 78 *id certe*; II 46 *ita utar ut* are bad readings.

R 7. No. 6342. "*Membranaceus 1376 exaratus.*" Contains also *De Off., Paradoxa, Laelius, Cato M., in Cat., p. Marcello, post Red. in Sen., Philippics, p. r. Deiotaro.*

In II 5 where V² alone has *transferant* R 7 has *trafferrant* (? arising out of *trāfferant*). In I 91 it has *animum* with others, and in I 13 *recordere* with others, and in II 49 *dubitant* with others.

R 8. No. 6349. "*Membranaceus, sub fin. XIV saec. exaratus uidetur.*" Contains only *T.D.* I, II, III.

R 9. No. 6362. "*Membranaceus, olim Nicolai Heinsii. XV saec. ineunte uid. exaratus.*" Carelessly written; contains several works besides the Tusculan Disputations.

R 10. No. 5802. "*Membranaceus.*" At the end is written "*L'an mil CCCVIII le premier jour de Jenvier entrerent pouregent en mal an.*" Contains *Suetonius*, *Florus*, *Frontinus*, *Philippics I—IV* and *T. D.* The readings of this MS often agree with those of the best, and it is less interpolated than most of the Paris MSS except R 1 and R 2. In I 48 it has *leto nubila* with V^2 B S^1 and others, and in II 50 *pudens* with others.

R 11. No. 6592. "*Membranaceus XV saec. uid. exaratus.*" Contains *T. D.* alone.

R 12. No. 6593. "*Membranaceus, XV saec.*"

R 13. No. 6594. "*Chartaceus; XV saec. olim D.D. de Bethune.*" In I 73 it has *reuerens* (a noticeable reading); in I 91 *animum*; in II 49 *dubitant* with others.

R 14. No. 6595. "*Membranaceus, XV saec.*" Recently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

R 15. No. 6596. "*Membranaceus, XV saec. olim Colbertinus.*" II 49 *dubitant* with others.

R 16. No. 6606. "*Chartaceus, XV saec.*" The readings often agree with those of the oldest MSS, e.g. II 50 *pudens*.

R 17. No. 7698. "*Membranaceus, XIV saec. uid. exaratus.*" Contains most of Cicero's philosophical works and much of Seneca. The readings often agree with those of the oldest MSS.

In II 23 it has *cluet* with V^2 B 2 alone; in II 39 *eloquere eloquere* with R^1 V G B O 1 alone; in II 31 *intuens* with others.

R 18. No. 5755. "*Membranaceus, XV saec. uid. exaratus.*" Contains only a fragment of *T. D.* bk I ending at *tolle hanc*, § 30.

In the Vatican Library.

V (V 1). No. 3246. Entered in the catalogue as of 900 A.D. Written on parchment in folio, στιχηδόν, with two columns to the page. V has been known since 1618; readings from it were used by Gebhard in Gruter's edition, published at Hamburg in that year. But no accurate or complete collation of this MS has hitherto been used for any edition. An excellent article upon it was published in 1890, in *Philologus* vol. 49, continued in vol. 50, by Ed. Stroebel. The MS is there estimated at its proper value, and the character and significance of the corrections of V^2 are clearly set forth. I had unfortunately not seen these articles until after I had collated the Vatican MS, as I went through the classical journals in detail only after my work had been almost completed.

The conjecture stated by Stroebel, on p. 60, that several later MSS

probably spring from the same archetype as V², seems to me to be fully borne out by the readings that I have recorded from those MSS that I have placed in group *β*.

The MS originally consisted of 97 leaves of parchment. A portion of the end of Book V, which had suffered damage, was subsequently re-copied on two more leaves. The original copyist had added at the end *M. Tulli Ciceronis Tusculanrum* (sic) *liber V explicit feliciter*, and below this another hand had written *Contulimus* (Stroebel, p. 49).

A note on a fly-leaf at the beginning shews that the MS is one of those presented to the Vatican Library by Fulvio Orsini (in 1600 A.D.), and that it had earlier belonged to the famous humanist Antonio Beccadelli, known as Panormita (1394–1471 A.D.).

This MS rivals R and G in excellence. In the following places it is right where the best MSS are wrong:

I 4 *grecie*, with others; I 42 *uidetur*, with many others; I 88 *ne carere quidem*; I 95 *ponamus*, without *iussu tyrannorum*; II 31 *debilitari dolore*; II 39 *ecfari* V B alone; *et fari* E.

II 48 *ac ad custodia* is read by V^1 and E alone (this being the nearest to what seems the right reading). In II 62 *contemndo* seems nearer the true reading, and a more faithful attempt to copy the true reading than *contempno* of R^1 G P^1. See Introd. p. xlviii.

V was copied from an excellent source, but that source was very closely related to the sources of all the best existing MSS. It has been corrected, very soon after it was written, by another hand, and the corrections, which are obviously right in a remarkably large number of instances, derive special value from the fact that their source was only very remotely related to the sources of the best known MSS.

V^2 alone has the right reading in:—I 5 *carbonem*; I 7 *scientia*; I 20 *parere*, and perhaps *ei* preceding; I 81 *dissimilitudines*; I 98 *iudicio iniquo circumuentos*; I 110 *e boeotia*; I 116 *qui item oraculo*; II 2 *si non tantos*; II 5 *transferant* (R 7 very nearly the same); II 16 *diceres*; II 30 *aspernetur*; I 116 *alchidamas* (*h* should be absent, but no other MS has the correct termination).

V^2 has the right reading in I 3 *quingentis*, with K O 9 alone; I 20 *ullum numerum*, with O 5^2 alone; I 73 *ratis*, with O 9 10 alone; I 97 *cui si similis*, with Π O 10 alone; II 20 *inflixit*, with M 2 alone; II 23 *cluet*, with B 2 R 17 alone; II 39 *uidi minus* with $Π^2$ O 1 alone; II 42 *permanantibus* with R 6 alone; II 56 *ne* (before *ingemescit*), with B alone; II 67 *omittat*, with $Π^2$ alone.

V^2 is right along with others and against the best MSS in I 24 *corpore*; I 29 *cognouerant*; I 37 *in uicinia*; I 48 *leto nubila*; I 54 *qua a primo*; I 62 *cum ea*; I 65 *ne in deo quidem quicquam*; I 80

dicuntur; *sint* (after *locati*); I 83 *quod multi*; I 84 *hegesię*; I 85 *honoratis*; *occidisset*; I 86 *aut plures*; I 92 *cum in eius*; I 93 *at ea*; I 96 *quo sonitu*; I 104 *qui poteris*; I 108 *publicos*; I 109 *expetatur*; I 110 *res feret*, I 118 *plane*; I 119 *sin reflantibus*; II 20 *expuli*; II 34 *siue iupiter siue minos*; *non modo*; II 47 *si nihil esset aliud*; II 67 *illi.*

In the following passages V² may be right, though I do not adopt its readings: V² alone has I 15 *mors*; I 22 *et tam multa meminisse*; I 67 *se ipse*; I 96 *pendemus animi*: I 107 *quae* (others *quam*); I 113 *ut id illis praemii*; I 119 *omnis philosophiae*; II 12 *profiteatur*; II 28 *roga*; II 40 *ferre se non posse.* And V² has with others I 4 *recusasset*; I 29 *hinc a nobis*; I 37 *opertae*; I 77 *num neuis* (some scholars read *numne uis*); I 116 *sanguis*; II 4 *auxilia e reliquorum*; II 16 *et quis est*; II 66 *alienumque a natura.*

In the following passages the reading of V¹ is wrong and not emended:—I 13 *recordare*; I 37 *alto*; I 38 *syrus*; I 86 the passage *non liberi...possiderentur*, which seems to be a gloss, is contained in V and not cut out by the scribe of V² who substitutes *deleti* for *defleti*, and *a uictoribus* for *auctoribus*; I 89 *concurrerint*; I 93 *qui &acta*; I 94 *hominis prudentia*; I 95 *molestissimis*; I 96 *enim conuiuiis*; I 102 *morte*; I 104 *et is quidem sentiens*; I 116 *constet*; *in ore et*; I 117 *conibentem*; II 3 *coticuerunt*; II 6 *philosophantur*; II 10 *inductus*; II 11 *ipsi sibi*; II 15 *quomodo* for *quod modo*; II 16 *ne se dolorem*; *depellere*; II 18 *si forte*; II 27 *ducuntur*; II 30 *omnia sunt*; II 35 *efficiat*; II 36 *illi quę*; II 45 *quicumplures*; II 52 *honestę ūō* (marg. *r*); II 52 *timocreontis*; *Callanus*; II 55 *fletus*; II 57 *cum est missa*; II 60 *quem tum*; *quicum*; *tanto opere*; *epigoneis*; *amphiare*; II 61 *necommitam*; II 62 *uidemusne ut*; II 67 *excipiant*; *neptuni*; *si tanti non sint.*

In the following passages V has been wrongly altered by a corrector:—I 6 *laudi*; I 7 *cum commotus*; *decere* inserted; I 12 *tanta dignitate* (in margin); I 13 *sint* (before *non dicis*); I 23 *aliqui* (s above); I 30 *uidetur* (re above); I 34 *urnam* (marg.); *lacrimet*, alone; I 37 *consensus*; *uigentis*, alone; *psicho mantia*; *acherontis*; I 39 *edidicisse*; *deseres*; I 43 *efferendi*; I 52 *praeceptum a deo. sit hoc acrioris cuiusdam animi seipsum posse cognoscere*; I 57 *quasi*; I 65 *Iuuentute*; I 66 *humidum*; I 67 *quamquam id forte*; I 69 *deorum eorumque*; I 71 *diremptus*; *aescendere*; I 72 *rei publicae uiolandae*; I 75 *nisi emori discere*; I 76 *certe*; I 81 *et nepotes et filii*; I 85 *ista uel*; I 87 *sit q id* (is above), alone; I 88 *est arguendum* (& above), alone; I 89 *hirpini albinum*, alone; I 91 *non sit* (s above), alone; I 94 *aut longa*; I 96 *deterrimus*; *prębuerat*; I 98 *inuisere*; *ulixis*; *iudices si qui*, alone; I 99 *succenseam*; *ne h' ego*, alone; I 102 *putrescat*; I 105 *curru*; I 106

semiassi regis; I 108 *condiunt* after *circumlitos*; I 109 *perficiet*; *quamquam enim sensus ab erit*; I 110 *et epaminondam*; *tropęi*; *leuctrae*; I 111 *duos suos*; I 115 *tireneum*; I 116 *famulari indutus*; II 3 *exortūs* (sic); II 14 *appetendus*; II 17 *qui idem* before *illi ipsi*; II 20 *efferitatem*; II 21 *lacerati*; II 25 *loeto*; II 26 *ego uero ac*; II 37 *et tibiam*, alone; *fiat*, alone; II 38 *si quidem*; II 39 *obliga*; II 46 *utar* (marg. *ita*); II 48 *ac custodia*; II 52 *obseruetur*; II 62 *contemnendo*; II 63 *tute*; II 66 *uideas quo quisque*; *debes*; *contempnemus*; II 67 *ut uides*.

V 2. Reg. 1481. "*Membranaceus.*" Contains most of the philosophical books and the *de Oratore*.

II 47 *si nihil esset aliud nil esset*, with V[2] L 3 O 3 4.

V 3. Reg. 1581. Written on papyrus.

V 4. Reg. 1909. Written on papyrus.

V 5. Ott. 1260. Written on papyrus.

I 62 *animo*, with R 4 V 9 O 7 ed. H.

V 6. Ott. 1707. "*Membranaceus, XV saeculi.*" Belonged at one time to "*Johannes Angelus, dux ab Altaemps.*"

II 39 *continuatur*, with others.

V 7. Ott. 1714. "*Partim chartaceus, partim membranaceus, in fine XIV uel in initio XV saec. exaratus uidetur. In fine mutilus est.*"

V 8. Ott. 1841. "*Chartaceus, in fine mutilus.*"

Has been assiduously altered and interpolated.

V 9. Ott. 1993. "*Membranaceus, in quarto, XV saeculi.*" Often agrees with ed. H.

I 62 *animo* with R 4 V 5 O 7 ed. H.;

II 60 *tantum operę*, with others.

V 10. Ott. 2031. "*Membranaceus XV saeculi.*" Portions from the commencement of Books I and II are lost.

V 11. Ott. 2036. "*Chartaceus, in quarto, saec. XV.*" At the end is written "*Liber Tusculanarum questionum scriptum per Mattheum Anglarensem in arce Corzani.*" This MS is much interpolated and has no special merit.

V 12. Urb. 315. "*Perg. in folio.*"

V 13. Urb. 323. "*Perg. in folio.*" Contains *de Off.* and *de Fin.* as well as *T. D.*

Reg. 1414 is not a MS of the Tusculans. It consists only of 4½ pages of *Apophthegmata* from *T. D.* bk i, along with others from the rest of *T. D.* and from *Cato M.* etc.

Formerly in Heidelberg, now in the Vatican.

P (P I). Pal. 1514 (Gruter's Pal. III). "*Antiquissimus ex pergam. in* 8°. *Sc(hedae)* 137."

Altered by another hand, often *in peius.*

II 46 *utor*, with others, II 60 *quem cum*, with others. In I 58 the reading of P, *qualee* $\overline{\text{ΙΔΕaΗ}}$, is specially noteworthy.

P 2. Pal. 1515 (Gruter's Pal. II). "*Antiq. ex pergam. in 4to. sc.* 236. *Scriptum a Joanne de Vellate.*" Contains several other works of Cicero. II 39 *continuat*˥, i.e. *continuatur.*

P 3. Pal. 1516 (Gruter's Pal. I). "*Pergam. in 4to. sc.* 224." Contains also *de Finibus* and a fragment of the *Academics.*

P 4. Pal. 1517. "*Ex papyro in folio.*"

I 48 *leto nubila*, with others; I 91 *animum*, with others; I 105 *curro*, with the best; I 117 *coniuentem*, with others.

In the Bibliotheca Augusta, Wolfenbüttel.

G (G I). Gudianus 294, fully collated by Seyffert (Leipzig, 1864) whose readings I have taken. This is the only MS (except Gr.) of which I give the readings from any except my own collation. The first page is written στιχηδόν, the rest are not. The MS belongs probably to the tenth century. It contains *T. D.* only. For its characteristics in detail and a comparison between this MS and R I see Seyffert's Introduction.

G 2. Gudianus 2. "*Membranaceus in folio.*" Written in France, probably in the XIVth century. Contains most of Cicero.

II 37 *ac tibiam* alone; II 39 *continuatur* with others.

G 3. Gudianus 293 (Kühner's G II). "*Membranaceus in 8uo, saec. XIII; fuit olim Bern. Rottendorfii.*" This MS seems to end in Bk V c. 22 with the words *quam bonum nihil ad rem: in hoc enim*, but the pages are merely out of place, as Schneidewin noted on a fly-leaf of the MS in the year 1830. One single page is wanting at the end, viz. V § 117 to the end. Schneidewin referred this MS to the end of the XIVth century.

I 68 *geminum*, with B O 4; I 106 *suspensam*, with E 10 only; I 107 *poeniuntur*, in G 3 alone unaltered; I 116 *constat*, with others; I 117 *coniuentem*; II 20 *latere*, with the best; II 39 *minus uidimus* (copied probably from a MS which had *uidimus* with *minus* written above); II 50 *pudens*, with the best; II 51 *suscitabit* with W I J; II 67 *ut ferendi non sint*, with W I O 8 9.

G 4. 4, 13 MS Aug. 4. "*Membranaceus in quarto saec. XV in Italia exaratus. Graecis locis uacuum spatium relictum est.*" Quoted by Or. Mo. and Küh. as *Aug.* Contains *T. D.* only. This MS does not end at the end of c. 21 Bk V as Küh. asserts. He confuses it with G 3 (his Gud. II), which *seems* to end there. See above.

I 29 *cognouerant* with others; I 52 *.s.* (= *scilicet*) with O 11 (several have *scilicet*); II 31 *intuens* with others; II 51 *uidimus* with S^2 W 1 O 12; II 52 *animo* with others.

Probably no longer extant.

Gr. This MS was used by J. M. Brutus for the Tusculans in his edition of all Cicero published in 1570 in 9 vols. by Antonius Gryphius at Lyons. There is a copy of this edition in the Imperial Library at Vienna, 45 Aa 36. I know of no other which is complete. The Tusculans are in vol. I. I have taken the readings of Gr from this edition. Some volumes are in the University Library at Leyden but vol. I is missing. The MS is probably lost. It is not known to be identical with any existing MS. The data given by Brutus seem scarcely sufficient to enable us to decide positively whether such identification is possible or not.

In the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

B (B 1). Brux. 5351. Written in a very clear hand in brown ink with small Italian letters, in the XIth century, on parchment. Contains *Rhetorica ad Herennium, de Inuentione, Grillius in Ciceronis libros de Inuentione, T. D., pro Archia.* A good MS, generally agreeing with the best. Often corrected *in melius*, e.g. I 41 *ecferant* B^2; I 43 *ecferendi* B^2; I 46 *quid quod* B^2; I 55 *illud* B^2; I 70 *omnique* B^2. For some notes on this MS cf. *Mélanges Graux*, pp. 47–8.

I 24 *corpore* (*tēpore* written above), right with later MSS and corr. *in peius* from older ones; I 41 *ecferant*, altered from *hecferant*; I 43 *efferendi*, marg. *ecfe*; I 46 *qui* (*d* above) *quod eadem*; I 48 *leto nubila* with others; I 55 *illum̄* (*d* above); I 65 *nē* (*c* above) *in deo* altered *in peius* where R V G E are right; I 89 *geminum*; I 91 *animam* corrected to *animum*; I 93 *qui exacta* with later MSS; I 117 *coniuentem* with others; II 6 *confluxerint* with others; II 39 *exitium*; II 39 *ecfari* with V only; II 45 *breue*; II 56 *ne ingemiscit quidem* with V^2.

B 2 = Brux. 21957. "*XV saec. chartaceus. Ex bibliotheca P.P.C. Lammens.*" B 2 has been written by two hands, the first ending with the words *Quid illud num dubitas quin specimen naturae* I § 32. The second copyist is more careful than the first. The MS, though late, is

copied from an excellent source. This source may have been an uncial MS as the words in the original were not separate. B 2 is very closely related to R and possibly copied from the same original. The original of R was beginning to go to pieces when R was copied from it. The original of B 2 had fallen still more to pieces by the time that B 2 was written. B 2 omits from II § 45 *ego summum dolorem* to III § 12 '*minime*' *inquit* '*adsentior.*' After the lacuna come III §§ 12–82 to the words *ita fieri oportere.* Then v 26 *qui melius quam fortunam* to v 69 *uel animantis.* Then IV 70 *ut opinio mea fert* to v 26 *ad uoluptatem referret.* Then III 82 *hoc detracto* to IV 70 *cum Epicuro non multum.* Then v 69 *uel muti uel loquentis origo* to the end of Bk v. In R the passage from *decumbere,* II § 41, to *sin autem caderet,* III § 19, is out of place. This includes the passage lost from B 2 and two or three leaves besides. If both MSS are copies of the same original, that original had been stitched up after R was copied and had subsequently fallen very much to pieces.

I 37 *consessus* with others; I 38 *eeuocare* nearer to *seuocare* than any other MS; I 38 *syrius,* with W 1 alone; I 65 *ne in deo,* with the best; I 83 *et quidem,* with D C E 18; I 117 *coniuentem,* with others; II 20 *latere,* with the best; *icferitatem* with G R^1 V^1 alone; II 23 *cluet* with V^2 and R 17 alone; II 37 *umeros* with G R^1 V^1 alone. Copies without following the sense, cf. I 99 *sciscenseam;* I 110 *duos cipiones;* II 37 *qua mumeros;* II 39 *cura equo animo.*

B 3 = Brux. 10003. Written in the XVth cent. in an Italian hand on parchment. Ends at v 10, 30 *nec dolore nec paupertate terreri.* On the first page is written "*Collegii Societatis Jesu Antuerpiae* 1599.—D.P."

Closely related to M 1. I 3 *si qui,* with others; I 37 *consessus,* with others; I 80 *dicuntur,* with others; II 46 *utor,* with others (marg. *ita*); I 85 *occidisset,* with V^2 W 1 M 1; II 41 *haud scio an,* with others; II 52 *nicocreontis;* II 57 *quo est missa,* with others; II 13 *mandat* with Π O 2 4.

In the Bibliothèque Communale, Cambrai.

K. No. 842; 943 in Omont, *Catalogue départ.* XVII p. 390, where it is referred to the ninth century. It is written on parchment in light brown ink, 220 millimetres by 193. The words are very much run together, this being probably an indication that the MS has been directly copied from an uncial MS. Contractions are much more freely used than in R V or G. The book consists of 46 double pages and two single pages, the first and last. It contains the Tusculan Disputations only. There is no ornamentation whatever. Corrections have been made, some in brown ink, perhaps of the same date as the MS; others in dark brown ink, and in a somewhat later hand; and

others in black ink of a still later date, the latter being in many cases introduced by t or l' (=*uel*). The first page is very much faded and part of the third page is illegible.

K agrees very closely with R V G and the other MSS of the first class. It is more nearly related to R than to V or G.

The following readings are noteworthy: I 3 *cccccx*; I 66 *unde*; I 116 *rationes* with E B 2; II 48 *ac ad custodia*. The abbreviation *rcum* for *circum* written over *uentos* in I 98 is significant.

In the Stadt-Bibliotek, Berne.

S. No. 438, with regard to which Orelli in the Oxford edition of 1834 (in a note at the end of Book I) on page 47 writes, "...*Leonardus Usterius, Professor Bernensis,...mittit mihi lectiones Cod. Bernensis, olim Bongarsiani, N.* 438. *chartacei, Seculi XV, ex optimo quidem exemplari descripti, sed foede postea a magistro aliquo scholastico interpolati...plerumque cum Regio* (i.e. R I) *facit.*" The MS is *partim membranaceus partim chartaceus.* The spelling in R is more uniformly good. *Cum* is very commonly altered to *quom.* The corrections are often unnecessary, e.g. *deum* for *dm̄* I § 70, *diuinā* into *diuinām* I 70; or pernicious, e.g. *eius* into *suis* I 70; in other cases an improvement is introduced, e.g. *nę* for *nec* I 74. S has been altered in a neat small hand. Erasures are very frequent: some of these may have been made *prima manu.* Abstracts and marginal corrections have been made in another hand than that of the text, e.g. *Tullius ip̄e optat mortem.* The MS has also been very much scribbled over between the lines in a scrawling hand. S contains *T.D.* and *Frontinus Strategemata Rei Militaris.*

I 48 *leto nubila*; II 60 *quem cum* changed to *quem quom*; II 50 *pudens*, with the best.

In the British Museum.

E (E I). Bibl. Reg. 15 C XI. First page missing. Contains also *ad Herennium* and eight plays of Plautus (Ritschl's codex J of Plautus). Belongs to the end of the XIth or the beginning of the XIIth century. Less carefully written from II § 32 onwards than earlier. Bentley in MS notes preserved in a copy of Davies' edition of the Tusculan Disputations of 1709 in the Brit. Mus. (679 d 5) gives readings of a MS which he calls R, and of another which he calls M. This R of Bentley is my E I and this M is my E 2.

E I was written, or copied from a MS written, in a Teutonic district. Cf. *michi, nichil, cogitanta* for *cogitanda*, etc. A second copyist begins with the words *aut possit* III § 54. At V § 21 the former copyist resumes and continues to the end of the book.

I 38 *disciplinae*, O 3 has *disciplinę*, II C O 4 *discipline*; I 40 *mare*, with B O 3 and probably P^1; I 71 *diremptus*, with B J O 2; I 83 *et quidem* with B 2 D C E 8; I 106 *semias sireis* (very close to *semi<es>as sireis*); I 117 *coniuentem*, with others; II 45 *breue*, with B; II 48 *ac ad custodia*, with V^1, this being, as I believe, the nearest to the true reading; II 60 *quem cum* with others.

E 2. Bibl. Reg. 15 B xv.

I 73 *reuerens*, manu prima, alone right; I 91 *animum*, with others; I 92 *cum in eius*, with others; II 20 *latere*, with the best; II 50 *pudens*, with the best; II 60 *tantum opere*, with others.

E 3. Harl. 2468. "*Scriptum in castro Mutine et expletum* A.D. 1422 *ꝑ me Andreā St. Thom. de petrinis de florentia.*" Contains *T. D.* and *Paradoxa*. Copied from a good source but interpolated.

E 4. Harl. 2490.

E 5. Harl. 2546. Contains *T. D.* only. Inscribed "*Banci de Casa Vechia.*" Sir E. M. Thompson dates it 1460–1470.

II 20 *influxit* (M 2 and V alone have *inflixit*); II 52 *animo*, with others.

E 6. Harl. 2547.

E 7. Harl. 2626.

I 98 *iuste et cum fide*, with O 19; I 117 *coniuentem*, with others; II 6 *philosophentur*, with E 13 and O 9; II 20 *latere*, with the best; II 31 *intuens*, with others.

E 8. Harl. 5267 B. Contains Invective of (?) Sallust against Cicero; the Tusculan Disputations; and three works of S. Bernard.

I 37 *alte*, with some of the best; I 83 *et quidem*, with E B 2 D C.

E 9. Harl. 6522. Dated 1463. Contains also *In Catilinam*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia* and *Paradoxa*.

E 10. Butler 11931. Begins I § 102 *nonne miramur. cui cum Lysimachus*, ends in V 29 *certae disciplinae libasque.* Written in Italy on vellum in the middle of the xvth century.

I 106 *suspensam*, with G 3 alone; II 52 *animo*, with others.

E 11. 16552. Dated 1461.

II 31 *intuens*, with others.

E 12. L 16619.

II 26 *nūm̄*, with O 11 (*numerum*, R 6 ed. P).

E 13. Add. 19586. Contains most of Cicero's books on oratory and philosophy and many speeches. Not interpolated; written carefully in the main.

II 6 *philosophentur* with E 7 and O 9 alone; II 50 *pudens* with the best.

E 14. Burn 153.
E 15. Burn 165.
E 16. 1675. Contains the fifth book of the Tusculans only.

In the University Library, Leyden.

L 1. "*Justi Lipsii codex no.* 30, *membranaceus. XII seculi* 52² *foliorum in quarto, pulcerrime scriptus. Desinit* l. 3 c. 17 *in verbis 'turpiter et nequiter facere'.*" Written in brown ink; spelling generally good; contractions moderately used; very little interpolation or correction. Agrees very closely with R. There is a *lacuna* from *tribuam* I 49 to *opinor* I 87.

II 1 *enim in philosophia*, with others; II 20 *ui*, with others.

L 2. "*No.* 2 *codex Gronovianus. Chartaceus, XV seculi, in folio.*" Contains *de Off., Paradoxa, Cato M., Laelius, T. D., Philippics.* Written in an Augustan monastery near Arnheim by Guilielmus de Elden.

L 3. "*Is. Vossii cod. no.* 14, *folio.*" Contains *T. D., de Fin., de Off., Cato M., Laelius, Somn. Scip., de Diu., Paradoxa.* "*Olim Jo. Huratti Boistalerii, in membrana. Olim etiam ex bibl. Melchis. Thevenot.*"

II 47 *si nihil esset aliud nihil esset*, with others.

L 4. "*Codex* 91 A. *Membranaceus XV seculi, in quarto, accurate et nitidissime scriptus manu Italica.*" Contains *T. D.* only.

II 2 *liberemur*, with R 6 alone; II 31 *intuens*, with others; II 49 *dubitant*, with others.

L 5. "*Codex Perizonianus in folio no.* 25, *membranaceus XV saecl. charact. gothicis.*" Contains most of the philosophical works.

L 6. "*Is. Vossii cod. latinus no.* 54 *in folio. membranaceus, olim Bourdelotii.*" Contains *T. D.* only.

I 13 *recordere*, with others.

In the Imperial Library, Vienna.

W 1. No. 222, formerly no. 205. Written in a clear Italian hand, with much transposition of words and frequent insertions and omissions. At the end is written "*Expletum fuit opus hoc ꝑ me Jacobum de s̄cō Gallo die ult̄io sept̄ebris* 1449 *Et scripsi dictum opus ān̄o Giudoto de benalis.*"

I 3 *si qui*; I 4 *gręcię*; I 7 *dicere docere*, with O 8 alone; I 29 *cognouerant*; I 37 *consessus*; I 38 *Syrius*, with B 2 O 12²; I 45 *patritam*, with others; I 65 *quidem quicquam*, W 1 D C V² (cf. O 2); I 83 *quod multi*, W 1 D C O 3 4; I 84 *hegesię*, with V² O 2 10 12;

I 85 *occidisset*, V² W 1 M 1 B 3; I 91 *animum*; I 110 *res feret*, W 1 V² O 6 8; I 116 *constat*; II 11 *ipsi sibi*; II 30 *sint*, W 1 R 6 D C O 8; II 31 *intuens*; II 51 *uidimus*, W 1 G 4 S² O 12; II 51 *suscitabit*, W 1 G 3 J; II 52 *animo*; II 57 *quo* (*emissa*); II 67 *si tanti sint ut ferendi non sint*, W 1 O 9 alone.

W 2. No. 124, formerly no. 98. Written in a difficult German hand in, as Dr Rudolf Beer thinks, the second half of the 14th century.

I 3 *si qui*; I 29 *cognouerant*; I 80 *faciunt*, with D C J; I 102 *mortem*, with M 1 O 9; I 116 *constat*.

II 11 *ipse sibi*; II 67 *tu uides*, with J and ed. H.

In the Royal Library, Munich.

M 1. *Monacensis* no. 277. Written at Padua in 1465, not, as Moser says (Introd. p. xvi), in 1455.

I 3 *si qui*; I 13 *recordere*; I 18 *putent*, with O 5 6; I 29 *cognouerant*; I 80 *dicuntur*; I 85 *occidisset*, with V² W 1 B 3; I 102 *mortem*, with W 2 O 9; II 41 *haud scio an*; II 57 *quo est missa*.

M 2. *Monacensis Cod. Vict.* 58, *cod. lat.* 763. It was finished in Florence by Joannes Arretinus "*$\overset{o}{IIII}$ Id. Aug. IXV post M$\overset{c}{IIII}$ annum Salvatoris.*"

I 3 *si qui*; I 29 *cognouerant*; I 85 *ista ụị* M 2 (alone); II 20 *inflixit*, with V² alone (*influxit* E 5); II 46 *utor*; II 52 *obuersentur*; II 52 *nicocreontis*; II 57 *quo est missa*; II 60 *quia cum*.

In the University Library of Bonn.

D. *Duisburgensis*. This MS formerly belonged to Duisburg; it is now no. 140 in the University Library of Bonn. "*Codex membranaceus saec. XIII*" (a very doubtful date). Contains *T.D.*, *Laelius*, *Cato M.*, *de Off.*, some speeches and some miscellaneous works. Has been corrected from a MS nearer to R than the MS from which it was copied. Has a lacuna from I § 37 *ubi rigida constat* to I § 46 *animus cognosceret*.

In the University Library of Cambridge.

C. Dd 13 2. Written in 1444 *per manus Theodorici Nicolai Werken de Abbenbroek*. Agrees very closely with D. Contains most of the philosophical works and several of the speeches.

The following noteworthy readings are common to D and C:—

I 54 *qua a primo*, with V² alone; I 65 *ne in deo quidẹm quicquam*, with V² alone; I 73 *rates*, with R 5—V² O 9 10 have *ratis* which

I believe to be right; I 80 *faciunt*, with W 2 J; I 83 *et quidem*, with E 1 8 B 2; *quod multi*, with V² Π² W 1 O 3 4; I 84 *quo a uita*, alone; I 117 *coniuentem*, with others; II 30 *sint*, with W 1 R 6 O 8; II 39 *continuatur*, with others.

D (C not recorded). I 73 *uerens*, with L 2 O 8 (E 2 alone having the correct reading *reuerens*); I 116 *constat*.

C (D not recorded). I 38 *discipline* (= *ae*) with E Π O 3 4; II 60 *quem cum*.

In the Library of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Π. *Codex Petrensis* of Bentley, Davies and others. "*Hoc uolumen comparauit Raphael de Marcatellis dei grā Epūs Vosēn Abbas ſcti Bauonis iuxta Candauū et quoad potuit correxit. a.d.* 1495." Bound up with Life of Alex. the Great and Quintus Curtius' *Hist. Alex. Magni*, in 9 books.

I 20 *locis suis*, alone; I 37 *mortuorum imagines*, alone; I 38 *discipline* (= *ae*) with E C O 3 4; I 48 *leto nubila*; I 80 *dicuntur*; I 91 *animum*; I 92 *cum in eius*; I 97 *cui si similis*, with V² and O 10 alone; II 13 *mandat*, with B 3 O 2 4; II 20 *latere*, with the best; II 60 *quem cum*; *tantum opere*.

In the Library of St John's College, Cambridge.

J. I 12. Given to St John's Coll. by Thos. Baker, *socius eiectus*. It contains *De Oratore*, *Brutus*, *Orator*, *Paradoxa*, *T.D.*, *Laelius*. It is also stated to have belonged at one time to Thos. Wagstaff, and at another to "*Christiernus dei grā dane noruegie Alanae goto24q; rex, comes de oldenborgh et delmenhorst.*"

I 29 *cognoverant*; I 71 *diremptus*, with V² B E O 2; I 80 *faciunt*, with W 2 D C; II 11 *ipse sibi*, with W 1 2 O 8 9 11; II 27 *eiciuntur*, alone; II 51 *suscitabit*, with W 1 G 3 alone; II 60 *amphiarae*, with R 6 O 2–5; II 67 *tu uides*, with W 2 and ed. H alone.

In the University Library of Oxford.

O 2. Lib. Auct. F 2, 19 = D 2, 15 = 2172, 15.

Seems badly copied from a good source. The uncial R and N persist in this MS. N is its abbreviation for *enim*.

I 4 *graeciae*; I 13 *recordere*; I 29 *cognouerant*; I 65 *q quicquam*, (only V² W 1 D C have *quidem quicquam*); I 71 *diremptus*, with V² B E J; I 84 *hegesiae*, alone (*hegesię* W 1 O 10 12); I 92 *cum in eius*; I 112 *aueo*, with R 6 and O 5 *manu secunda*, alone; I 115 *Elysium*, with R *manu secunda* alone; I 116 *constat*; II 13 *mandat*, with

B 3 Π O 4; II 19 *qui salsis*, with the best; II 32 *ecquid*, with the best; II 57 *quo est missa*; II 60 *tantum operae*; *amphiarae*.

O 3. Lib. Auct. F I, 12 = 2497, 6. Contains nearly all the philosophical works of Cicero. Dated as written at Florence in 1459. Copied from a good source and not much interpolated. Many errors due to carelessness in transcribing.

O 3 and O 4 are most intimately related. Both contain the following noteworthy readings:—

I 13 *recordere*; I 38 *disciplinę*, O 3, *discipline*, O 4 with E Π; I 83 *quod multi*, with W I D C; I 88 *argumentum*, with O 7 alone; I 103 *neque mei quicquam*, alone; I 107 *sensu omni*, with R 6 O 10 11; II 46 *utor*; II 47 *si nihil esset aliud nihil esset*; II 57 *quo*; II 60 *tantum operę*; *amphiarae*, with R 6 J O 2 5.

Also in O 3, I 4 *grecię*, I 40 *mare* (O 4 not quoted).

And in O 4, I 89 *geminum*, II 13 *mandat* (O 3 not quoted).

O 8. Rawlinson G 35. Written in the 15th cent. in Italy on paper and parchment.

I 7 *dicere docere*, with W I alone; I 13 *recordere*; I 29 *cognouerant*; I 62 *cum ea*, with V² alone; I 73 *uerens*, with D L 2 (*reuerens* in E 2 *prima manu* alone); I 91 *animum*; I 110 *res feret*, with V² W I O 6; II 11 *ipse sibi*; II 13 *ac īprobe*, with O 12 (better than the readings of V G B and much better than those of R P S E L); II 20 *exanclata*, with the best; II 30 *sint*, with W I R 6 D C; II 67 *ut ferendi non sint*, with W I G 3 O 9.

O 9. D'Orville 85. Written in the 15th cent. in Italy.

I 3 CCCCCX, with K and V² (*marg.*) alone; I 73 *ratis*, with V² O 10 alone (probably right); I 92 *cum in eius*; I 98 *iuste et cum*, with O I and E 7 alone; I 102 *mortem*, with W² M I; II 6 *philosophentur*, with E 7 13 alone; II 11 *ipse sibi*; II 19 *qui* (after *heu*) with O 2 and the best; II 27 *et adiscimus* the nearest to *et ediscimus*, which no MS has; II 31 *dolore*, with some of the best; II 49 *dubitant*; II 57 *quo* (after *grauior*); *elamentabilis*, with the best; II 67 *si tanti sint ut ferendi non sint*, with W I alone.

O 10. Canonici Class. Lat. CCXIII. "*Codex chartaceus in folio.*" At the end is written "*a Jacobo Cardogno Venetiis...explicit* A.D. 1460 17 *Dec.*"

I 4 *gręcie*; I 13 *recordere*; I 73 *ratis*, with V² O 9 alone (probably right); I 80 *dicuntur*; I 84 *hegesię*, with V² W I O 2 12; I 97 *cui si similis*, with V² Π alone; I 107 *sensu omni*, with R 6 O 3 4 11; I 116 *constat*; *erechtheo*, with O I 6 alone; II 46 *utor*; II 52 *nicocreontis*; II 60 *tantum opere*; *epigonis*, with R 6 alone.

O 11. Canonici Class. Lat. CCXXXV. "*Codex membranaceus in 4to. Anno* 1462 *manu Antonii Ferrariensis exaratus, in fine mutilus.*"

I 52 *.s.* (i.e. *scilicet*) with G 4 (several have *scilicet*); I 91 *animum*; I 107 *sensu omni*, with R 6 O 3 4 10; I 116 *constat*; II 4 *a reliquorum*, with W 1 (*manu secunda*); II 11 *ipse sibi*; II 13 *ac ī, plr*; II 26 *proprium nū̃ȝ*, with E 12 (*numerum* R 6 ed. P.); II 52 *animo*.

O 12. Canonici Class. Lat. CCXXXVIII. "*Chartaceus, in 4to. saec. XV, olim Augustini Caprini.*" The uncial N persists.

I 29 *cognouerant*; I 84 *hegesię*, with V² W 1 O 2 10; II 39 *continuatur*; II 49 *dubitant*; II 51 *uidimus*, with S² W 1 G 4 alone; II 52 *animo*; II 57 *quo est missa* (*manu prima*); II 60 *quem quom*, with S² (some others *quem cum*); *tantum opere*.

In the Library of Balliol College, Oxford.

O 1. CCXLVIII. "*Codex membranaceus in folio maiore, saec. XV.*" Contains several other philosophical works of Cicero. This MS seems to have been written to the order of Bishop Gray soon after 1450, about which time he travelled in Italy.

I 92 *cum in eius*; I 98 *iuste et cum fide*, with E 7 and O 9 alone; I 116 *erechtheo*, with O 6 and 10 alone; I 119 *et quos dies*, with the best (though possibly not right); II 19 *sublimo*, with V B 1 2 E L R¹ G² alone; II 39 *uidi minus*, with V² and Π² alone; *eloquere eloquere*, with R¹ R 17 V G B alone; II 57 *elamentabilis* with the best.

O 7. CXXXVI. "*Codex chartaceus in folio, saec. XV, mutilus.*" Very often agrees with the best MSS.

I 37 *alte*, with R G L P¹ E 8 alone; I 62 *animo*, with R 4 V 5 9 ed. H.; I 80 *nascantur*, alone; I 85 *honoratę* (= *honoratis*) alone (the same contraction is found in I 3 in O 4 *e doctę* for *e doctis*); I 88 *argumentum*, with O 3 4 alone; II 20 *latere*, with the best; II 24 *que me perenni*, alone; II 47 *si nil esset aliud nihil esset in* (V² V 2 O 3 4 L 3 have the correct reading *si nil esset aliud nihil esset*); II 67 *si tanti sint*, with W 1 and O 9.

In the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

O 4. XCIII. "*In 4to. minore sec. XV.*"
For the readings of this MS see under O 3, above.

In the Library of Lincoln College, Oxford.

O 5. XXXVIII. "*Saec. XV in folio maiore.*" Dated at end of the Tusculan Disputations as finished *die Jouis* 17 *m̄s Octobris* 1420. Contains various works of Cicero.

I 13 *recordere*; I 20 *ullum numerum*, with V² alone *manu secunda*; I 29 *cognouerant*; I 80 *dicuntur*; II 46 *utor*; II 52 *nicocreontis*; II 57 *quo est missa*; II 60 *amphiarae.*

In the Library of New College, Oxford.

O 6. CCLIII, 56. Given to the College by Thom. Hylle, formerly Fellow. Contains also *De Finibus.*

I 13 *recordere*; I 80 *dicuntur*; I 110 *res feret*, with V² W 1 O 8; I 116 *erechtheo*, with O 1 10; II 31 *intuens*; II 46 *utor*; II 57 *quo est missa*; II 60 *tantum opere*

All the MSS above referred to except G 1 and Gr have been collated by me for this edition, and no readings, except those of G 1 and Gr, are recorded by me except from my own collation.

Besides the MSS from which I have given readings there is one in Breslau (*codex Rehdigerianus*) of the 14th century, and one in Marburg (*cod. Marburgensis*) written in Bologna in 1470 A.D. These two MSS though only second-rate are often referred to by editors and have had some influence upon the formation of the text. Moser, *Introd.* p. xxviii, states that he had an accurate collation of the *Rehdigerianus.*

The *codex Pithoeanus* was a MS used by Fr. Pithoeus. Its readings were published in 1597 in an *editio Gryphiana* which I have not seen. A collation of this MS was sent by J. A. Fabricius to Davies (cf. Pref. to Davies' 3rd ed. p. iv). The *Pithoeanus* was ἀκέφαλος and began with the words *-ris excipientis grauissimas plagas* II 20, 46.

Nevertheless Moser and others quote readings of *Pith.* earlier in the *T.D.*, e.g. for the error in I 40, 95. Such references must be to the *Codex* which Gulielmius calls *Pithoeanus*—a different one, as Dav. observes.

In the British Museum are two copies of Davies' *Tusculan Disputations* with MS notes by Bentley.

In Davies' 679 d 3 above the beginning of the text Bentley has written "*Collatus cum cod. MS^to e Bibliotheca Johannis Mori Episcopi Eliensis, antea Norvicensis.*"

(For the *Elienses*, see Mayor, Introduction to *de Natura Deorum* lxvii foll.)

In Davies' ed. of 1709 Brit. Mus. 679 d. 5 Bentley has written readings taken from E 1 and E 2 which he calls R and M respectively.

I have taken a good number of readings from two early editions. There is a copy of each in the Oxford University Library.

Ed. H. The edition "*Ulrici Han de Vienna,*" printed at Rome in

1469 A.D. This edition is very closely related to V 9, a MS of the β group not far removed from V[2].

I 62 *animo*, with R 4 V 5 9 O 7; 91 *animum*, with others. II 52 *animo*, with others; 67 *tu uides*, with W 2 J alone.

Ed. P. Printed at Venice "*per Philippum quondam petri*" in 1480.

II 19 *qui salsis*; 26 *numerum*, with O 11 R 6 E 12 alone.

(c) *Analysis of MS errors.*

The MS authority for the text of the Tusculan Disputations is decidedly good. In the books contained in the present edition there is no corrupt passage that does not admit of a satisfactory emendation such that the existing MS readings can be explained upon principles generally recognised, and very often where the best MSS are in error the true reading is found in one or more of the later MSS. The errors of the principal MSS may be classified under the following heads:—

(i) *Glosses.*

I § 3 *qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naeuius.* § 7 *operam* before *dedimus.* § 22 *alia* after *et tam multa.* § 52 *sit hoc se ipsum posse cognoscere*, *sit* being no doubt a copyist's error for *sc.* = *scilicet*, and the clause perhaps containing a gloss upon a gloss, as suggested in the explanatory notes. § 54 *semper* before *moueat*, brought in from § 53. § 65 *hoc* before *expressimus.* § 76 *ut* after *ratione.* § 77 *contemnit.* § 86 *non liberi defleti, non fortunae omnes a uictoribus possiderentur.* § 101 *quid ille dux...uigebant.*

II § 30 *dum* after *gloriantem.* I take *dum* to have arisen from *d͞m* = *dicentem* placed in the margin to explain the construction, and subsequently copied into the text. In V *dum* is over an erasure. V[1] may have had *d͞m.* § 36 In *seurota*, the reading of R, I think that *s* must have come from the margin, where I take it to have been placed to come at the *end* of the word *eurota.* § 55 *fletus* for *lessus.*

(ii) *Transpositions.*

I § 37 *imagines mortuorum* for *mortuorum imagines.* These words would be very weak as a remark of Cicero, and they are hardly a gloss, for they add to the lucidity of the passage, their presence being almost implied in *has tamen imagines.* § 67 *fortasse quamquam* for *quamquam fortasse.* § 88 *carere in malo non dicitur; nec enim esset dolendum; dicitur illud: bono carere, quod est malum* wrongly placed in the MSS after *facile patiare* instead of before *carere igitur hoc significat*, if my conjecture is correct. § 94 *auita* for *ita aut* with the loss of a letter, and § 113 *Binoto* for *Biton* with the addition of a letter. § 95 *iussu*

tyrannorum written out of place after *ponamus* as well as in its proper place in § 96 after *triginta*.

II § 5 *fere senescat rebus* for *fere rebus, senescat.* § 40 *in niue, in montibus uri* for *in montibus, niue uri*, as I believe. § 62 *esse aeque grauis esse. Esse* was written out of place before *aeque* and also in its place after *grauis*, the first *esse* being under-dotted and the dots in some MSS being wrongly copied under the second *esse.* § 67 *non* wrongly placed before the first instead of before the second *sint.* § 67 *ut uides* for *tu uides.* The copyist was probably confused by the *u*'s preceding and following (*confugiendū tu uides*). In II § 24 the *e* of *mulciberi* was omitted and then written in the margin. In one group of MSS this *e* was re-inserted in its proper place. In the best it was mistaken for a correction of the first *i.*

(iii) *Misreading of Symbols or Contractions.*

I § 3 CCCCX for CCCCCX, the latter not being a usual form. § 4 *graecię* misread as *graecis.* § 24 *tempore* for *corpore*, *t'p'e* for *c'p'e*; t and c are often confused. § 31 *conseret* for *non seret.* *cō* or ⁹ for *nō* or *n̄* the context contributing. § 41 *sit* for *est* after *quidam.* § 42 *uidet'*, i.e. *uidetur*, was mistaken for *uideo* and *uideri* was inserted to complete the sense. V has *uidet'*, a great many inferior MSS have *uidetur*, R G P[1] L have *uideo* without *uideri.* § 56 *esse et* probably arose out of *ess&*, a usual abbreviation. § 56 *naturam* for *natura* may have arisen from taking a symbol twice over, N̄R̄Ā i.e. *natura* may have been read as *naturā*, i.e. *naturam.* § 57 *respondentem* seems to have been misread *respondemem*, hence *respondem* in G R by haplography or, as I suspect, by the overlooking of a symbol of contraction. § 58 *quale ειδεαν* for *quale ē* (i.e. *est*) *ιδεαν.* The form of the *e* in V P and E 13 is very significant. Similarly in I § 75 *emori*=*ē mori* i.e. *est mori.* § 62 *anim⁹* misread for *animo*, a false idea of the construction contributing to deceive the copyist. § 71 *direptus* for *dirēptus*, i.e. *diremptus*, the symbol having been overlooked. § 73 *tamquam in rate* by *rate* for *ratę* and dittography of preceding *m.* Cf. I 3 l. 23, I 85 l. 2, II 18 l. 16, II 39 l. 12.

There are many cases in which the letter *n* has been omitted, e.g. § 80 *nascatur* for *nascantur*; II § 23 *uictumque* for *uinctumque*; II § 53 *obuersetur* for *obuersentur.* The *n* was probably represented by a symbol which has been overlooked, a false idea as to the construction in some instances contributing. Where *m* is omitted the cause is probably the same, e.g. I § 102 *morte* for *mortē* i.e. *mortem*; and perhaps *quamaxumum* of II § 28 was *quām̄axumum.* Conversely *n* and *m* are often wrongly inserted. Here the writer may, in some instances, have mistaken some stroke for the mark of contraction, but usually he was

misled by a wrong idea as to the construction, or as to a grammatical form. *N* is thus inserted in I § 80 *dicantur* for *dicatur*; § 86 *relinquisset* and § 112 in some MSS *relinqueris*; § 107 *sentirent* for *sentiret*; II § 32 *audiens* for *audies*; § 43 *atquin* for *atqui*; § 44 *iterandum* for *iteradum*; § 57 *adferrent* for *adferret*; § 67 *quo sint* for *quo sit*. In I § 109 *summis* (most MSS *sum̄is*) for *suis* two *m*'s are wrongly inserted, some stroke having probably been mistaken for a symbol for *m* and having also been retained over the *m* because the word *summis* seemed to suit the meaning. *M* is inserted in I § 110 *salaminā* for *salamina*, the later idiom probably contributing here as in *atquin*; II § 31 *relinquentem* for *relinquente*; § 45 *breuem* for *breue*.

I § 85 *uel* was written for *ui*, *ul* for *ui* or VL for VI. Similarly in II § 62 *ut* was written for *uel* (*ul*). § 91 the reading *non modo non* may have arisen from a copyist mistaking *non* for a contraction, e.g. *n̄ m̊ n̄*, cf. the reading of R. § 93 *&acta* i.e. *et acta* for *exacta*. § 106 *praessisset*, I § 114 *praecatione*, II § 54 *praessum*: these errors are due to the use of the same contraction *p̄* to denote *prae* and *pre*. § 2 *sed* for *si*, i.e. *ſ*; for *ſi* or SET for SEI. § 3 *exortus* for *exortum*, probably from the mark ⁻ on *exortū* being mistaken for *ſ*, i.e. *s*. The termination of *genus* may have contributed. § 18 *si fortę ē*, i.e. *si fortis est*, became *si forte*. § 26 *n̄ū̄m* or *n̄m̄* i.e. *numerum* was confused with *n̄r* or *n̄rc*, i.e. *noster*. § 31 *frustra* has probably fallen out and an abbreviation was very likely the cause of its loss. § 32 *confeſſ'fu'is* seems to have taken the place of *confeſſuſeris*. § 33 *discere* for *discede'*. § 34 *quorum uno modo* for *quorum non modo*, *ūo* for *nō*. § 39 *continuatus* for *continuatur*, ꝰ for ᷑, *potē* (*potest*) for *potę* (*potis*). § 42 *eius* (*eiꝰ*) for *aio*. Cf. the form in V G D Π E 2 etc. § 48 *ac ad* probably for *atq;*, i.e. *atque*. § 49 *dubitant* or *dubitāt* misread as *dubitarc̄*, i.e. *dubitarunt*. § 52 *animo* misread as *uero*, *āīo* as *ūo*. § 60 *tanto opere* for *tantū operę*. § 62 *ut* for *uel* (*ul*). Similarly in § 54, *ob eam causam*, *que* (*q;*) has fallen out after *eam*, the contraction probably causing the loss. In I §§ 30, 70 *omniaque* in D for *omnique* probably arose out of *oīq;* which the copyist read as *oīaq;* merely because *omnia* is of more frequent occurrence than *omni*. In I § 98 *iniquorum uentos* seems to have arisen from writing *rū* for *c᷑cū*. Compare the reading of K.

Two very important illustrations of this error require special notice. In II § 13 the best MSS have *acinprobe* or *ac inprobe*. This must have arisen out of *ac̄i probe*, the flat mark above the *c* indicating contraction, in this case due to writing a single for a double letter. This flat mark was mistaken for the symbol which denotes the omission of *n* or *m* and was supposed to belong to the *i*, hence the MS reading. The reading of O 11 seems very significant.

Similarly in II § 62 the original must have had *contēndo*, the mark of contraction here as in the previous instance indicating that the letters over which it was placed were to be repeated, the true reading being *contendendo*. The flat mark was here again mistaken for the symbol which denotes the omission of *n* or *m* and was supposed to belong only to the *e*; hence V[1] faithfully, though erroneously, presents *contemndo*.

The scribes of R G P L seem to have made the same mistake and further to have mistaken *d* for *p*, and transposed *pn* reading *contempno*. Of inferior MSS one group made the meaningless *contempno* into *contemptu*, another made *contemndo* into *contemnendo*.

Similarly in I 57 the reading of R, *respondem*, I take to have arisen thus:—a copyist read *respondentem* as *respondemem* and abbreviated this into *respondēm̄*, the mark of contraction being omitted by a subsequent copyist.

In II § 67 for *omittas timorem* I believe the archetype to have had OMITĀTIMORĒ, the mark over the second T was mistaken for ⁄‾ = s just as in II § 3 where *exortū* = *exortum* became *exortus*. The copyist of G disregarded the mark over the first T: others wrote TT, rather perhaps because they knew that the letter ought to be doubled than because they understood the symbol. W 2 preserves the second flat mark, but over the *a* instead of over the following *t*.

I believe that many of the errors in the Tusculan Disputations and in other classical works, usually set down to haplography, are due rather to a misunderstanding of the use of this flat mark. It was much used to denote contractions of various kinds. This use continued down to the introduction of printing in the case of the omission of *n* or *m* and in the case of various words in common use, e.g. *c̄ā* = *causa*, *s̄* = *sunt*, *ē* = *est*. It appears to have been used to denote the omission of one of two identical letters, syllables, or other groups of letters, and to have ceased to be so used a good while before the use of uncial script was abandoned. The reading of V[1] above (*contemndo*) seems to point to this conclusion. This theory also accounts for the coming in of the flat mark in II 13, as above. *Necomitam* in II 61 is not easily accounted for on the theory of three instances of haplography having occurred in copying twelve letters, but if the copyist disregarded three flat marks, which seemed to him meaningless, the reading would naturally result.

A different theory as to the cause of these errors in MSS is employed by Moser throughout his edition, and has been accepted by some other scholars. It is to the effect that where a letter or group of letters occurred twice in succession, the letter or group was written larger than the rest and once only, thus, MoREtur = moreretur. I find no authority for this view except an assertion in G. Scioppius, *de Arte Critica*,

p. 61, ed. Amstelod., 1682, referred to by Moser on *T.D.* i § 104. The book is very small and seems rare. I found a copy in the University Library at Leyden. No proof is given by Scioppius; he merely refers to a place in Plautus in which one of two identical syllables is omitted, "*Casina: qui dicit pro qui didicit*"; and he adds "*in Pandectis Florentinis hoc nihil est frequentius: me tu iri pro me tutu i. e. me tutum iri.*" I have not been able to find an instance of such a method of contraction in any MS, and I have consulted the leading officials, many of them famous epigraphists, at the several libraries that I have visited, and they have in every instance declared that they do not know of any such method.

(iv) *Misreading of Words or Parts of words.*

(a) *Haplography.*

I § 19 *nostri declarant nomen nam* for *nostri: id declarant nomina; nam.* § 43 *calorē adeptus* for *calorē ē adeptus.* § 54 *nec se* for *nec ex se.* § 54 *qua primo* for *qua a primo.* § 87 *si cornibus* for *sic cornibus.* § 89 *Grachum* for *Gracchum.* § 97 *cui similis* for *cui si similis.* § 100 *tantopere* for *tanto opere.* § 101 *in quo Simonides* for *in quos Simonides.* § 104 *et is quidem sentiens* for *et is quidem idem sentiens.* § 104 *moretur* for *moreretur.* § 110 *priusque* for *priusque e.* II § 14 *decus* for *dedecus.* § 16 *depellere* for *depellerere*, a false idea of the construction probably contributing. § 20 *trachinis* for *trachiniis.* § 47 *senilesed* for *si nil esset.* § 61 *necomitam* for *nec committam.* § 67 *praedones insequantur* for *praedones si insequantur.*

The cause of the omission is similar in I § 31 *progatio* for *propagatio* (*ꝑpagatio*). § 34 *nomen* for *nomen non* (*nōm̄ nō*). § 41 *animus* for *est animus* (*ē animus*) (*e* and *a* being confused). § 65 *quicquam* for *quidem quicquam*, the later construction *nec* = *ne...quidem* contributing. § 71 *igitur* for *quidem igitur*, the same cause contributing. § 91 *se sic habet* for *si se sic habet*; cf. the remarks on the confusion of *e* and *i*, further on. § 98 *iuste cum* for *iuste ec cum* (*t* and *c* confused). § 106 *semias sireis* for *semiesas sireis* (*a* and *e* confused). § 116 *in ore et* for *in ore est et* (*in ore ē ē*). II § 4 *a* or *e* omitted after *auxilia.* § 22 *nemaeus* for *nemeaeus* (*e* fell out before *ae* which was often written *ę* or *e*). § 27 *et discimus* for *et ediscimus* (*ē ediscimus*). § 37 *procedit ad modum* for *procedit it*ˀ (= *iter*) *ad modum.* § 39 *exercitum* for *exercitatum* (if that be the true reading); *uidimus* for *uidi minus.* § 60 *dedissem* for *dedissem si* (*dedissē si*) (if my arrangement be followed). Similarly where the *ductus litterarum* is almost identical:—thus *in* often falls out after *m.* I § 92 *cum eius* for *cum in eius.* § 96 *enim conuiuiis* for *enim in conuiuiis.* II § 1 *enim philosophia* for *enim in philosophia.* On the same principle *in* has been

omitted after 'Αποκαρτερῶν in I § 84, the copyist being further confused by the Greek letters. In I § 37 *in uicia* or *in uitia* for *in uicinia* the copyist overlooked one of the syllables ending in *i*, and in II § 34 *quas siue Minos* he overlooked one of the clauses beginning with *siue*. In § 31, *ut ait in Synephebis*, *ille* may have fallen out after *ait* either because of the resemblance of *il* to *it* of *ait*, or because of the following *in*. In § 116 the initial *co*- probably caused *commemorant* to be omitted after *Codrum*.

(b) *Dittography*.

Conversely the copyist sometimes wrote one or more letters, syllables, or words, twice over, as in I § 69 *deorum eorum*; § 77 *accerrume*; § 78 *simmus*; § 99 *mallim*; § 111 *intollerabile*; II § 22 *intolleranter*; § 42 *tollerabilem*; § 43 *tolleranter*; I § 113 *statutum* for *statum* (the latter word being rare); § 43 *magna animorum*; § 46 *quod a ta tam*; § 47 *duos simus*; II § 48 *inquit ite et*; § 52 *Callanus*; § 61 *Possidonius*. Similarly in I § 53 *et aeternum*; II § 72 *uelut*, i.e. *ul' ut* for *uel* (*ul'*). Similarly we have I § 76 *ulla uti ratione ut*, *ut* being a duplication of *uti* due to the fact that that word was misunderstood, and in II § 58, but only in a few inferior MSS, *uel si sentiunt se* for *uel sentiunt sed*: *si* is a duplication of the following *se* which seemed necessary to the sense when *sed* was read as *se*. I § 88 *nec carere quidem* (the idiom *nec = ne...quidem* contributing); § 97 *uadit enim in* (*VADIT·N·IN*) for *uadit in*; § 118 *plane in nostram* for *plane nostram*, *in* being in the preceding context and an idea as to the construction contributing; I § 73 *tamquam in rate* for *tamquam ratis*; II § 10 *quodam inductus* for *quodam ductus*.

(c) *Mistaking one letter for another*.

u for *a*.

I § 29 *cognouerunt* for *cognouerant*; § 50 *ut* for *at*; II § 13 *mundat* for *mandat*; § 24 *hunc* for *hanc*; § 116 *Alchidamus* for *Alcidamas*.
Similarly in § 52 *aīo* was misread as *ūo*.

a for *u*.

I § 20 *animam* (after *finxit*) for *animum*; § 29 (very possibly) *tradantur* for *traduntur*; § 80 *dicantur* (after *haec*) for *dicuntur*; (*dicantur* for *dicatur*, two lines lower down, may have contributed); *faciant* for *faciunt*: I § 91 *animam* for *animum*.

u for *n*.

I § 60 *ignisue* for *ignisne*. Cf. II § 34 *uno modo* for *non modo*; ? *ūo* for *nō*.

t for *i*.

I § 70 *et* for *ei*, ET for EI (cf. the forms of these letters in the Ambrosian palimpsest of Plautus).

i for *t*.

II § 26 probably $\overline{\text{EI}}$, i.e. *enim*, for $\overline{\text{ET}}$, i.e. *etiam*.

l for *i*.

II § 56 ELICI for EIICI or for EICI (L as in the Ambrosian Palimpsest).

e for *i*.

I § 19 *nomen* for *nomina*; § 86 *certe* for *certi*; § 117 *peremit* for *perimit*; II § 9 *inuenire* for *inueniri*; § 12 *habere* for *haberi*; § 20 *interemor* for *interimor*; § 29 *decepis* for *decipis*; § 32 *grauitate* for *grauitati*; § 46 *homine* for *homini*; § 47 *se* in *senilesed* for *si*; *conexa* for *conixa*; § 51 *uidemus* for *uidimus*; § 67 *ille* for *illi*.

i for *e*.

I § 8 *audiri* for *audire*; § 40 *mari* for *mare*; § 75 *credi* for *crede*; II § 11 *ipsi* for *ipse* (an idea with regard to the construction contributing); § 20 *icferitatem* for *ecferitatem*; § 24 *qui* for *que* (*quę*, *quae*), also in § 36 and § 57; § 51 *uiro* for *uero*.

u for *i* (one stroke too many).

I § 43 *iunctus* for *iunctis*; § 80 *sunt* for *sint*; § 85 *honoratus* for *honoratis*, but a terminal contraction may have caused the error: O 7 has *honorate*, which seems to be for *honoratis*, cf. I 3 where O 3 4 have *e docte* for *e doctis*; II § 6 *confluxerunt* for *confluxerint*; § 30 *omnia sunt* for *omnia sint*; § 67 *duximus* for *diximus*. Similarly we have one stroke too many in I § 89 *geminium* for *geminum*; II § 10 *me minus* or *mei nimis* for *me nimis*; § 20 *gigantium* for *gigantum*.

l omitted.

II § 20 *infixit* for *inflixit* (this is also the omission of a stroke).

l inserted (one stroke too many).

II § 22 *placauit* for *pacauit*; § 33 *multum* for *mutum*. It is possible that *elici* for *eici* of § 56 should come under this head.

i for *u* (one stroke too few).

I § 13 *sint* (before *non*) for *sunt*; § 55 *sim passus* for *sum passus*; § 66 *inde* for *unde*; § 89 *concurrerint* for *concurrerunt*. II § 39 *exitum* for *exitium* is similar. Similarly in I § 50 *uno* for *uiuo*. (In § 88 C has *uno* for *uiuo*.)

i for *a*.

I § 54 *pinxit* for *panxit*, an idea as to the meaning contributing. As *a* and *u* often interchanged, the misreading of *i* for *a* is of the same kind as the misreading of *i* for *u*.

e for *a*.

I § 116 *constet* for *constat*; § 118 *plene* for *plane*; II § 37 *foret* for *ferat*; § 42 (if we follow Sff.) *ei*ᵓ for *aio*; § 42 *permanentibus* for *permanantibus*.

a for *e*.

I § 13 *recordare* for *recordere*; § 18 *putant* for *putent*; § 20 *se parare* for *ei parere*; § 106 *semias* for *semiesas* (see above, under *Haplography*); II § 6 *philosophantur* for *philosophentur*; § 35 *efficiat* for *efficiet*.

s for *e*.

I § 4 *grȩcis* for *grecię*; § 20 *se parare* for *ei parere*. The converse *e* for *s* is presented by B 2 in § 38 *eeuocare* for *seuocare* where all other MSS have *reuocare*.

e for *c*.

II § 16 *se* for *sc*.

t for *c*.

I § 61 and II § 60 *tum* for *cum*.

c for *t*.

I § 71 *cum* for *tum*. § 83 *ecquidem* for *ec quidem*.

s for *p*.

I § 108 *supplicos* (*sublicos* E) for *publicos* the letter *p* having been in some way obscured.

s for *t*.

I § 119 if *quos* be changed to *quot* with second-rate MSS. II § 67 *omittas* for *omittat*.

p for *t*.

II § 5 *praeferant* for *cranſferant*, a contraction being perhaps the principal cause of the error. If *taetra* were read for *pt̄rā* (*per terram*) in I § 106 we should have another instance.

te for *e*.

I § 73 *reuertens* for *reuerens*.

Similarly *ce* for *e*.

II § 23 *clucet* for *cluet*: cf. I § 54 *cicetur* E for *cietur*.

And *a* for *ta*.

I § 45 *patriam* for *patritam*.

Not dissimilar is *tic* for *te*.

I § 82 *Democritici* for *Democritei*.

And *ct* for *t*.

I § 110 *expectatur* for *expetatur*; II § 19 *expectens* for *expetens*.

E sometimes occupies more space than a single letter usually occupies, and the abbreviation *&* for *et* is sometimes rather like *cet*.

a for *o*.

II § 46 *utar* for *utor*.

u for *o*.

II § 30 *furtunae* for *fortunae*; § 52 *conscius* for *conscios*; § 60 *deductus* for *dedoctus*.

o for *u*.

II § 23 *soboles* for *suboles*; I § 7 *commotus* for *cum motus*; II § 45 *quicumplures* for *qui complures*; § 41 *consolatus* for *consulatus*. Here and in *furtunae* for *fortunae*, and in some other instances, the copyist seems to have been misled by looking forward to the vowel of the following syllable. In *consolatus* the first *o* has probably brought in the second *o*. When he wrote *utar* for *utor* he may have expected a future, and *conscius* for *conscios* may have been due rather to an idea of the construction than to any resemblance of the *o* to *u*. *Deductus* took the place of *dedoctus* as being the more familiar word and being suggested by the context.

ae for *e* and *e* for *ae*.

ae was very commonly written *ę* and often *e*, hence confusion arose. I § 93 *quaerendum* for *querendum*; II § 39 *haectoris* or *haec toris* for *hectoris*.

Other instances of misreading of one or more letters are I § 55 *illum* for *illud*; § 85 *seclusa* for *sed usa*; II § 2 *liberencur* for *liberemur*; II § 20 *exorbuit* for *exsorbuit*; § 27 *dicuntur* and *ducuntur* for *eiciuntur*: cf. Madv. on *Fin.* v. 19, 51; § 31 *intueris* for *intuens*: *ri* for *n*, or the abbreviation ˥ for ¯. § 37 *foret* for *ferat*; § 38 *tyronum* for *tironum*; § 40 *inde* for *uide*.

Proper names are very apt to be misread. The most striking instance is I § 101 *Semidam* for *Leonidas*.

(d) *Misreading due to a theory as to the construction.*

Copyists very commonly followed the sense of what they were writing, but only to an imperfect extent, that not being their main business. Hence they were apt at times to write down the construction which their mind was led to expect rather than that actually presented to their eye.

I § 37 *apertae hostio* for *aperto ex ostio*: *apertae* being brought into construction with *animae*; *alto* V B E instead of *altae* to agree with *ostio*; § 38 *honore disciplina* for *honore disciplinae*; § 54 *se ipsam* for *se ipsa*; § 62 *animus* for *animo* (a symbol may here have contributed); § 80 *dicantur* for *dicatur*: but similar instances of plural for singular are very common in the best MSS; something in the formation of the letter ꞇ may have been mistaken for the flat mark that denoted the letter *n*. § 94 *hominis* for *homini*, to depend upon *prudentia*; § 102 *morte* for *mortem*; § 106 *suspenso* for *suspensam* (*suspensā*) to agree with *somno*; § 107 *sensu omnia* for *sensu omni* to agree with *saxa*; § 109 *quae* for *quam* to agree with *tempestiua*; § 115 *omnes* for *omni* to agree with *amicos*; II § 5 *graecia* for *graeciae* (abl. of separation or abl. abs. imagined); this may also explain § 10 *mei* or *meae nimis*, but see explanatory note there; § 11 *ipsi sibi* for *ipse sibi*; § 16 *dicere* and *depellere* for *diceres* and *depellerere* due to *se* taking the place of *scilicet* and the constr. being supposed to be acc. and infinitive (a contraction of *depellerere* may have contributed). § 22 *taetram* for *taetra*, to agree with *Lernam*; *obtutum* for *obtutu* made to agree with *arborem*; in § 24 the reading *iecur* seems due to an attempt to make that word the subject; § 31 *dolere* for *dolore*. § 37 *ac* changed to *ad* before *tibiam* when *iter* fell out; § 39 *luctum* for *luctus* to agree with *tantum*; § 40 *in niue, in montibus* for *in montibus, niue*; § 50 *opprimite* for *opprimit*; § 51 *suscitabitur* for *suscitabit*, it not being seen that the reflexive is carried on.

(e) *Misreading due to a word in the context.*

I § 5 *Catonem* for *Carbonem* (*Catonem* occurs four words earlier); § 81 *similitudines* for *dissimilitudines* (*similitudo* and *similitudinem* occur in the two preceding lines); § 82 *quoniam* for *quod* helped by *quoniam* in the preceding line; § 82 *et* for *sed*, the following *et* being supposed co-ordinate (the similarity of the words also contributed); § 85 *accidisset* for *occidisset* (*accidere* occurs four words earlier); § 88 *morte* for *malo*, as I conjecture (*morte* precedes four lines earlier); § 105 *Hectorem* for *Hectora* (*Hectorem* occurs three times in the next preceding lines); § 116 *rationis* for *orationis* (*rationes* preceded); II § 60 *deductus* for *dedoctus* (*deduxisset* occurs just below).

(f) *Misreading due to substitution of a more expected for a less expected word.*

The copyist, only partially following the sense, found a sort of meaning in what he wrote, though as a rule he had no complete sentence before his mind. I § 7 *Socratis* for *Isocratis*; *at id* for *ad id*: (*d* and *t* final are often interchanged, e.g. II § 17 *ad id* for *at id*; I § 93 *ad* for *at*; § 15 and § 82 *et* for *sed*; II § 47 *senilesed* for *si nil esset*;) I § 16 and § 112 *habeo* for *aueo*; § 20 *uerum* for *ullum*; § 20 *se parare* for *ei parere*; § 34 *pinxit* for *panxit*; *putas* for *poetas*; § 38 *reuocare* for *seuocare*; § 40 *ipso* for *isto*; § 45 *patriam* for *patritam* (contraction perhaps contributing and perhaps also the form of the letters *ta*); § 50 *uno* for *uiuo*; § 53 *alicunde* for *aliunde*; § 57 *quasi* for *quo si*; § 62 *institutiones* for *institiones*; § 75 *auocamus* for *aduocamus*; § 77 *ista* for *ita*; *animis* for *nimis*; § 85 *tamen* for *talem*; § 86 *ut* for *aut*; § 87 *sit qui id* for *ecquis id* (a word ending in *s* preceded—*ecquis* was commonly copied as *et quis* and *e* and *i* were much confused); § 88 *morte* for *malo* (the whole book being *de contemnenda morte*); § 89 *Latina* for *Litana*; § 93 *quaerendum* for *querendum*; § 95 *molestissimis* for *mollissimis*; § 98 *Aiacem* for *Aeacum* (*Aiacem* occurs in the context below); § 99 *aut* for *haud*; § 103 *neque me quicquam* for *neque mei quicquam*; § 109 *summis* for *suis* (the context e.g. *perfecto* and *cumulata* contributing); § 109 *expectatur* for *expetatur*; § 112 *ratione* for *oratione* (cf. § 116); § 113 *statutum* for *statum*; § 115 *laeto* for *leto*; § 116 *quidem* for *qui item* (in II § 7 some of the best MSS have *quidem* for *qui idem*); I § 117 *peremit* for *perimit*; *conibentem* in some of the best MSS, the copyist vaguely thinking of *con* and *habeo*; § 119 if *omnis* be read, *s* was omitted through *philosophiaest* being taken for *philosophia* (abl.) *est*; II § 20 *at ille* for *ait ille*; *expulit* for *expuli*; § 22 *placuit* and *placauit* for *pacauit*; § 31 *dolere* for *dolore*; § 31 *tum* for *dum* (three times); § 32 *si quis* for *si quid*; § 33 *multum* for *mutum*; § 39 *haectoris*; § 47 *conexa* for *conixa*.

The following are due to the same cause, modes of contraction in some instances contributing:—

I § 15 *ecqui* for *ecquid*; § 46 *qui quod* for *quid quod*; § 33, § 59, § 84, § 96, § 104 *quod* for *quo*; § 73, § 83 *quo* for *quod*; II § 15 *quo modo* for *quod modo*; I § 82 *quoniam* for *quod*; § 104 *quid* for *qui* (acc. to another view *quid* for *qui id*); § 109 *quae* for *quam*: also in § 110 where see variants. II § 57 *quae* for *qui*; § 60 *qui* for *quia*; § 57 *cum est missa* for *quo est missa*.

SECTION IV.

The Argument.

Book I.

On despising death.

Cicero, released by the Civil War from forensic and political duties, attempts to give his countrymen a system of philosophy in their own language. The subject could be learnt from Greek teachers, but Cicero holds the Romans capable of improving upon the Greeks in any department in which they think it worth their while to do so. He will therefore enrich the native literature, the more so as certain Epicurean writers have already written on philosophy in Latin with little regard for style. §§ 1–6.

Accordingly, having friends assembled recently at his Tusculan villa, he discussed on five successive days five subjects severally suggested by certain of those present. The first proposition put forward for discussion was *That death is an evil*: and an evil both to the dead and to the living, as the proposer goes on to admit, and, since an evil, a source of wretchedness, and this wretchedness continues for ever. Yet the wretched dead are not in Tartarus; they are nowhere at all; but they are wretched just because they are non-existent. Then after some quibbling on both sides the interlocutor admits that the dead are not wretched; but are not the living wretched inasmuch as they must die? §§ 7–14. No, replies Cicero, for dying is only a passing into a state in which there is no evil. Rather Cicero would endeavour to shew that death so far from being an evil is actually a good. §§ 15, 16. This leads to the question *What is death? And what is the soul or where is it situated or whence does it come?* Various views are stated, §§ 18–24, and the interlocutor admits that the soul either remains after death or is extinguished at death, and that if it remains after death it is happy, and if it is extinguished at death it is not unhappy since it is non-existent. § 25.

The rest of the argument falls into two divisions:—

A. Cicero in §§ 26–81 sets forth arguments to shew that the soul is immortal, and that death in that case is a good rather than an evil.

I. That there is a naturally implanted belief in immortality is attested by the following facts:—(*a*) it was the view of all earlier men as indicated by their care with regard to rites of sepulture, § 27; and by their practice of deifying illustrious men and women. §§ 28–9. (*b*) It is shewn by the present *consensus gentium*—the universal practice

of wailing for the dead serves to shew that the dead are believed to be conscious of their loss, § 30. (*c*) The best men work and care for posterity, §§ 31–35.

II. Philosophic theory also supports the doctrine of immortality.

If the soul exists after death, the question naturally arises where does it reside and what is it like? § 36. The same question arose out of the question whether death is an evil or not, § 18. Various views have been set forth in §§ 18–24, the conclusion led up to there being that whether the soul exist after death, or not, death is no evil. Here in §§ 36–52 the point to be proved is that the soul is immortal, and various views of philosophers as to what the soul is and where it resides are touched upon or set forth as leading up to that conclusion.

The idea of the *inferi* is merely an unphilosophic deduction from the fact that the body falls to the ground and is buried under the ground, § 36. The unphilosophic multitude cannot think of the soul as apart from the body, § 37. This idea was first grasped by philosophers, § 38.

Pherecydes seems to be the first recorded to have asserted the doctrine: his pupil Pythagoras established it; Plato gave reasons for it, §§ 38–9. The soul when separated from the body goes aloft and rises to a point where a fiery compound is formed by the blending of the rarer air with the modified heat of the sun, §§ 40–49.

Those who deny the immortality of the soul do so because they are unable to conceive of or imagine the soul apart from the body. There is no difficulty in doing this unless we are unable to imagine anything that we have never seen. The difficulty is rather to imagine the soul in the body. §§ 50–52.

It is not, however, necessary to the establishment of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul that we should form a mental conception of the soul or an opinion (§ 53) as to where it is situated; but Cicero returns to these points in §§ 67 and 70.

Arguments for the immortality of the soul:—

1. That which is self-moving never had a beginning and will never have an end; the soul is self-moving and therefore immortal. §§ 53–55.

2. Several arguments not very clearly distinguished or expressed, §§ 56–71, see *Excursus II* on I 24, 56 foll.

(*a*) The argument from the indivisible and simple nature of the soul. This argument is begun in *nam sanguinem, bilem...*, § 56, but lost sight of there owing to another argument presenting itself to Cicero's mind, and ultimately stated in § 71—that which has no component parts cannot be broken up.

(*b*) The argument from the scale of existence. The fact of a gradual ascent in nature from the vegetable principle of growth to the irrational soul of the lower animals and thence to the imperfect reason of man leads us to the doctrine of a divine being with perfect reason, and similarly to the doctrine of an immortal soul. This argument is begun in the latter part of § 56; but Cicero drifts from it into

(*c*) The argument from the preeminence of the powers possessed by the soul—e.g. memory, §§ 57–61; invention, § 62; poetic and philosophic powers, § 64.

(*d*) In stating the argument from memory Cicero in § 57 first deals with ἀνάμνησις as if this were mainly noteworthy as a feat of memory, whereas the argument from ἀνάμνησις is a separate argument.

Such arguments as these convinced Socrates, §§ 71–73; and Cato of Utica, § 74; but suicide is forbidden § 74. While we live, the soul should constantly rise superior to the body and to all earthly concerns. This life is the real death. § 75.

Yet the doctrine of immortality is rejected by many philosophers. (The Stoics have a midway view, which need not detain us, nor can we accept the arguments of Panaetius.) §§ 76–81.

B. Cicero therefore proceeds in §§ 82–116 to maintain that, even if we assume that the soul perishes at death as completely as the body, there is no evil in death.

(*a*) No one asserts that if the soul perishes at death there is any pain in the body after death, § 82.

(*b*) If any pain is felt in the act of dying, that pain is only momentary, and often there is no pain; in some cases there is even pleasure, § 82.

(*c*) It is true that people regret to leave the good things of life. But they really leave evils, not good things. §§ 83–4.

(*d*) Metellus might seem to have left only good things behind at death, but the case of Priam (who might have seemed equally fortunate had he not lived so long), and the case of Pompey serve to shew that death removes all from possible if not from actual evil. §§ 85–6. (See note on § 85.)

(*e*) In view of the difficulties contained in § 88 and my emendation there, I may here state the argument of §§ 87, 88 at some length, and add a translation of the passage in § 88 as emended. I believe that this emendation and transposition remove all difficulties. Cicero in the Tusculan Disputations undertakes to prove that death is to be despised, whether the soul is mortal or immortal. The interlocutor admits (§ 25) that the soul is happy in death if it is immortal, and Cicero in §§ 26–81

sets forth arguments for the immortality of the soul. But in § 82 he commences the second division of his subject and, from that point to the end of the book, maintains that, even though the soul perish as completely as the body, there is no evil in death. After maintaining in § 82 that the act of dying involves no evil, and in §§ 83–6 that the necessity of leaving behind the good things of life involves no evil, and that one is more likely to leave evil behind than good, he maintains in § 87 that, *even assuming that in dying we depart from good things and not from evil, death is nevertheless no evil.* For (by HYPOTHESIS assumed throughout §§ 82–117) there is no feeling in death, and where there is no feeling there can be no privation (*carere*). Even to the living there is no privation in being without those things of which they have no need. In § 88 he reiterates (cf. *premendum etiam atque etiam*) the argument stated in § 87, reminding us, as a preliminary, to hold firmly to the principle that there is no feeling whatever in death, a principle which, on our hypothesis that the soul is mortal, cannot be disputed.

Here then Cicero is arguing that, even though in dying we depart from good things and not from evil, death is no evil. His positions are the following:—

(i) A man is not said *carere* in respect of evils (except in a few phrases like *febri carere*).

(ii) He is not even said *carere* in respect of good things unless he has need of them, no, *not even when he is alive and can feel.*

(iii) Much less then can he be said *carere* in respect of good things when he is dead and cannot feel.

To translate the emended passage in detail: "We must sift the meaning of *carere*, lest any source of error be left in the word. We cannot use the word *carere* with reference to evil, for evil (when we have it) would not in that case be a thing about which to grieve; we speak of lacking good things, this being an evil. (These Cicero takes to be facts generally recognised with reference to the use of the word.) The meaning then of *carere* is to lack a thing which one desires to have. For wish is implied in the word, except when we use it in another sense, as in the phrase *febri carere.* For the word is used in another sense (of which *febri carere* is a particular instance), when there is something that one has not, and he is aware of the fact though he may also be glad of it. But even when alive a man does not lack a *good* thing (this second sense of the word applying only to *bad* things) unless he has need of it. It is true that in the case of a living man it is at least an intelligible mode of expression to speak e.g. of you (i.e. of a man) as lacking a throne, although this cannot with much accuracy

be said of you (i.e. individually; Cicero plays on the word *tu*—since you, Brutus, with your principles and your supposed descent from the *exactor regum*, would be the last man to *desire* a throne); it could be said of Tarquin after his expulsion (for he wanted to recover the throne, as is proved by the fact that he fought for that purpose); but in the case of a dead man the expression is not even intelligible, for lacking belongs to one who feels, and there is no feeling in the dead." Reprinted from the *Classical Review*, XVI pp. 34–5 (Feb. 1902).

(*f*) Nor can it be unpleasant to be without feeling, since there is no consciousness of its loss, §§ 90, 91.

(*g*) There is no feeling in sleep, how then can there be feeling in death? § 92.

(*h*) There is no evil in a premature death: the longest life is not long: the terms long and short as applied to life are relative terms, §§ 93–4.

(*i*) Disregarding all the chances incident to life let us look for happiness to resolution and a virtuous course of life, § 95.

Examples are furnished by Theramenes, § 96; and Socrates, §§ 97–100; and by obscurer men, and by legions and companies of common soldiers; and by women; and by Cyrenaic philosophers, §§ 101–2.

(*k*) Concern as to what may befall one's corpse after death is illogical, §§ 103–4, as are also all insults and outrages offered to the corpses of enemies, and all commiseration of the unburied dead, §§ 102–7; many regard certain special funeral rites as essential or important; this too is illogical, § 108.

Custom and public opinion may impose some obligations upon the survivors, § 109.

(*l*) The man who is conscious of a virtuous life will especially meet death with calmness; and he will be willing to die in the midst of prosperity, since the pleasure to be derived from further good fortune would not counterbalance the annoyance which the loss of prosperity would bring with it, §§ 109–111.

EPILOGUE. In the dissertations of rhetoricians instances are put forward in which the immortal gods have decided that death is the best thing for men, and dying for one's country is represented as fraught not only with glory but also with happiness, §§ 112–116.

Death is therefore either to be desired, or certainly not to be feared, since it is either a departure to our true and eternal home or a deliverance from all consciousness of annoyance, §§ 117–9.

Book II.

On enduring pain.

Introduction. Philosophic study is valuable: the wider the better. The multitude dislike it, and rival schools assail one another, but Cicero as an Academic philosopher courts discussion, §§ 1–5. Roman works on philosophy written in a finished style are wanted, § 6. Epicurean writers are already in the field, but few will read them owing to their disregard of style, §§ 8, 9. The series of discussions begun on the previous day is continued on the second afternoon, §§ 10–14.

A. The proposition put forward for debate is that *pain is the greatest of evils*, but, as it is immediately admitted that pain is not a greater evil than disgrace, the proposition as amended is *that pain is an evil*, § 14.

With some exceptions, philosophers have not taught well on this question. Aristippus and Epicurus made pain the chief evil, §§ 15, 16. Epicurus, it is true, says that the wise man will be cheerful under torture: but he cannot be serious in saying so, § 17. Pain is harsh, unnatural, hard to endure, § 18. Observe how heroes behaved when in pain—Philoctetes, Hercules, Prometheus, §§ 19–26. Poets indeed are to blame for representing heroes as giving way to pain, § 27. But the Epicurean philosophers are just as bad, § 28. The Stoics prove by syllogism, to their own satisfaction, that pain is not an evil, but they admit that it is harsh, unnatural, and hard to bear, § 29. The Peripatetic view is better: pain is an evil, but neither this evil, nor even all evils combined, can be compared with the evil of disgrace, § 30. As it is disgraceful to groan under pain and to be prostrated by it, virtue must overcome pain. Take the four Cardinal Virtues; each of them is severally inconsistent with a giving way to pain, §§ 31–2.

B. Pain then must be despised.

It can be overcome by endurance, § 33.

This can be developed, 1. by practice, preparation, habituation, §§ 34–41; 2. by philosophic conviction, §§ 42–65.

1. Examples of the effect of practice, etc. are afforded by the Cretans, the Spartans, even boys and women, Roman soldiers, Eurypylus, huntsmen, boxers, gladiators, §§ 34–41.

2. The philosophic attitude towards pain considered.

All pain is endurable, § 42.

The connexion between *uirtus* and *uir* shews that the word for courage, the preeminent virtue, has come to comprise all virtues,

§ 43. The utterances of Epicurus are unsatisfactory. We must go to those schools in which the honourable is held to be the chief good and the base the chief evil. §§ 44–5.

If you hold this view you must control yourself: your reason must control your lower nature, §§ 47–8.

This lower nature may require extreme coercion and the calling in of external assistance—cf. *uinciatur*, etc. (This seems metaphorical: if your own force of will does not avail, regard for your friends' opinion—cf. *fractos pudore*—must assist) § 48. Or in a less extreme case it may only require firm control (cf. *ut imperator militi*); an illustration from Pacuvius, §§ 49, 50. But in the case of the perfect philosopher the lower nature obeys the higher as readily as a good child obeys a just parent, § 51. This self-control is brought about by resolution, firmness, and self-examination, § 51. Think of noble examples: e.g. those of Zeno of Elea; Anaxarchus the Democritean; Calanus; C. Marius, §§ 52–3.

This exercise of self-control and bracing up of one's resolution not only brings the lower nature into subjection, but actually makes pain lighter, §§ 53–4. Think of the disgrace of crying out under pain, §§ 55–7. Think how noble it is to endure pain calmly, § 58. This thought inspires heroes in battle, § 59; and philosophers, e.g. Posidonius, § 61 (Dionysius of Heraclea was an apostate, § 60); and all who endure hardships for the sake of glory, §§ 62, 63. But the verdict of one's own conscience affords a higher and truer testimony, § 64. This endurance of pain, since it must proceed from fixed philosophic principles, must be uniform and invariable, § 65.

Pain, then, is either not an evil or, if it be an evil, it is an evil so slight that virtue, i.e. fortitude, reduces it to insignificance, especially as death is always available as a release, §§ 66, 67.

SECTION V.

On the Spelling adopted in the Text.

The best MSS seem in the main to afford excellent guidance in matters of spelling, and in most instances to preserve the actual forms used by Cicero. Although I do not attempt to set up the text exactly as it came from Cicero, I have followed the best MSS wherever they agree in presenting forms which we know to have been used in Cicero's time.

The MSS have usually adf-, adg-, adn-, ads-, not aff-, ag- or agg-, ann-, ass-, cf. *adfert* I 80, 82, 94, *adfertur* I 114, *adflicta* II 21; *adgnoscere* I 58

V¹ G²; *adgnosci* I 116 V¹ G; *adnectunt* II 23; *adsequi* I 103, *adsiste* II 21, *adsciuit* II 23, *adsidue* II 25 (in I 85 with MSS I have retained *astante*); but asp-, asc- not adsp-, adsc-, cf. *aspice* II 19, *aspeximus* II 58, *aspicere* II 65.

Also (usually) acc-, all-, app-, arr-, att-, cf. *alliga* II 39, 66; *appellata* G in II 43, 66, *apellari* V G II 7 (but in the rarer words *adprobant* II 8 and *adpetentissimi* II 58, assimilation has not taken place); *arripuerit* I 110, *arripe* II 20; *attulit* I 58, but V P *adtulisse* I 39. Cf. Fleckeisen, *Fünfzig Artikeln*, p. 17; Brambach, *Neugestaltung der lateinischen Orthographie* pp. 296–9.

Comm-, comp- are the regular forms, cf. *commotus* I 7, *commemini* I 13, *commentemur* I 75; *complecti* I 51, *comparat* II 2 R V B S E L (*conparat* G P), *comprimit* II 53; conl- more rarely coll-, cf. *conloquio* I 101 V G, *conlocet* II 39, *conlocari* II 64, but *colligit* I 58: conr-, cf. *conroboret* G in II 41. Cf. Fleckeisen, pp. 17, 18; Brambach, pp. 300–302.

The prefix ec- is preserved in *ecferant* I 41, *ecferendi* I 43, *ecferitatem* II 20. Cf. Fleck. p. 20; Neue *Formenlehre* II 766 foll.

Where ex- is prefixed to a word beginning with *s* the MSS usually retain *s*, e.g. *exstet* I 37. Cf. Fleck. p. 38; Bramb. pp. 278–280.

In- is seldom assimilated. Cf. *inbutus* I 14, *inbecillitate* II 15; *inpulsa* I 53, *inparatus* I 86, *inponam* I 95 (but *imperabit* II 51, *imperatori* II 62); *inlacrima* I 21, *inrisi* II 3, *inruebant* II 59. Cf. Fleck. p. 18; Brambach, pp. 299–302.

The spelling of compounds of *iacio* with *ii*, where the original *a* has sunk to *i*, seems to be supported by the variants in II 56 *elici* for *eici* and II 27 *ducuntur* and *dicuntur* for *eiciuntur*, but in II 67 *eice* is read by R V G B P E L. See explanatory note on II § 56.

With the MSS and most editors I have retained the forms *abisset* I 32, *obisset* I 86, *audisset* I 102, but I think they may be due to haplography.

In I 46 I have retained the contracted *comprendimus*, but I suspect this form to be due to *comꝑhendimus*.

Accusatives plural in *-is* from *i-* stems are usual. The rules given in Fleckeisen, p. 13, generally apply.

In many instances the best MSS present the superlative in *-umus*, but there are many others in which they have *-imus* without any variant. The two forms seem to have co-existed (cf. Bramb. p. 14). The question is so complicated that in many particular instances it would be difficult to decide between these forms, especially as I did not take down all the MS evidence on this point from the commencement of my collation. I have therefore thought it better to spell in all cases with *-imus*.

The best MSS regularly present the forms *ii*, *iis* (or *hi*, *his*), not *ei*, *eis*. *Eidem* occurs once, II 65. Cf. Fleck. p. 15; Bramb. pp. 140, 323.

The best MSS have invariably the form *cum* not *quom*, yet the variant *cum* R V G B P L for *quo* in II 57 would seem to have arisen from *quō* (= *quom*) for *quo*.

If we follow the MSS of the Tusculan Disputations there can be no doubt as to spelling *Accius*, not *Attius*, cf. II 13. *Paulus* and *Gracchus* are the MS forms. Also *cotidie*, *numquam*, *quamquam*, *quendam*, *quandam*, *quicquam*, *quidquid*, *uolgo*, *uolnus*, *uolt*.

E is very commonly written for *ę* or *ae* and *ę* or *ae* for *e*. This error I have generally passed over without notice in the critical notes. The erroneous spellings *caeteros* in G I 114 and *cęteris* in B II 43 are very noticeable in MSS of such early dates.

M. TVLLI CICERONIS

TVSCVLANARVM DISPVTATIONVM

LIBER PRIMVS.

I. **1.** CVM defensionum laboribus senatoriisque muneribus aut omnino aut magna ex parte essem aliquando liberatus, rettuli me, Brute, te hortante maxime, ad ea studia, quae retenta animo, remissa temporibus, longo interuallo intermissa reuocaui,

I. § **1**, 3. rettuli W 1 2 L 4 6 O 6. re tuli O 5 *altero* t *eraso*. retuli B 3. retuli R V G 1–4 B 1 2 K P S D Π J O 1–4 7–12. ‖ animo retenta W 1.

The words *De contemnenda morte*, found in most early editions after the title of the book, are not in the best MSS and do not belong to Cic., but have been introduced into inferior MSS from Diu. ii 1, 2 'totidem subsecuti libri "Tusculanarum disputationum"...primus enim est de contemnenda morte, secundus de tolerando dolore...'

I. § **1**. **defensionum**: most of Cicero's extant speeches were delivered for the defence. He appeared in the law-courts on the side of the prosecution in the case of Verres; cf. Or. 29, 103 (and Sandys' note) 'in accusationis septem libris.' The interrogation of Vatinius arose out of the defence of Sestius. The invective against Piso and most of those against Catiline and M. Antonius were delivered before the Senate, the rest before the people.

aut...aut, 'either...or at all events.' 46, 110 'aut summum bonum aut... nullum malum'; v 30, 84 'nihil bonum, nisi naturae primis bonis aut omnibus aut maximis frui.' See Hand, *Tursell.* I p. 532.

magna ex parte: between the outbreak of the Civil War and the publication of the Tusculan Disputations the only speeches delivered by Cic. were *pro M. Marcello* and *pro Q. Ligario* in 46 B.C., and *pro rege Deiotaro* in 45 B.C.

cum essem: subj. because the order of succession in time is also the order of cause and effect. Cf. Madv. § 358.

aliquando, 'at last,' implying that the time of release was all too long in coming. Cf. 44, 105 'aliquando sapiens Achilles.' So *tandem aliquando* and *tandem*.

Brute: see Introd. end of section 1.

retenta animo: Cicero's attention had been early directed to philosophy. By the year 88 B.C. he had studied under the Epicurean Phaedrus, Diodotus the Stoic, and Philo of Larissa. See Reid's Introd. to the Academics, pp. 1, 2. [Compare *inclusa habebam* Ac. i 3, 11.]

remissa temporibus: abl. of cause, 'less vigorously prosecuted owing to circumstances.' *tempora* is often applied to circumstances of difficulty or danger. Cicero's poem *de Temporibus Meis* dealt with the circumstances of his exile and recall. Cf. pro Plancio 1, 1 'meorum temporum'; cf. also the use of *tempus* in p. Sest. 6, 14; 58, 123. Here the reference is probably wider and covers the period of Cicero's tenure of state office and subsequent activity at the bar.

intermissa: between 52 B.C. and 46 B.C., the interruption being due to his administration of Cilicia and to the Civil War, cf. Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* I § 173 subsec. 2, 1.

[**longo interuallo intermissa**: practi-

et cum omnium artium, quae ad rectam uiuendi uiam pertinerent, ratio et disciplina studio sapientiae, quae philosophia dicitur, contineretur, hoc mihi Latinis litteris inlustrandum putaui, non quia philosophia Graecis et litteris et doctoribus percipi non posset, sed meum semper iudicium fuit omnia nostros aut inuenisse per se sapientius quam Graecos aut accepta ab illis fecisse meliora, quae quidem digna statuissent, in quibus elaborarent. **2.** nam mores et instituta uitae resque domesticas ac familiares

cally a restatement of *remissa temporibus* acc. to Cic.'s frequent custom which has led so often to the unnecessary assumption of glosses.]

pertinerent...contineretur: we might have expected *pertineant* and *contineatur* (subj. due to *cum* causal). *contineretur* takes its time from *putaui* (cf. Madv. § 383) and brings in *pertinerent* by attraction. For attraction of tense and mood see Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* I § 153, especially subsec. 4.

Küh., here and in *Gram.* II § 181, p. 778, notes that in subordinate clauses, even though, as here, the reflection may be general, a preceding perfect is usually followed by a secondary sequence. Cf. 4, 7 'iudicaui...posset.'

ratio et disciplina, 'systematic method.' Küh., on 4, 12, explains that in ἓν διὰ δυοῖν of this kind one of the two substantives does the work of an adjective which the language lacks; cf. iii 1, 2 'rationem et doctrinam.' Cf. also Naegelsbach, *Stil.* 73. 2.

studio...quae philosophia dicitur: for this attraction of the rel. to the gender of the following substantive see Madv. § 316.

quae philosophia dicitur: for the indicative in an explanatory clause, which may be omitted without prejudice to the leading idea, see Madv. § 369. These words do not form part of the thought which he had at the time referred to. FAW. thinks that the explanatory clause indicates that the word *philosophia* had not yet been established in common use when Cic. wrote this passage.

[**philosophia**: this passage does not, I think, shew that *philosophia* was unusual. It could hardly so be, when Plaut. and later writers have *philosophus*, Enn. *philosophari* (also *sophia*). Plin. xiii § 84 shews that the word was in one of the oldest annalists (Cassius Hemina). Here Cic. only means to put forward *studium sapientiae* as a very clear Latin representation of φιλοσοφία. Cf. Leg. i § 58 'cuius (sapientiae) *amore* Graeco uerbo philosophia nomen inuenit'; see also Off. ii § 5. The word *sapientius* is used with definite point below = φιλοσοφικώτερον.]

contineretur with the simple abl. = 'depends upon'; cf. Wilkins on Or. i 2, 8.

non quia...non posset: subj. of reported reason; the reason that another gives, or might give, rejected. Küh. notes that *non quo, non quod* is more usual in Cicero.

litteris et doctoribus: ablatives of means: *doctoribus* would scarcely have been placed in this construction if *litteris* had not preceded.

non quia...sed...fuit: usually *sed quod* (*sed quia*) follows in a dependent clause, cf. Madv. § 357 b. For the transition to a main clause cf. ii 26, 64; iii 22, 54.

[**meum semper iud.**: in this collocation *semper* has almost the force of an adj.]

[**iud. fuit** with constr. of *iudicare.*]

omnia...sapientius quam Graecos: for this exaggerated estimate of the intellectual powers of his countrymen cf. Or. i 4, 15 'ingenia uero, ut multis rebus possumus iudicare, nostrorum hominum multum ceteris hominibus omnium gentium praestiterunt.' For its cause cf. Küh.: 'Hanc Cic. sententiam nimio patriae amore obcaecatus et fortasse eo consilio uidetur protulisse, ut Romanorum animos ad litterarum studium persequendum exhortaretur.'

quae quidem...statuissent: the subj. is in or. obl., but even in direct discourse the verb with the rel. introducing a limitation would here be in the subjunctive, since the reference is to a class and not to particular instances. Cf. Roby §§ 1692, 1693; Madv. § 364, obs. 2.

elaborarent: subj. of purpose, Madv. § 363; Roby § 1632.

§ **2. et...que...ac**: *et* simply connects; *que* tacks on *res domesticas ac familiares*

nos profecto et melius tuemur et lautius, rem uero publicam nostri maiores certe melioribus temperauerunt et institutis et legibus. quid loquar de re militari? in qua cum uirtute nostri multum ualuerunt, tum plus etiam disciplina. iam illa, quae natura, non litteris adsecuti sunt, neque cum Graecia neque ulla cum gente sunt conferenda. quae enim tanta grauitas, quae tanta constantia, magnitudo animi, probitas, fides, quae tam excellens in omni genere uirtus in ullis fuit, ut sit cum maioribus nostris comparanda? **3.** doctrina Graecia nos et omni litterarum genere superabat; in quo erat facile uincere non repugnantes. nam cum apud Graecos antiquissimum e doctis genus sit poeta-

§ **2**, 13. lautius G 1–3 B 1–3 K S L 146 O 1–5 7–12 O 6 (*marg.*). latius R. (u written above)
§ **3**, 23. e doctis G 1 2 W 1 B 2 3 L 3 O 2 3 5 9 10. edoctis R 1 2 10 V B K P W 2 M 1 2 L 4 O 6 12. edoctum G 3 D O 7. e doctis S *marg. al. atram.* educatū. educatum G 4 O 1. et doctissimum O 8. edoctos O 11. e docte O 4 (? *compendium pro* -is).

to *mores et inst. uitae* as it is in these to a great extent that the *mores* and *instituta* are displayed; *ac* is used in the sense of *et* for the sake of clearness. Cf. 40, 95 n. and Madv. § 433.

res domesticas ac familiares, 'affairs of the family and of the household.'

lautius, 'with greater elegance.' Neidius (in Küh.) pointed out that *lautius* refers to *res dom. ac fam.*, *melius* to *mores et inst. uitae*; for the non-distribution of these terms cf. 25, 62 n.; 30, 74 'saepe multis'; Tac. Ann. xv 11, 1 'ui ac minis alares exterruit, legionarios obtriuit.'

temperauerunt, 'have organized'; cf. 10, 21 n.

quid loquar: a *formula praeteritionis*, by which the writer affects to pass over a point as self-evident. TS. notes that none the less a rel. clause regularly follows (as here *in qua* etc.) to indicate the line of thought.

de re militari: for the sentiment Mo. compares p. Mur. 9, 22; Corn. Nep. xxiii 1, 1.

iam illa: *iam*, as often, indicates that he has now reached a striking instance. 'But when we take those advantages which they owe to native power...'; for this meaning of *natura* cf. Virg. Geo. ii 49 'quippe solo natura subest.'

cum Graecia: the *comparatio compendiaria*, compressed for *cum eis quae Graecia...adsecuta est*. Similarly below 'ut sit cum *maioribus nostris* comparanda,' i.e. *cum uirtute maiorum nostrorum*. Küh. gives several exx. of this constr., which is very common in all languages.

[**cum Graecia**: this form of *comparatio* avoids the awkward gen. which late writers use freely: e.g. de Or. i § 23 'si cum Lycurgo et Dracone nostras leges conferre uolueritis': a late writer would be very apt to put *Lycurgi* and *Draconis*.]

neque...conferenda: here, as usually in Cic., the gerundive denotes necessity or fitness, not possibility; see Madv. § 420 obs., and n. on Fin. i 2, 6. [Madv. only quotes two exceptions, and even these, I think, do not hold good. If so, 'usually' should be 'always' in above n.]

grauitas, 'dignity,' 'weight of character'; for the opposite quality cf. '*leues* ac nummarii iudices,' p. Cluent. 28, 75.

constantia and **magnitudo animi** form a pair, connected in meaning; similarly **probitas** and **fides**. For this see Naegelsbach, *Stil.* § 173, 5.

ullis: substantival, as *quisquam* is not used in the plural. Cf. *nullis* 39, 94.

§ **3**. **doctis**: of skill in poetry; cf. σοφός and σοφία often in Pindar; e.g. Olymp. ii 155 where the σοφός, who is naturally inspired, is contrasted with μαθόντες. As applied to Latin poets *doctus* usually denotes a man inspired by study of Greek, especially Alexandrine, models. In Pindar σοφός = 'clever': in Cic. here *doctus* scarcely has that sense, but as Roman poets who studied Greek poets were

rum, si quidem Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam, Archilochus regnante Romulo, serius poeticam nos accepimus. annis fere DX post Romam conditam Liuius fabulam dedit C. Claudio, Caeci filio, M. Tuditano consulibus anno ante natum Ennium. [qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naeuius.]

II. Sero igitur a nostris poetae uel cogniti uel recepti. quamquam est in Originibus solitos esse in epulis canere con-

25. archilocus V. archiloc^{h}us G. 26. annis fere V G 1 4 K P W 1 2 M 1 C O 2–5 11. O 6 *marg.* eni. annis enim fere B 1 3 M 2 G 3 D O 1 7–10. annis iam fere O 12. ‖ ccccccx K O 9. ccccx R 1 2 6 B 1 3 S M 1 2 O 3 4 7. ccccxviiii O 11. quadringentis decem W 1 M 1 B 2 O 1 2 5 6. ccccx^{tis} V *marg. al.* quingentis. ccccx^{us} G. quadringentis X^{em} O 8 10. quatringentis decem O 12. et octo G 4 B 3. et octo *marg.* W 1.

docti, much more might the Gr. models be so styled. The subj. is due to *cum* causal.

si quidem, 'at all events if,' almost = 'since.' These words are often thus used in putting forward, as ground for a preceding statement, something assumed to be admitted as a fact. Cf. Brutus 10, 40 '(Homeri) etsi incerta sunt tempora, tamen annis multis fuit ante Romulum; si quidem non infra Lycurgum fuit'; p. Mur. 11, 24.

[**Archilochus**: Nepos, in Gell. xvii 21, says in time of Tullus Hostilius.]

annis: abl. of measure (instrumental): cf. Roby § 1204, and note.

fere: to mark an approximation, because the nearest round number is taken.

DX: strictly 514 years, from 754 to 240 B.C., the year of the consulship of C. Claudius Cento and M. Sempronius Tuditanus: see Brut. 18, 72, quoted below, and Cato M. 14, 50.

fabulam dedit, sc. *populo*; more usually 'fabulam *docere*,' sc. *histriones*. Cf. Cato M. 14, 50; Brut. 18, 72 'atque hic (Liuius) primus fabulam C. Claudio Caeci filio et M. Tuditano consulibus *docuit* anno ipso ante quam natus est Ennius, post Romam conditam autem quarto decimo et quingentesimo,' but in the next section 'Liuius ...qui primus fabulam *dedit*.' *dare fabulam* also occurs several times in prologues of Terence.

qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naeuius. If these words are sound *qui* must refer to Liuius, not to Ennius, but though Or. and (following Wes. *Em.* II, p. 1) Sff. thought this order of words justified, where there could be no ambiguity, by the notoriety of the fact that Ennius was later than Plautus and Naeuius, this seems impossible. In 31, 75 the reference in the pronoun is more obvious. Rath placed this clause immediately after *Liuius*. Dav. thinks that Cic. has committed a σφάλμα μνημονικόν, but in Brut. 18, 73, written two years earlier, Cic. shews that he knows that Ennius was junior to Plautus and Naeuius. Küh. is pretty certainly right in holding that the words *qui...Naeuius* are due to a *glossator*, who, remembering the passage in the Brutus, copied these words into the margin in order to fix Liuius' period, and that from the margin they got into the text. Tr. Sch. TS. eject: Ern. Hei. Küh. Ml. Schiche bracket. FAW. ejected *et Naeuius* (omitted in some MSS) and bracketed the rest. Ennius lived 239—169 B.C. Plautus died in 184 B.C., and Cic. Cato M. 14, 50 refers to the Pseudolus (acted 191 B.C.) as a work of his old age. Naeuius died at an advanced age in 202 B.C.; he is said to have served in the first Punic war, upon which he wrote. Naeuius was therefore certainly, and Plautus probably, earlier than Ennius. Ter. And. prol. 18 probably gives the historical order *Naeuium, Plautum, Ennium*.

II. **recepti**: because the earliest poets were not Roman citizens. Liuius was a Greek from Tarentum, Naeuius was from Campania, Plautus from Umbria, Ennius from Calabria.

quamquam est in: Sff. followed by TS. inserted *enim*, against the MSS and wrongly. The *quamquam* clause introduces a fact apparently inconsistent with the statement just made; this fact is explained away by the *tamen* clause. Many editors, and recently TS., have merely a comma after *uirtutibus*; wrongly,

uiuas ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum uirtutibus; honorem tamen huic generi non fuisse declarat oratio Catonis, in qua obiecit ut probrum M. Nobiliori, quod is in prouinciam poetas duxisset; duxerat autem consul ille in Aetoliam, ut scimus, Ennium. quo minus igitur honoris erat poetis, eo minora studia fuerunt, nec tamen, si qui magnis ingeniis in eo genere exstiterunt, non satis Graecorum gloriae responderunt. **4.** an censemus, si Fabio, nobilissimo homini, laudi datum esset, quod pingeret, non

II. 5. marco R V G B 1–3 K S W 2 M 1 2 Π O 3. marcho G 3 W 1 M 1. 8. sic qui R 1 2 V G 1 3 K P L O 7. si qui S W 1 2 M 1 2 B 3 O 2–6 8 10–12. si qui B *at fuerat* sic qui. si quis O 9. *non habet* O 1.
§ **4**, 9. an censemus V G 1 4 S W 2 M 1 2 O 3. an cessemus R K P.

for this would make *quamquam* here = 'although,' whereas it means 'and yet.'

Originibus: M. Porcius Cato the Censor (died 149 B.C.) wrote under this title a work on history in seven books, of which many fragments survive. The second and third books dealt with the origin of the several Italian cities, hence the title of the whole; cf. Nepos, Cato iii.

in epulis canere: for reference to this practice Dav. compares iv 2, 3; Brutus 19, 75; Val. Max. ii 1, 10; Varro apud Nonium in *assa*; Leg. ii 24, 62; Quint. i (10, 20). Küh. adds Hor. Odes iv 15, 29; Cic. Or. iii 51, 197, where see Wilkins for ref. to criticisms of the value of these songs.

ad tibicinem = *ad tibicinis cantum*; *ad tibiam* is more usual, cf. iv 2, 3. TS. compares de Leg. Agr. ii 34, 93 'hostiae ad praeconem et ad tibicinem immolabuntur.'

huic generi, sc. *poeticae*; cf. *in eo genere* below.

oratio Catonis: for Cato's speeches, of which over 150 survived into Cicero's time (cf. Brut. 17, 65) and many into the 4th cent. A.D., see Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.* I § 108. For the statement cf. Cato in Gellius xi 2, 5 'poeticae artis honos non erat; si quis in ea re studebat...grassator uocabatur.' Muretus (in Mo.) notes 'suspicor eam orationem fuisse qua Ser. Galbam oppugnauit: eum enim Fuluii defendebant.' For this speech cf. Brut. 23, 89.

declarat...obiecit: for the pres. *declarat* cf. 18, 42, n. on *uolt*. Bent. wished to alter *obiecit* into *obicit*, which Cic. might have written, but the text is sound: *in qua obiecit* = 'in which (when delivering it) he reproached'; *in qua obicit* would have meant 'in which (as we have it) he reproaches.'

M. Fuluius Nobilior who, as consul, in 189 B.C. took Ambracia.

poetas: the plural is invidiously used. Cf. p. Sest. 36, 78 'magistratus (one only referred to) templo deicias?' in Pis. 10, 23 'cum equites Romani relegarentur'; Persius iii 79 'aerumnosique Solones,' and Conington on Pers. i 34.

duxerat autem: *autem*, as δέ often in Greek, here adds an explanatory fact as a new and *coordinate* statement, whereas *duxerat enim* would have been merely explanatory and nothing more. See Küh. here and in *Gr.* II § 165, 7, p. 702. For the fact cf. Brut. 20, 79; p. Arch. 11, 27.

nec tamen si qui: some of the best MSS read *nec tamen sic qui*, which Bent. approved: 'Recte nec tamen sic: in eo rerum statu; licet in nullo honore tum essent poetae.' But Küh. follows FAW. and finds *nec tamen si qui* 'elegantissimum et plane Ciceronianum,' while *nec tamen sic* i.e. *tamen ne sic quidem* 'a Ciceroniana consuetudine prorsus abhorrere uidetur.' And this view, which seems right, is now followed by editors generally. Sff. points out that *c* final in MSS. is often added or omitted, e.g. with *nec* and *ne*, *si* and *sic*, etc.

§ 4. an censemus, 'pray do we suppose...?' For *an* introducing a question apparently simple see Roby § 2255; also Madv. § 453. *an* is often rhetorical in this use or expresses surprise. Instead of a *utrum* clause a statement may precede which is rhetorically refuted by the *an* clause; cf. 36, 87; Madv. on Fin. i 8, 28.

Fabio: Q. Fabius Pictor (grandfather of the historian) painted the temple of Salus 304 B.C. The painting lasted until the temple was burned down in the reign of Claudius. Cf. Pliny, N.H. xxxv 4, 7.

multos etiam apud nos futuros Polyclitos et Parrhasios fuisse? honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria, iacentque ea semper, quae apud quosque inprobantur. summam eruditionem Graeci sitam censebant in neruorum uocumque cantibus; igitur et Epaminondas, princeps meo iudicio Graeciae, fidibus praeclare cecinisse dicitur, Themistoclesque aliquot ante annos,

11. Polyclitos R V G B. Polycletos K y *ex* u *alio atram. mut.* Polycletos S W 1 2 G 4 B 2 3 Π J O 2–4. 12. incenduntur R V G B 1–3 P S W 1 2 M 1 2 *plerique.* incendimur G 4. 15. graeciae R 6 O 2. gręcię V W 1 L 4. grecię R 4 O 3 10. grecie L 4 Π O 4–6 9. grecie O 11 *at* e *post* i *mut. uid.* graecis R 1 3 G B 1 2 M 1. grecis P R 2–10 G 2–4 D J O 1 7 8. 16. annos V G 1 4 K S M 1 2 D O 3 4 6 11.

Polyclitus the elder, born at Sicyon, flourished at Argos in the time of Pericles, and as he was a sculptor, not a painter, Man., Lamb. and others have held that *Polygnotus* should be read, a view approved by Bent., who compared Anthol. Epig. iii 14; and also iv 8, where Πολυκλείτου Θασίου is an error for Πολυγνώτου Θασίου. Muretus (in Mo.) noted 'aut Polygnotus legendum, aut Cicero memoria lapsus est.' The theory that Cic. had confused the two is held also by Sff. who compares v 16, 46 Anticlea for Euryclea. TS. follows Sff.

Dav. thinks that Polyclitus was a painter as well as a sculptor; he relies upon Aelian V.H. xiv 8 (where Or. considers the words ὁ ζωγράφος to be a gloss) and on Tzetzes, *Chil.* VIII 320. The best view however is that of Neidius and FAW., accepted by Küh., Hei. and others, that Cic. takes an example from a closely connected art.

Polyclitus' most famous works were the Δορυφόρος (for which see Sandys on Or. 2, 5) and the chryselephantine statue of the Argive Hera.

Parrhasius of Ephesus flourished as a painter about 400 B.C.

honos alit artes: Dav. compares Sen. Ep. 102 'antiquus poeta ait: *Laus alit artes*'; Plat. Rep. viii, p. 551 a ἀσκεῖται δὴ τὸ ἀεὶ τιμώμενον, ἀμελεῖται δὲ τὸ ἀτιμαζόμενον.

incenduntur: *incendimur* was approved by Bent. as more elegant, and by FAW. Aug. Ciu. Dei v 13 in quoting this passage has 'omnesque *accenduntur*.' All three readings being good Latin the MSS must decide.

iacent = *negleguntur*, cf. 3, 5 'philosophia iacuit.'

iacentque: Küh. points out that *que* here, and often after negatives, seems to have an adversative force but really only introduces a continuation and enlargement of the clause to which it is attached (here *honos alit artes*). Cf. 29, 71 'adhibuitque,' where see note; Madv. § 433.

igitur: this word rarely stands first in its clause. Usually where it does so it introduces the conclusion of a syllogism as in 6, 11 where see Küh. Cf. Madv. on Fin. i 18, 61. Küh. *Gr.* II § 174, p. 734. With its use here cf. Lael. 11, 39 'igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus' etc., where see Reid's n.

et Epaminondas ... Themistoclesque: wherever two clauses are connected by *et* and *que* there is an anacolouthon. The writer had intended to use a second *et* but forgot the first one or found, on reaching the second clause, that it was of less importance than the first. Cf. Küh. here: Madv. on Fin. v 22, 64; Reid on Ac. i 12, 43.

fidibus praeclare etc.: cf. Corn. Nepos, Epam. ii 1.

aliquot ante annos: so most editors. *annis* read by Bai. Sff. TS. may be right. If *annos* be wrong, *ante*, mistaken for a preposition, may account for the error. The abl. of measure is the usual constr. with *ante* and *post* and is common in Cic.: cf. 1, 3 n.; 13, 29 'multis post annis'; Madv. § 270; Roby §§ 1204 and 1207. *ante* is in any case adverbial. The acc., if sound, is due to the idea of going back (in thought) over a number of years. Ciceronian instances are very rare:—In p. Rosc. Am. 44, 128 quoted in Küh. *Gr.* II § 81 p. 297, 'aliquot post menses et homo occisus est et bona uenisse dicuntur,' the fact that two events are mentioned which would occur at different points of time may perhaps account for the inaccuracy; Phil. v 19, 52 'ut L. Egnatuleio triennium ante legitimum tempus magistratus petere liceat.' In Or. ii 67, 273 'aliquot post annos' Wilkins reads the abl. In Cato M. 6, 16 'septem et decem annos post

cum in epulis recusaret lyram, est habitus indoctior. ergo in Graecia musici floruerunt, discebantque id omnes, nec, qui nesciebat, satis excultus doctrina putabatur. **5.** in summo apud illos honore geometria fuit, itaque nihil mathematicis inlustrius; at nos metiendi ratiocinandique utilitate huius artis terminauimus modum.

III. At contra oratorem celeriter complexi sumus, nec eum primo eruditum, aptum tamen ad dicendum, post autem eruditum. nam Galbam, Africanum, Laelium doctos fuisse

17. recusaret R 1 2 10 V G 1 2 4 B 1 2 K P S W 1 M 2 Π O 1–4 7 8 11 12. recusa/ſet V *eod. atram. superscr.* recusasset W 2 M 1 R 6 G 3 L 4 6 J O 5 6 9 10. recusasset L 3 *at in litura; fuerat fort.* recusa^{ss}et. recusaret B 3. 19. nescieba t V *litt.* n *erasa.* nesciebāt O 7. || exc^{u}ultos V.

alterum consulatum,' Reid reads *annis*. See this subject discussed in Hand, *Turs.* I 370 foll. [The principal support for *annos* lies in the construction of *abhinc* with *annos*, probably the only Ciceronian constr. with *abhinc*.]

aliquot: as usual = a good number, 'many years earlier'; Themistocles flourished more than 100 years earlier than Epaminondas (Salamis 480 B.C., Leuctra 371 B.C.). Cf. ii 27, 66 n. *aliquanto*.

cum recusaret...est habitus: Küh., against Ern. and FAW. who thought the plup. required, holds that the imperf. is correct where the time referred to in the subord. (*cum*) clause is contemporaneous with that referred to in the main clause, comparing 35, 86; ii 25, 60; v 37, 108. But those passages do not seem parallel and we should certainly have expected the pluperfect here if some definite occasion is referred to. V has *recusaset* corrected *manu secunda* to *recusasset*. But Dr Reid in a note to me suggests that the imperf. *recusaret* may indicate that it was his *custom*. As this view gives a natural force to the word it is better to retain the received reading.

The reason for the *mood* is the same as in *cum essem* 1, 1 n.

ergo, 'hence,' i.e. owing to the high importance attached to music.

floruerunt, discebant: Küh. *Gr.* II § 33, 8 n. 2 p. 100 points out that the perf. does not differ from the imperf. as momentary from continuous, but that an event of very brief duration is expressed by the imperf. where the action is *represented in its progress*, while an event even of very long duration is expressed by the historic perf. (Gk aor.) where the *mere fact of its occurrence* is put forward. He further observes that the perf. is consequently suitable for the expression of the *main fact*, the imperf. for the expression of *accompanying circumstances* of an explanatory or descriptive character. Cf. 30, 72 '*censebat*...disseruit.'

discebantque: *que* introduces details, cf. note on *iacentque*, above.

id: *musica* implied in *musici*, cf. ii 27, 66 n. *in eo persequendo*.

§ 5. mathematicis: e.g. Pythagoras and Plato.

metiendi...modum: 'but we have restricted this science to the practical purposes of mensuration and calculation.'

III. **oratorem**: metonymy, = *eloquentiam*; but the orator whom we encouraged is contrasted with the poet, painter, etc., whom we did not encourage. Moreover, Latin tends to bring the person into prominence.

eruditum: in the same sense as *doctos* below, trained in the theory of the art (by Greek teachers and on Greek models) as contrasted with *aptum ad dicendum*, possessing a natural aptitude for speaking. Similarly Roman poets, especially those who followed Alexandrine models, were called *docti*, cf. Hor. Sat. i 9, 7 'noris nos, docti sumus.' See 1, 3 n.

Galbam: Seruius Sulpicius Galba, consul 144 B.C. For his importance in the history of Roman oratory and for the technical resources of which he was the first Roman to make use cf. Brut. 31, 82; for the characteristics of Laelius and Africanus *ibid.* § 83.

For the cruelty and treachery of Galba

traditum est, studiosum autem eum, qui his aetate anteibat, Catonem, post uero Lepidum, Carbonem, Gracchos, inde ita magnos nostram ad aetatem, ut non multum aut nihil omnino Graecis cederetur. philosophia iacuit usque ad hanc aetatem nec ullum habuit lumen litterarum Latinarum; quae inlustranda et excitanda nobis est, ut, si occupati profuimus aliquid ciuibus

III. § 5, 4. qui his R 1 2 G 1 3 B 1 3 K P W 2 J O 5 9 11. qui hiis G 2 B 2 O 8. qui iis R 6. qui eis O 3 4. qui eos G 4. qui hos W 1 M 2 D II. hos V *at o colore mutato.* hos S *at fortasse mutatum est.* 5. carbonem V *at alio atram. et solito maioribus litteris scriptum.* catom' S. catonem R 1 2 10 G B 1 2 K P W 1 2 O 1–7 9–11. *om.* O 12.

when praetor in Lusitania and his famous prosecution by Cato (touched upon in note on 2, 3) cf. Brut. 23, 89–90.

Africanum: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor, son of L. Aemilius Paulus, adopted by P. Corn. Scipio son of Scipio Africanus Maior in 150 B.C. Cf. Off. i 32, 116 'eloquentia cumulauit bellicam gloriam'; Quint. xii 10, 39 'in eloquendo uelut Atticum Romanorum.'

studiosum: cf. Cato M. 1, 3 'attribuito *Graecis litteris* quarum constat eum *perstudiosum* fuisse in senectute' (see also Reid's Introd. p. 22); Ac. ii 2, 5. 'Studiosi dicuntur tirones artis qui adhuc discunt' Küh., who compares de opt. gen. dic. 5, 13 'putaui mihi suscipiendum laborem, utilem *studiosis*, mihi quidem ipsi non necessarium.' *studiosum*, etc., and all clauses down to *cederetur* depend upon *traditum est*, the clause *inde ita magnos*...by a slight zeugma, where, as Küh. points out, we should rather have expected 'inde ita magni nostram ad aetatem exstiterunt oratores, ut,' etc.

eum...Catonem: for the pronoun preceding with the subst. in explanatory apposition Küh. compares 13, 29 'qui nondum *ea*, quae...*physica* didicissent'; 24, 59 'quanta *is*, qui a Pyrrho legatus ad senatum est missus, *Cineas*.'

qui his: as between *his* and *eis* the testimony of the MSS is of little value; thus in 28, 70 the best MSS have *his* for *eis*; 30, 72 *his* twice for *eis*; 30, 73 *quo his* for *quod eis*; 31, 75 *ut hi* for *ut ei*; but here where *his* (sc. 'quos modo dixi' Mo.) gives a good sense there is no reason to reject it. See also Mayor on N.D. Introd. p. lx, *ad med.*

anteire aliquem is the usual constr. For the dat. cf. Off. ii 10, 37 'anteire ceteris uirtute'; Fin. v 31, 93 'nos... qui...praestantiam animi omnibus bonis corporis anteire dicamus.'

M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina: a younger contemporary of Galba. Cic. in Brut. 25, 96 says that he seems to have been the first to introduce Greek smoothness and the structure of the period.

Carbonem: most MSS *catonem*; Beroaldus' correction. Papirius Carbo when tribune 131 B.C. and for some years afterwards was a partisan of Ti. Gracchus, but subsequently he went over to the optimates and as consul in 120 B.C. defended L. Opimius when the latter was tried for his action against the partisans of C. Gracchus. This *leuitas* (cf. Brut. 27, 103) made him so unpopular that L. Licinius Crassus commenced his career in 119 B.C. by prosecuting Carbo, who committed suicide to avoid condemnation. For his oratory cf. Brutus 27, 104–6. For the Gracchi, see Or. i 9, 38; for Tiberius, Brut. 27, 103–4; for Gaius, Brut. 33, 125–6; Quint. i 10, 27 'C. Gracchi, praecipui suorum temporum oratoris.'

inde ita magnos nostram ad aetatem: especially L. Licinius Crassus, M. Antonius, P. Sulpicius Rufus, C. Aurelius Cotta, for whom see Wilkins' Introd. to Cic. de Oratore I.

cederetur: for the imperf. after *traditum est*, where we should use a present, cf. 4, 7 note on *dedimus...auderemus*.

iacuit: 2, 4 n.

iacuit...lumen: cf. p. Arch. 6, 14 'sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plenae sapientium uoces, plena exemplorum uetustas: quae iacerent in tenebris omnia nisi litterarum lumen accederet.'

lumen is taken up by **inlustranda** and **iacuit** by **excitanda**, in chiastic order, cf. 25, 62 n. 'inuenta...sonorum.'

litterarum: subjective genitive. Roby § 1278.

excitanda: cf. p. Sest. i 1 'qui...rem publicam adflictam excitarint'; Or. ii 28, 124 'non dubitauit excitare reum consularem'; similarly Livy xxix 18 'ad aliquantum altitudinis excitata erant moenia,' and 'excitare turres' in Caes. B.G. iii 14, 4; v 40, 2; B.C. i 25 *ad fin.*

nostris, prosimus etiam, si possumus, otiosi. **6.** in quo eo magis nobis est elaborandum, quod multi iam esse libri Latini dicuntur scripti inconsiderate ab optimis illis quidem uiris, sed non satis eruditis. fieri autem potest, ut recte quis sentiat et id, quod sentit, polite eloqui non possit; sed mandare quemquam litteris cogitationes suas, qui eas nec disponere nec inlustrare possit nec delectatione aliqua allicere lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis et otio et litteris. itaque suos libros ipsi legunt cum suis, nec quisquam attingit praeter eos, qui eandem licentiam scribendi sibi permitti uolunt. quare si aliquid oratoriae laudis

10. possumus R 1 6 V B K P S W 2 M 2 G 3 O 1–5 7–10 12. possimus W 1 M 1 B 2 3 O 6 11. poss$\overset{u}{i}$mus G *eod. atram. corr.*
§ 6, 11. libri latini R V G B 1 2 K S W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1 3–10 12. latini *omittit* G 3. latini libri O 2 11. 19. laudis R 1 2 3 10 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P L 1 4–6 W 2 M 1 D C J O 1–8 10–12. laudi W 1 M 2 R 6 7 L 2 3 Π O 9. laudi V *at fuerat* laudis.

possumus: Ern. with some MSS *possimus*, a reading which Mo. and Küh. incorrectly attribute to G, in which *possimus* is corrected with the same ink into *possumus*. Küh. compares ii 2, 6 'sed eos, si possumus, excitemus.'

§ **6. ab optimis illis quidem uiris sed**: Cic. refers to the works of the Epicurean prose-writers Amafinius, Rabirius and Catius the Insubrian, for whom cf. iv 3, 6; Ac. i 3, 5; Fam. xv 16 and 19. For their style (*inconsiderate* here) cf. ii 3, 7; Fin. i 3, 8; iii 12, 40; and Reid, Introd. to Academics p. 21. Also Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* c. xvi § 2, pp. 396–8.

optimis: the expression *uir optimus* (*bonus uir*) often carries with it a suggestion of limited intellect (cf. 'worthy' sometimes with us). Cic. often applies this term to the Epicureans, whom he did not like. Küh. refers to ii 19, 44; iii 21, 50; Fin. i 7, 25; Or. iii 17, 64. Also *bonus uir* in comic writers, e.g. Ter. And. iii 5, 10; v 2, 5. For 'illis quidem...sed' cf. Fin. iv 16, 43 'hi autem ponunt illi quidem prima naturae sed ea seiungunt a finibus et summa bonorum,' and Madv. there. Also Madv. *Gr.* § 489 b. In this idiom where something is conceded and some opposed circumstance added (=μὲν...δέ) *quidem* has a concessive force (='it is true'); and a pronoun is regularly inserted before the particle to support it. Cf. ii 6, 15 malum illud quidem (*equidem*, however, is thus used, not *ego quidem*).

et id: we should say 'and *yet* cannot...' but the Latins leave the antithesis to be detected by the reader or hearer, cf. Or. i 23, 86 'magister hic Samnitium summa iam senectute est et cotidie commentatur'; Iuu. i 74 'probitas laudatur et alget.' See also 29, 71 n.

quemquam: the idea at the bottom of this word seems to be that of universality, an idea which reduplication seems fitted to express. But as universal negations are more frequently made than universal affirmations the former are the rule with this word and the latter the exception. Here we have an instance of the exception; another occurs in 7, 13; cf. Cat. i 2, 6 'quamdiu quisquam erit, qui te defendere audeat, uiues.' The cognate words *usquam*, *umquam*, are similarly used, cf. Aen. vii 311 'quod si mea numina non sunt magna satis dubitem haud equidem inplorare quod usquam est'; Sen. ep. vii 1, 15 'hodie fieri potest, quidquid umquam potest.' See Madv. Exc. vi to de Finibus, p. 835, and *Gram.* § 494 a.

intemperanter, 'extravagantly,' 'unrestrainedly.' Küh. compares Ac. i 1, 2 'intemperantis enim esse arbitror scribere quod occultari uelit.'

cum suis: if *ipsi* are the members of the school *suis* must refer to persons similarly minded outside of the school, but *ipsi* may well refer to the writers, some of whom were still alive, and *suis* to the members of the school.

oratoriae laudis: Bent. thought that *attulimus* must have a dat. expressed, but Hand on Wopkens' *Lect. Tull.* p. 69

nostra attulimus industria, multo studiosius philosophiae fontes aperiemus, e quibus etiam illa manabant.

IV. **7.** Sed ut Aristoteles, uir summo ingenio, scientia,

IV. § **7**, 1. scientiae R 16 G W 1 M 2. scientia V *at* a *colore mutato*. scientię B K P R 2 9 10 G 4 L 1 3 4 O 3 4 12. *omittit* O 2. scientie S W 2 M 1 R 7 8 G 2 3 B 2 3 L 6 D II J O 1 5–11 ed. H.

compared for *adferre* used absolutely p. Mil. 28, 77 'non queo, uetera illa populi Romani gaudia quanta fuerint, iudicare; multas tamen iam summorum imperatorum clarissimas uictorias aetas nostra uidit, quarum nulla neque tam diuturnam attulit laetitiam nec tantam.' Mo. thinks (with Hand) that '*adfertur aliquid laudis* ubi nulla erat antea laus, *adfertur aliquid laudi* quando ea augetur'; but Cicero may claim to have contributed to the nation some renown for oratory without implying that it had none until he did so. *oratorius* as an adj. occurs several times. Bent. (*not. inedit.*) compared Or. i 28, 130; Brut. 30, 116; similarly Ac. ii 1, 2 'laus imperatoria.'

attulimus: sc. *ciuibus nostris*, cf. § 5 'ut si...profuimus aliquid ciuibus nostris prosimus etiam,' etc.

illa: sc. *quae in oratoria laude ciuibus attulimus*; the plur. because *aliquid*, something substantial, implies many successful speeches.

IV. § **7**. **summo ingenio, scientia, copia**: most MSS *scientiae copia*; the correction was made by Lambinus, whom most edd. follow. Dav. and Bent. thought that *et* lurked in the *e* of *scientiae*, but *et* there would be very doubtful Latin (cf. Madv. § 434 obs. 1). Morgenstern (in Mo.) observes that Cic. would have written *doctrinae* or *eruditionis copia* not *scientiae copia*; that Cic. Or. 1, 5 ascribes to Arist. 'admirabilem quandam scientiam et copiam'; and that the MS reading gives us an asyndeton for which there is no justification here. For asyndeton with only two terms see Madv. § 434 and Küh. here; for a fuller treatment Küh. *Gr.* II § 177 pp. 747 foll. Asyndeton with three terms is common. Or. well remarks 'tria omnino sunt: *ingenium* a natura Aristoteli datum: *scientia* ab ipso comparata, *copia* siue eloquentia.'

scientia refers to A.'s multifarious learning and **copia** to his *flumen orationis aureum*; cf. Ac. ii 38, 119. **summo** refers to all three nouns; Dav. compares Ter. And. 844 'commodiorem hominem, aduentum, tempus'; Verr. ii, iv 58, 131 'summo ingenio hominem ac disciplina.' Küh. adds p. Mur. 17, 36 'L. Philippum summo ingenio, opera, gratia, nobilitate.'

cum motus esset Isocratis rhetoris gloria: Isocrates, born 436 B.C., committed suicide in 338 B.C. after the battle of Chaeronea. Aristotle, born 384 B.C., was a pupil of Plato for 20 years at Athens, which city he quitted in 348 B.C. He did not return until 335 B.C. when he founded the Peripatetic school. Therefore (as Hei. notes) any rivalry that subsisted between Arist. and Isocrates must belong to the period before 348 B.C. Cic. in Or. iii 35, 141 makes the same assertion which we have here: 'Aristoteles cum florere Isocraten nobilitate discipulorum uideret, quod suas disputationes a causis forensibus et ciuilibus ad inanem sermonis elegantiam transtulisset, mutauit repente totam formam prope disciplinae suae uersumque quendam Philoctetae paulo secus dixit: ille enim turpe sibi ait esse tacere, cum barbaros, hic autem, cum Isocraten pateretur dicere; itaque ornauit et inlustrauit doctrinam illam omnem, rerumque cognitionem cum orationis exercitatione coniunxit.'

For the verse referred to cf. Dind. *Poet. Scen. Graec.*, Eurip. Frag. 784 (Philoctetes). The same verse is quoted by Quint. iii 1. 14 in connection with Isocrates, but Diog. L. v 1, 3 quotes it thus: Αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν Ξενοκράτην δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν. Cope, Introd. to the Rhet. of Arist. pp. 39 foll., holds that a mutual jealousy is proved by the crowd of ancient witnesses who testify to it. But he refers this ill-feeling to A.'s early period, and the Rhetoric, in which he finds no trace of such feeling, to A.'s later period.

In any case the composition of the Rhetoric cannot have been due to rivalry with Isocr., as that work is an integral part of A.'s system; cf. Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II² pp. 180–1 and pp. 754 foll.

copia, cum motus esset Isocratis rhetoris gloria, dicere docere etiam coepit adulescentes et prudentiam cum eloquentia iungere, sic nobis placet nec pristinum dicendi studium deponere et in hac maiore et uberiore arte uersari; hanc enim perfectam philosophiam semper iudicaui, quae de maximis quaestionibus copiose posset ornateque dicere. in quam exercitationem ita nos studiose [operam] dedimus, ut iam etiam scholas Graecorum

2. commotus R G B. cōmotus K P G 2 O 1 2 7 11 12. ɘmotus G 3 B 2. cū
commotus V *al. atram. superscr.* cum commotus M 1 2. cum motus S W 1 2 R 2 6 G 4 D O 3–6 8–10. || socratis R G 1 2 3 B 1 2 K W 2 D. isocratis V *at* i *ante prius* s *postea addito.* isocratis W 1 M 1 G 4 L 3 6 O 2–5 10 12. ysocratis O 1 9. socrates O 7. || dicere etiam coepit (cępit, cepit) R 1 3 4 6–9 V 1 8 G 1 2 B 1–3 K P S W 2 M 1 L 4 6 D Π J O 2–6 9–11 ed. H. dicere etiam O 1 (coepit *omisso*). docere etiam coepit (cępit, cepit) M 2 R 2 10 G 3 L 3 O 7. docere iam cepit O 12. dicere docere etiam W 1 O 8. 3. adulescentes (adolescentes) docere W 2 M 1 R 4 6–9 V 8 L 3 4 6 D Π J O 2–6 ed. H. ad. decere R 3
o decere
O 1 10. ad. decere O 9. adolescentes S *marg.* docere. adulescentes V P *alio atr. superscr.* docere *omittunt* R 1 10 G 1 4 B 1 2 K O 7 11 *alii.* *Post* adulescentes *praebent* docere *edd. uett. sequentibus Dav. Mo. Or.* *Post* dicere *inserit* docere *Bai. quem secuti sunt Sff. TS. Hei. Küh. Ml. Schichius.* 8. operam dedimus R V G K S W 2 M 1 O 1 7. || scolas R V B K S W 2 M 1 D. scholas W 1 M 2 B 3 O 2.

dicere docere: the MS evidence is in favour of this position of *docere*, and that word would most easily fall out after *dicere*. *etiam* goes with *dicere*; *docere* governs *iungere* as well as *dicere*, *adulescentes* being carried on. *dicere*=*eloquentiam*. *prudentiam* here=*philosophiam*; for this and for *dicere docere* cf. Or. iii 16, 61 (quoted by Klein in Mo.) 'hinc discidium illud exstitit quasi linguae atque cordis,...ut alii nos *sapere*, alii *dicere docerent*.' Küh. well compares Diu. ii 1, 4 'cum philosophia dicendi etiam praecepta coniunxerint.' [The evidence that Cic. wrote *Socrati*, *Isocrati* not *-tis* in gen. is to my mind very strong.]

nec...et: Madv. § 458 c.

nec pristinum dicendi studium deponere. The ref. is to declamations, cf. ii 3, 9. (Becher in Mo.)

perfectam philosophiam...dicere: the point (which Bent., who proposed *perfectam eloquentiam*, missed) is that philosophy lacks something unless the philosopher has not only the power to deal with the most important questions (e.g. the *summum bonum*) but also a finished style.

ita nos studiose [operam] dedimus: Sff. reads and Schiche adopts *operam inpendimus*, a reading suggested by Dav.; Dav. himself retained *operam dedimus*, but *operam dare in aliquid* is not found in Cic. Dav. quotes from Quint. xii 2 'qui plus in hoc studii dederunt.' The rarer phrase *operam inpendimus* (OPERĀ INPĒDIMUS) differs by little more than one letter from *operam dedimus*, which would tend to come in by error, but *operam* may have come in as a gloss to *dedimus*. Mur. suggested the omission of *operam* and Lamb. ejected the word.

scholas, 'dissertations,' cf. 47, 113. Dav. compares Quint. iii 1 'pomeridianis scholis'; T.D. iii 34, 81; Fin. ii 1, 1; Diog. L. x 26; Plut. περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν, *init.* τὴν γενομένην μοι σχολὴν περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν ἀπέσταλκά σοι γράψας. Küh. notes that Plutarch was the first to use the word in this sense. An Eng. scholar in Mo., believed by Mo. to be Bentley, distinguishes between *scholae* in this sense and *disputationes* strictly so called, such as the Academics, de Diu., Fin., and N.D. In *disputationes* philosophers in turn set forth the views of their respective schools; in *scholae* there is a teacher and someone to be taught; the latter rarely speaks, never argues, maintains no view, and merely serves to give the other a reason for setting forth his own views.

dedimus...auderemus: Küh. notes that the past sequence is in Cic. the more usual, and the primary sequence the rarer construction after the perf. tense. Cf. 3, 5 n.; 42, 100 'multauerit...possem.'

more habere auderemus; ut nuper tuum post discessum in Tusculano cum essent complures mecum familiares, temptaui, quid in eo genere possim. ut enim antea declamitabam causas, quod nemo me diutius fecit, sic haec mihi nunc senilis est declamatio. ponere iubebam, de quo quis audire uellet; ad id aut sedens aut ambulans disputabam. **8.** itaque dierum quinque scholas, ut Graeci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. fiebat autem ita, ut, cum is, qui audire uellet, dixisset, quid sibi uideretur, tum ego contra dicerem. haec est enim, ut scis, uetus et Socratica ratio contra alterius opinionem disserendi; nam ita

9. audeamus V *at* a *post* e *alio atram. in duarum litt. spatio scripto.* 10. complures R u *in* o *mut.* complures V o *ex* u *ut uid. mut.* cumplures *in* complures *eod. atram. mut.* G. cūplures P. $\overset{u}{q}$mpl'es G 3. q̃plures O 2–4. plures W 2 G 2 B 3. ɔplures O 11 *al. atram. superscr.* complures B 1 2 S W 1 M 1 2 D O 1 5–10 12. 11. possim R V G 1–3 B 1 2 K W 1 Π O 2 5–8 11. poss$\overset{e}{i}$m B 3. possem W 2 M 1 G 4 D J O 1 3 4 9 10 12. possem S *at fort. mutatum est.* 13. at id R V G B 1 2 P S E W 1 2 D Π.

§ **8**, 16. fieba t V *at fuerat* fiebant. || audiri R G P W 2 B 2 J. audire V *at* e *mut. uid.* audire B 1 3 S E W 1 M 1 2 D Π O 1–12.

tuum post discessum: editors generally have supposed that the ref. is to Brutus' departure in 47 B.C. to Cisalpine Gaul, over which Caesar had placed him in command; cf. Fam. vi 6 'Cassium sibi legauit, Brutum Galliae praefecit.' But O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel des Cicero*, p. 57, is undoubtedly right in finding a reference here to the journey on which Brutus set out on the 20th July, 45 B.C., to meet the victorious Caesar who was returning home from Spain (after Munda) through Cisalpine Gaul. Brutus paid Cic. a visit at his *Tusculanum* just before setting out on that journey; cf. Att. xiii 44, 1 'Brutus apud me fuit, cui quidem ualde placebat me aliquid ad Caesarem <sc. scribere sibique dare>: adnueram, sed pompa deterret.' Schmidt refers the words 'Asturam ueni viii Kal. uesperi' (Att. xiii 34, 1) to the 26th of July, 45 B.C., and holds that the five *scholae* of the Tusculan Disputations are referred by Cic. to the five days July 20—24, 45 B.C., that elapsed between Brutus' departure for the North and Cicero's departure from his Tusculan villa for Astura.

possim: *possim* is the reading of the best MSS. Bent. *not. inedit.* has *possem* without comment; *possem* would be more in accordance with Cicero's usage but the MS reading is possible. See 3, 5 n. on *cederetur*.

ut enim antea declamitabam causas: i.e. when *adulescens*; cf. Brutus 90, 310 'ut ab exercitationibus oratoriis nullus dies uacuus esset commentabar declamitans....'

diutius: Dav. quotes Quint. x 5, 2 'θέσεις...quibus Cicero iam princeps in re publica exerceri solebat.'

senilis declamatio: the discussion of philosophical questions as contrasted with the oratorical themes declaimed upon by *adulescentes*. For the expression cf. ii 11, 26 'hanc quasi senilem declamationem.'

ponere: the regular expression for proposing a subject for discussion; cf. Lael. 5, 17; Or. i 22, 102. Gk τιθέναι, whence θέσις.

de quo quis: for the attraction of *quis* into the rel. clause, this being the regular idiom, see Madv. on Fin. iii 20, 67; Küh. on T.D. iv 3, 7; similarly *quisque*, e.g. 18, 41 'quam quisque norit artem,' etc.

ad id, 'with reference to that'; cf. iii 9, 18 'Dionysius ad ea disputat.'

§ **8**. **uellet**: subj. by attraction to the mood of *dixisset*. See Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* 1 § 151, 2.

Socratica: cf. Ac. i 4, 16; Diu. ii 72, 150; N.D. i 5, 11 'haec in philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi nullamque rem aperte iudicandi profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade.'

Socratica ratio...disserendi: the expression is compressed and slightly inac-

facillime, quid ueri simillimum esset, inueniri posse Socrates arbitrabatur. sed quo commodius disputationes nostrae explicentur, sic eas exponam, quasi agatur res, non quasi narretur. ergo ita nascetur exordium:

V. **9.** *A.* Malum mihi uidetur esse mors.

M. Iisne, qui mortui sunt, an iis, quibus moriendum est?

A. Vtrisque.

M. Est miserum igitur, quoniam malum.

A. Certe.

M. Ergo et ii, quibus euenit iam, ut morerentur, et ii, quibus euenturum est, miseri.

22. ergo ita nascatur V ergo *alio atram. scripto et spatio cum rasura post* ergo *relicto.* ergo (*marg.*) R.
V. § 9, 2. hisne *et infra* his R V G B W 1 2 M 1 O 1 7 10 11. hiisne *et infra* hiis S *sed in litura.* iisne . . . iis M 2 O 3 6.

curate. Strictly it should be 'haec enim ratio contra alterius opinionem disserendi uetus et Socratica ratio est.'

disserendi: gen. of contents or definition; cf. Madv. § 286, Roby § 1302; also called *genetiuus appositionalis* Draeger I § 202. Cf. 'nomen carendi' 36, 87 n.

quid ueri simillimum esset: the New Academy sought *probabilia*, not believing certainty to be attainable. For the question whether Socrates believed positive knowledge attainable and for the opinion held in Cicero's day with regard to his views see Reid on Ac. ii 23, 74.

V. § 9. The initials A. and M. have given rise to much discussion. Obviously they must be abbreviations which the text is supposed to explain. A. therefore cannot stand for Atticus, although, according to Dav., codd. Eliens. i and ii have *Atticus*, and Lactantius, Diu. Inst. i 15, refers to Atticus as the person addressed here. For Atticus is not anywhere mentioned as present at the disputations, and if O. E. Schmidt's careful and clear reasoning as to the dates of the several letters be correct it follows that Atticus must have been in Rome to receive Att. xiii 44 after the disputations had commenced. Moreover, as pointed out by Fr. Fabricius, Atticus, at that time 65 years old, could not be the *adulescens* of ii 12, 28. Many, induced by the passage last referred to, have taken A. to mean *adulescens* and M. *magister*, and these terms have the merit of being Ciceronian, though *magister* would apply rather to the conductor of a *ludus* than to the director of a philosophical discussion. The most obvious explanation is that which makes A. = *Auditor*, cf. 'is qui audire uellet' of the previous §, and M. = *Marcus*, cf. 'ego' of the previous §. But Hei. objects to the latter that the praenomen was only used in intimate discourse.

The objection however loses its weight and the discussion most of its importance if, as seems certain, these initials form no part of the original text. They are absent from most MSS. In G they do not occur in Book I after *reuolueris eodem* in i 6, 12; they are several times omitted within the short space in which they occur; and once (at *inepte sane*) M. stands by error for A. From iii 7, 9 'poposci eorum aliquem qui aderant causam disserendi,' it may perhaps be inferred that A. was not necessarily the same person throughout the five days' discussion.

[Some mode of distinguishing the interlocutors there must have been, and as the principal is thoroughly identified with Cicero, see e.g. 5, 32, it is hardly likely he was designated by a general title such as *magister*. About the other interlocutor there is nothing more individual than what is found in 2 § 26, which is not much.]

miserum: used here for the sake of symmetry to balance *malum*, though not established as a substantive as *bonum* and *malum* were. See Küh., who compares Fin. v 28, 84 'bonum liberi; misera orbitas...bonum ualetudo; miser morbus,' etc.

malum = an evil objectively; **miserum** is subjective.

A. Mihi ita uidetur.

M. Nemo ergo non miser.

A. Prorsus nemo.

M. Et quidem, si tibi constare uis, omnes, quicumque nati sunt eruntue, non solum miseri, sed etiam semper miseri. nam si solos eos diceres miseros, quibus moriendum esset, neminem tu quidem eorum, qui uiuerent, exciperes (moriendum est enim omnibus), esset tamen miseriae finis in morte. quoniam autem etiam mortui miseri sunt, in miseriam nascimur sempiternam. necesse est enim miseros esse eos, qui centum milibus annorum ante occiderunt, uel potius omnes, quicumque nati sunt.

A. Ita prorsus existimo.

10. *M.* Dic, quaeso: num te illa terrent, triceps apud inferos Cerberus, Cocyti fremitus, trauectio Acherontis,

Méntó summám aquám attíngens énectus siti Tántalus?

tum illud, quod

Sisyphus uersat

Saxum sudans nitendo neque proficit hilum?

17. milibus R V G 1–4 B 1–3 K S W 1 2 M 1 2 D Π O 1 3 6 7 11. millibus O 10.

§ **10,** 21. cocyti V G K. coycti R. cocyti S *marg.* cochyti. $\overset{c}{\text{coyti}}$ W 2. coyti O 7. || trauectio R 1 2 V G E L. $\overset{s}{\text{trāuectio}}$ O 11. $\overset{ns}{\text{trauectio}}$ P (*alio atram. superscr.*) B 2. $\overset{s}{\text{trāuectio}}$ B Π. tranuectio O 9. trauectio *in* traiectio *mut.* K. traiectio R 6. $\overset{ie}{\text{transuectio}}$ O 10. transuectio S W 1 2 R 7–10 G 2–4 L 2–4 6 D O 1–8 12. 22. enectus siti R V G 1–3 B 1–3 K W 1 2 *plerique.* enectus sit S. siti enectus *non nisi in* G 4 *et* O 11 *inueni. Cf. Nonium s.v.* summum; *Priscianum s. vv.* necatus *et* nectus. || tantulus V G. tantalus *ex* tantulus *mut.* K. 25. proficit R 1 2 10 G 1 2 B 1 2 K S E D *alii.* $\overset{pro}{\text{perficit}}$ O 10. perficit W 1 G 4 J O 11 ed. H. || hilum R 1 6 G 1 2 L 3 D O 6. $\overset{illum}{\text{hilum}}$ O 7. ilū K. ilum O 1 3. hylum O 2. illum P W 2 R 10 L 2 J. hillum O 5 12. ullum Π. illud O 4. girum G 4 O 11 ed. H. $\overset{hilum}{\text{girum}}$ O 10. giro O 9 *at ex* girum *mut. omittit* O 8.

tibi constare, 'to be consistent'; cf. ii 2, 5 'constantiae causa'; Off. i 33, 119 'ut constare in uitae perpetuitate possimus nobismet ipsis nec in ullo officio claudicare.'

moriendum esset...uiuerent: here we have attraction of both tense and mood: we might have had *moriendum est* and *uiuunt*, but rel. clauses intimately connected with conditional clauses are often, as here, assimilated to the latter. Cf. 4, 8 n. on 'uellet' and Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* I § 151, 2.

milibus: for the abl. of measure cf. 1, 3 n.

§ 10. Ménto summam aquám attingens énectus siti Tántalus: if the text be sound we must scan, with Küh. and others, with the metrical accents falling as marked in the text. The metre would then be trochaic tetrameter catalectic. In that case we have *am* unelided in *aquam*. The emendation of FAW., followed by Or. and Mo., *siti enecatus Tantalus*, gives a more familiar rhythm. For the elision of the *s* in *enectus* or *enecatus* cf. *Sisyphus*

fortasse etiam inexorabiles iudices, Minos et Rhadamanthus? apud quos nec te L. Crassus defendet nec M. Antonius nec, quoniam apud Graecos iudices res agetur, poteris adhibere Demosthenen; tibi ipsi pro te erit maxima corona causa dicenda. haec fortasse metuis et idcirco mortem censes esse sempiternum malum.

VI. *A.* Adeone me delirare censes, ut ista esse credam?

M. An tu haec non credis?

A. Minime uero.

M. Male hercule narras.

A. Cur? quaeso.

M. Quia disertus esse possem, si contra ista dicerem.

29. demosthenen R V G W2 O7. demostenen K. demosthenem B12 W1 M1 D O1 3 6 10 11. demosthenē S M2 B3. VI. 2.[i] an V *al. atram. superscr.* annon credis V an *in rasura.* 6. dissertus R K. disertus V G B12 P S E *alii.* disertus[dissertus] D.

below, pronounced *Sisyphu'* (dactyl) and *Aelius* (dactyl) in 9, 18. *S* final in O.L. had a thick sound and was often disregarded in scansion and omitted in inscriptions; cf. the first and fifth inscriptions in Roby Vol. I App. B. See also Cic. Or. 48, 161.

Hei. follows a conj. of Lachmann on Lucr. and takes *Tantalus* as not belonging to the verse but to Cicero, making the line iambic trimeter. *aquam* in that case is trisyllabic (cf. Lucr. vi 552 and 868). Ribbeck and Ml. adopt *amnem*, Buecheler's conj. for *aquam*, and make the line iambic trimeter, though Ribbeck prints it after the trochaic tetrameter catalectic line *ob scelera* etc. found in iv 16, 35, which Küh. also thinks undoubtedly from the same poet.

Sisyphus uersat...hilum: these lines are taken from Lucilius, cf. Becker, *Philologus* II p. 37. They are quoted as from Cicero by Nonius svv. *hilum* and *niti.* For *Tantalus* and *Sisyphus* cf. Hom. Od. xi 582—600. Or. compares here Lucr. iii 1000 'hoc est aduerso nixantem trudere monte saxum.'

hilum: this word is defined by Festus as 'quod grano fabae adhaeret.'

[It has more than once been proposed to read *nitendo sudans*, but Luc. may have intentionally made the rhythm heavy.]

L. Crassus...M. Antonius: for these, the greatest orators of the age immediately preceding that of Cic., see ref. in 3, 5 n.

quoniam...res agetur: this clause involves an ellipse; the line of thought being—'you will not be able to secure a great Roman orator for your defence, nor a great Greek orator either, *a fact which I may also mention* since the judges will be Greeks.' TS. compares the ellipse in such expressions as *ne iaceat* 17, 41.

Demosthenen: for the termination cf. i 26, 65 n. *Ganymeden.*

maxima corona: abl. abs. giving the circumstances (comitative use of the abl.), cf. 25, 60 'terra...hoc caliginoso caelo.' For the meaning 'circle of bystanders' cf. Mart. vii 72, 10 'stantis fauor arbiter coronae': and in connection with a trial p. Mil. i 1 'non enim corona consessus uester cinctus est, ut solebat' (and Colson's n.); Fin. ii 22, 74 'in iudicio aut, si coronam times...in senatu.' Brutus 84, 289 'cum isti Attici dicunt non modo a corona...sed etiam ab aduocatis relinquuntur'; also 51, 192.

VI. **male...narras** = *male nuntias*, 'I am sorry to hear that'; a colloquial expression used with reference to bad news; cf. Att. xvi 14, 3 'male narras de Nepotis filio' (he was dead); similarly 'bene edepol narras' Ter. Eun. v 3, 7.

disertus esse possem, 'I could speak well.' For the distinction between *disertus* and *eloquens* see Or. i 21, 94 'disertos cognosse me nonnullos, eloquentem adhuc neminem,' and Wilkins' note.

11. *A.* Quis enim non in eius modi causa? aut quid negotii est haec poetarum et pictorum portenta conuincere?

M. Atqui pleni libri sunt contra ista ipsa disserentium philosophorum.

A. Inepte sane. quis enim est tam excors, quem ista moueant?

M. Si ergo apud inferos miseri non sunt, ne sunt quidem apud inferos ulli.

A. Ita prorsus existimo.

M. Vbi sunt ergo ii, quos miseros dicis, aut quem locum incolunt? si enim sunt, nusquam esse non possunt.

A. Ego uero nusquam esse illos puto.

M. Igitur ne esse quidem?

A. Prorsus isto modo, et tamen miseros ob id ipsum quidem, quia nulli sint.

§ **11**, 9. pleni libri sunt V G 1 3 B K P S W 2 Π J O 3–6 8 9. pleni libris R 2. pleni sunt libri W 1 B 3 D O 1 2 10–12. libri pleni sunt O 7. libri sunt R *duobus antecedentibus uerbis deletis.* 16. sunt ergo R 1 2 V G B 1–3 S W 1 2 M 1 Π O 1 2 7–12. ergo sunt P O 3–5 6. 21. nulli sint R V G B P E O 7. nulli sunt S W 1 2 M 1 2 B 2 3 D O 1–6 8–12.

§ **11. quis enim**: the use of *enim* here, as often, is based upon an ellipse, cf. 32, 78 n. on 'in his est enim aliqua obscuritas.' Similarly γάρ very commonly in Greek. '(Certainly you could) for who could not in such a cause?' Cf. Iuu. vii 158 'mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?'

portenta: Küh. compares N.D. ii 8, 18 'portenta et miracula non disserentium philosophorum, sed somniantium'; 16, 43 'portenta magorum.'

conuincere = *redarguere*. Cf. N.D. ii 1, 3 'conuictis Epicuri erroribus'; p. Flacc. 10, 22 'testem...conuicit et elinguem reddidit.'

disserentium philosophorum: *philosophorum* is contrasted with *poetarum et pictorum*, and its position emphasizes this contrast. The passage in iv 28, 61, quoted by Mo. from Goerenz and by Küh., is not very similar, but 21, 48 (also quoted by Küh.), 'soleo saepe mirari nonnullorum insolentiam philosophorum,' is a perfect parallel.

['pleni libri,' Fam. ix 16 § 6; Sen. Ep. 33, 2; Quint. v 4, 1 and v 11, 39. Cic. is ridiculing the Epicureans for refuting popular legends, cf. Sen. Ep. 24, 18.]

inepte sane, 'with little to do, I must say.'

quis enim est: as this is the usual position of *enim*, there is no need, with Or. Mo. and some others, to alter to *quis est enim*. For an exhaustive note on the conditions under which *est* may stand second with *enim* third, and on the reason for that arrangement, see Küh. on 27, 66.

excors: see 9, 18 n.

ne...quidem: here, as often, = 'not... either'; so below 'igitur ne esse quidem' and § 12 'ita ne miseri quidem sunt.' Cf. Mayor on Phil. ii 5, 10 'non tractabo ut consulem: ne ille quidem me ut consularem.'

nusquam esse non possunt: i.e. 'they must be somewhere.'

igitur: cf. 2, 4 n.

prorsus isto modo, 'precisely as you say.'

nulli: *nullus* is a strong negative, chiefly found in comic and colloquial uses, but cf. 36, 87.

quia...sint: the subj. because the speaker reports his own reason. Or. and Mo. read *sunt* with inferior MS support.

12. *M.* Iam mallem Cerberum metueres quam ista tam inconsiderate diceres.

A. Quid tandem?

M. Quem esse negas, eundem esse dicis. ubi est acumen tuum? cum enim miserum esse dicis, tum eum, qui non sit, dicis esse.

A. Non sum ita hebes, ut istud dicam.

M. Quid dicis igitur?

A. Miserum esse uerbi causa M. Crassum, qui illas fortunas morte dimiserit, miserum Cn. Pompeium, qui tanta gloria sit orbatus, omnis denique miseros, qui hac luce careant.

M. Reuolueris eodem. sint enim oportet, si miseri sunt;

§ **12**, 24. quid tandem R V G B 1–3 P S W 1 2 D Π O 1–12. 28. istud *ante* dicam R 1 9 V G 1 3 B 1 2 S W 1 2 M 2 D O 1 7 8 11. ista P E M 1 G 2 B 3 Π O 2–6 9 10 12. istuc J. 29. quid dicis igitur *plerique*. quid igitur dicis W 2 J O 1. 30. M. Crassum W 1 2 M 1 B 3 D O 2 3 4 6. M. *omittunt* R 1 10 G B 1 2 K S M 2 O 1 7 11. m *alio atram. superscr.* V Π. marcū crassum R 12. 31. CN R B 1 3 P M 1 2 O 2. Gn V G W 1 2 B 2 O 3 4 6. Cn. S (*at mutatum uidetur*). C O 1. C eī O 7. gneium O 11. Gneū D Π. ‖ qui^ tanta glīa S *marg.* tanta dignitate. tanta dignitate V *in marg. excurrens; sequitur in proxima linea* tanta gloria V. tanta dignitate tanta gloria J. 32. omnis V G B K P E.

§ **12. iam mallem**, 'oh! *now* I could prefer': so ἤδη often. *iam* expresses surprise, the idea being 'when you come to make a statement like that.'

quam ista...quid tandem? 'than that you should make such reckless assertions. What reckless assertion, pray?' M. rhetorically uses the plural *ista* in censuring, while A. instinctively minimizes by means of the singular *quid.* This seems better than, with Sff., to give all from *iam mallem* to *dicis esse* to M. *qui tandem* of Bentley was adopted by Or. and approved by Wes.

tum eum: *tum*, if sound, emphasizes the identity which is asserted. Sff. and TS. follow Bake who struck out *tum* as arising from dittographia with *eum.* Mo. conj. *tu*, but Küh. rightly objects that there is no reason for an emphatic *tu* here.

eum, qui non sit, 'a non-existent person'; class-subjunctive.

dicis esse: *esse* has two senses: (*a*) unemphatic, 'to be'; (*b*) emphatic, 'to exist.' M. quibbles upon these two meanings and A., his own creation, is unable to expose the fallacy involved in his objections. For *esse* in the sense of 'exist' cf. 24, 58 n.

istud: Or. explains that A. repudiates the last suggestion *eum qui non sit dicis esse* as contrasted with those previously referred to—'quam ista tam inconsiderate diceres.'

quid dicis igitur? Küh. notes that the effect of postponing *igitur* to the third place is to emphasize *dicis*, the word in the second place; cf. ii 19, 45.

M. Crassum: M. Licinius Crassus, the Triumvir, who fell at Carrhae 53 B.C. His ruling passion was desire for wealth, while that of Pompey was ambition; cf. *gloria*, here.

qui dimiserit: subj. with rel. giving a reason, just as with *cum causale*, cf. 32, 78 n. For *dimiserit*='surrendered' or 'lost' cf. p. Caec. 26, 75 'patrimonium unius incommodo dimittitur, ius amitti non potest sine magno incommodo ciuitatis,' cited by Mo.; add Phil. ii 15, 37 '(uita) quae me...dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret'; Caes. B. G. vii 52, 2 'cum exploratam uictoriam dimisisset'; B. C. i 28, 2; iii 97, 1. More usually the word denotes voluntarily letting go.

sint enim oportet: Küh. notes that we might have expected *sint enim necesse est*, but that *oportet=ratio postulat ut, qui mortui sint, esse statuamus*, comparing p. Rosc. Am. 22, 62 'haec cum sint omnia, tamen exstent *oportet* expressa sceleris uestigia.'

tu autem modo negabas eos esse, qui mortui essent. si igitur non sunt, nihil possunt esse; ita ne miseri quidem sunt.

A. Non dico fortasse etiam, quod sentio; nam istuc ipsum, non esse, cum fueris, miserrimum puto.

13. *M.* Quid? miserius quam omnino numquam fuisse? ita, qui nondum nati sunt, miseri iam sunt, quia non sunt, et nos, si post mortem miseri futuri sumus, miseri fuimus ante, quam nati. ego autem non commemini, antequam sum natus, me miserum: tu si meliore memoria es, uelim scire, ecquid de te recordere.

VII. *A.* Ita iocaris, quasi ego dicam eos miseros, qui nati non sint, et non eos miseros, qui mortui sunt.

36. istuc R 1 2 V G B 1 2 P S L M 2 D Π J O 1 3–5. istunc E. istud W 1 2 M 1 G 2 B 3 O 2 6–9 11. istud O 10 *at in litura.* id O 12.
37. qum (o above) S *h. e.* cum *in* quom *mutatum.*
§ **13**, 40. si post (*post* nos) R V G 1 3 B P M 1 D Π O 1 3–7. ipsi si post W 1 2 M 1 G 2 4 B 3 J O 2 8–12. 42. ec quid R. ecquid V G B P R 2 10. etquid O 8. et ecquid R 6. ec quid M 2 *at* h *et fortasse alia litt. ante* e *erasis.* et quid S E L 1 2–4 6 W 1 2 M 1 R 3 4 7 12 G 2 4 D J O 1–6 9 10 12 ed. H. hec quidem R 9. h' quidē O 7. h' quidē *in* ecquid *mut.* K. quid O 11. 43. recordare R 1 2 4 8–10 17 G 1–4 B 1 2 K P S E L 1 3 4 W 1 2 M 2 D Π J O 1 7 9 11 12. recordere M 1 R 6 7 12 E 8 L 6 O 2–6 8 10. VII. 2. eos miseros R G B K P *alii.* *omittunt* miseros W 2 O 7. *transuerso calamo notatum habet* S.

ita, 'consequently.'

ne miseri quidem, 'not...either,' cf. 7, 14; 23, 54, and often.

non...etiam, 'not...yet'; cf. Verr. iii 84, 194 'nemini lege concessum, sed fortasse adhuc in nullo etiam uindicatum'; Caes. B. G. vi 43, 4 'nec plane etiam' = 'necdum plane.'

cum fueris = *cum quis fuerit.* For the second pers. of the subj. used of a pers. whose existence is only assumed see Madv. § 370; p. Sulla 10, 31 'difficile est enim tacere, cum doleas.'

§ **13. et nos**: *ipsi* retained after *nos* by Or. c. vulg. is absent from the best MSS and rightly rej. by most edd.

commemini: Mo. notes that this verb, rare in Cic., occurs in Or. i 53, 227, iii 22, 85. [The only passages, I believe.] The prefix *con-* here = *mecum* or *apud animum meum.*

me miserum: Küh. here and in *Gr.* II § 5 (p. 9) notes this as an instance of ellipse of *esse*, an ellipse not uncommon after verbs of saying and thinking. The omission with the perf. or fut. participle after such verbs would be un-Ciceronian, but with an adjective it is natural: trans. 'I have no pre-natal recollection of myself as wretched.'

antequam sum natus: loosely expressed. For the effect see trans. in previous n. Dr Reid compares *memini puer*, observing that there we have the same sort of loose attachment without strict syntax. [*Puer* would be more naturally *cum puer essem* and here *antequam sum natus* is loosely attracted to the subject instead of being wrought into the syntactical structure of the sentence.]

recordere: Dav. endeavoured to defend *recordare* of the best MSS, placing a full stop after *scire.*

VII. **qui nati non sint...qui mortui sunt**: *sint* is not sub-oblique as, if it were, we should also have *mortui sint* in Cicero's symmetrical style (and Bai. read *mortui sint* following Wesenberg's conjecture). The *sunt*-clause refers to actual persons while the *sint*-clause refers only to mental conceptions and the subj. is a class-subjunctive. So *qui non sit* below.

et non eos = *et non eos potius*; so often *et non, ac non*, Madv. § 458 a obs. 1.

M. Esse ergo eos dicis.

A. Immo, quia non sint, cum fuerint, eo miseros esse.

M. Pugnantia te loqui non uides? quid enim tam pugnat, quam non modo miserum, sed omnino quicquam esse, qui non sit? an tu egressus porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Seruiliorum, Metellorum sepulcra uides, miseros putas illos?

A. Quoniam me uerbo premis, posthac non ita dicam, miseros esse, sed tantum miseros, ob id ipsum, quia non sunt.

M. Non dicis igitur: 'Miser est M. Crassus,' sed tantum: 'Miser M. Crassus'?

A. Ita plane.

14. *M.* Quasi non necesse sit, quidquid isto modo pronunties, id aut esse aut non esse. an tu dialecticis ne inbutus

4. quia non sint (*ante* cum) R V G B 1 2 K P S E L W 2 D J O 3–4 7. sunt W 1 M 2 R 6 O 1 2 5 6 8–12. sunt II *sed fortasse mut. est.* || eo R V G B 1 2 K E L W 2 D J. eos P S W 1 M 1 2 R 2 G 3 *alii.* 7. quom *in* cum *mut.* O 10. 10. sunt (*ante* non dicis) W 1 2 O 2–4 6–12. sint V *cum litura, u in i mutato.* sint R G 1 3 B 1 2 P S E M 1 2 O 1 5.
§ **14**, 15. inbutus V.

quia non sint: cf. 6, 11 n. 'quia nulli sint.'

pugnantia, 'don't you see that your words are self-contradictory?' Cf. Phil. ii 8, 18 'tam...eras excors ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares.'

non modo...sed, 'to assert that a non-existent person should be I will not say miserable but (that he should be) anything whatever.' Cf. Fin. ii 28, 92 'non dico ...sed'; p. Sest. 50, 108 'non dicam... sed' following on 'non modo...sed' used with the same meaning. See also Küh. *Gr.* II § 159, 10 pp. 667–9.

quicquam: 3, 6 n.

porta Capena: abl. of route along which. This gate was in the Servian wall, in the valley S.W. of the Caelian Hill where the hill on which S. Balbina stands approaches the Caelian most nearly. TS. and Hei. wrongly say that the Porta Capena = the modern Porta S. Sebastiano. The latter is much further out and occupies the site earlier occupied by the Porta Appia in the *Aurelian* wall.

Calatini: A. Atilius Calatinus, a hero of the First Punic War. Cic. quotes from the inscription on his tomb in Cato M. 17, 61; Fin. ii 35, 116.

Scipionum: the tombs of the Scipios were discovered in 1780 a little beyond the Capene gate, on the Via Appia, between the point where the Via Latina breaks off from that road and the modern Porta S. Sebastiano. Inscriptions VI VIII XI XIII XIV in Roby App. B are taken from these tombs. For the tombs of the Scipios and all their inscriptions cf. Momms. *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* I nos. 29—38, pp. 11—21. For these and the Porta Capena see also Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome* II 358; Burn, *Rome and the Campagna* p. 49. The laws of the XII Tables forbade burial or cremation within the walls, cf. Cic. de Leg. ii 23 'hominem mortuom in urbe ne sepelito neue urito.' The bereaved relatives wished the public to witness their piety towards the departed and therefore buried along the main roads, cf. Iuu. i 158 'quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.'

uerbo premis, 'you are pressing me with a verbal objection.' Küh. well quotes Forcellini 'translate a re militari (hostes premere i.e. acriter persequi) est dicendo aut disputando urgere aliquem,' cf. 'premere argumentum' 36, 88.

miseros esse...miseros: as A. is the victim of a quibble he will quibble too, and leave *esse* unexpressed, although it is implied.

§ **14. an tu...es**, 'Is it possible that you have not even an elementary acquaintance with dialectics?' For *an* cf. 2, 4 n.; for *inbuere* of giving the first taste to anything cf. 13, 30 and Hor. Epp. i 2, 69 'quo semel est inbuta recens seruabit odorem testa diu.'

quidem es? in primis enim hoc traditur: omne pronuntiatum (sic enim mihi in praesentia occurrit ut appellarem ἀξίωμα; utar post alio, si inuenero melius)—id ergo est pronuntiatum, quod est uerum aut falsum. cum igitur dicis: 'Miser M. Crassus,' aut hoc dicis: 'Miser est Crassus,' ut possit iudicari, uerum id falsumne sit, aut nihil dicis omnino.

A. Age, iam concedo non esse miseros, qui mortui sint, quoniam extorsisti, ut faterer, qui omnino non essent, eos ne miseros quidem esse posse. quid? qui uiuimus, cum moriendum sit, nonne miseri sumus? quae enim potest in uita esse iucunditas, cum dies et noctes cogitandum sit iam iamque esse moriendum?

VIII. **15.** *M.* Ecquid ergo intellegis, quantum mali de humana condicione deieceris?

A. Quonam modo?

M. Quia, si mori etiam mortuis miserum esset, infinitum

17. appellarem R G B 1–3 P W 1 2 M 1 2 D Π J *alii.* apellarem V. appell m S (3 *litt. erasis*). ‖ αΣιωμα R B P E. αΣιωμα V (*at fuerat Σ ante ι*). αΣιωανα S *marg.* αΣιωμα. 18. aliosi ſ V. alios [alio si] si R 7 D. alio si z G 3 (=alio si et). alios et R G B 1 2 E L. alios z K. alios et P. alio sit O 6. alio sed si W 2 R 9 L 3 J. alios et si non G 2. alio! si O 10. alio si S W 1 M 2 R 2 6 16 G 4 L 2 6 Π O 1–5 7 8 11 12. alio si non O 9. *Quod uariant codd. ex dittographia quam nominant ortum credo, neque legendum* alio, scilicet si etc. 22. sint R G 1–3 K P W 2 M 1 Π O 5–7 11. sint [u] B. st' O 10. sunt V S E W 1 M 2 R 2 G 4 B 2 3 O 1–4 8 9 12.

VIII. § **15**, 1. ecqui R 1 2 4 10 V G B P S L 1 6 O 2. ecq [i] K. ecqui [atqui] W 2 *alia manu superscr.* et [c] qui B 2. ecqui [at] O 10. et qui [hec] E *alio, ut uid., atram. superscr.* etqui M 1 L 3 D C J. et quid R 6 O 6 9. ecqui[d] O 5 *ead. fort. manu superscr.* hec qui G 3 O 7. atqui W 1 M 2 G 4 L 2 Π O 1 11 12. hec iam O 8. et iam R 7. etiam qui sic G 2 (*sic*). *omittunt* O 3 4. ‖ intellegis R V G B K P E. 2. conditione R V G B K P S M 1 2. condicione E D. 4. si morſ V; *at* mori *in* morſ *mutatum esse suspicor.* mori R G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E L 1–3 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1–12.

For the thought cf. Ac. ii 29, 95 'nempe fundamentum dialecticae est quidquid enuntietur—id autem appellant ἀξίωμα quod est quasi effatum—aut uerum esse aut falsum.'

pronuntiatum, 'proposition,' see n. on *conclusum* 32, 78.

occurrit: perf. as the sequence *appellarem* shews.

id ergo est: *ergo, igitur, sed, sed tamen* often resume after a digression. Here owing to the parenthesis the construction, which should have been *omne ergo pronuntiatum aut uerum est aut falsum*, has been changed.

qui mortui sint, 'the dead,' *sint* being class-subjunctive. This is better than to take it as subj. with the rel. giving a reason, 'seeing that they are dead.'

ne miseros quidem esse, 'are not wretched either,' cf. 23, 54.

VIII. § **15. ecquid**: acc. of reference, 'pray do you (literally in any respect) see?' The reading *ecqui* is doubtful Latin and would not give the sense required here.

deieceris: cf. ii 5, 14 'quantum de doloris terrore deieceris.'

si mori: if *mori* be sound it includes not

quoddam et sempiternum malum haberemus in uita; nunc uideo calcem, ad quam cum sit decursum, nihil sit praeterea extimescendum. sed tu mihi uideris Epicharmi, acuti nec insulsi hominis ut Siculi, sententiam sequi.

A. Quam? non enim noui.

M. Dicam, si potero, Latine. scis enim me Graece loqui in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine.

A. Et recte quidem. sed quae tandem est Epicharmi ista sententia?

M. Émori noló, sed me esse mórtuum nihil aéstimo.

A. Iam adgnosco Graecum. sed quoniam coegisti, ut con-

14. estimo R 1 2 4 10 V G 1 3 B K P S E M 1 D. extimo W 2 R 7 G 2 4
is l'æ
B 3 L 3 O 6 7 11. extĩo O 5 *alio atram. superscr.* aestimo R 6. existimo O 2. existimo L 1 2 W 1 M 2 Π J O 1 3 4 8–10 12 ed. H. 15. a gnosco *littera ante*
g
gn *erasa et* gradum *in rasura* V. adnosco G *ead. manu superscr.* agnosco K ‖ et quoniam R 1 6 V G 1–3 B 1–3 K P E W 1 2 M 1 2 Π O 1–12. et quoniam S *at* e *in rasura esse uidetur. Küh. adfirmat Vaticanum codicem* sed et *habere*: *ego autem nihil nisi* et quoniam *inuenisse uideor et mecum consentit E. Stroebel, Philol. vol.* 49, *p.* 51.

merely the act of dying but the resulting state.

Küh. warmly supports Bentley's emendation *mors* (wh. is also the reading, by correction, of the Vatican MS), taking the corruption to have been caused by the following *miserum*. But though *mors* might be more strictly accurate Cic. may not have expressed himself with perfect accuracy here.

in uita: if we punctuate as in the text with Ml., we must explain as Anon. in Mo. as = *cum uitam acciperemus* (rather *cum uitam haberemus*). Bai. Hei. TS. bracket these words. Küh. takes them with what follows, putting the semi-colon after *haberemus*. But though he finds in the contrast to *sempiternum* a special fitness in the emphatic position thus secured for the words it does not seem natural.

calcem: a straight line drawn with chalk or pipe-clay across the floor of the circus to mark the finishing point; *decursum* continues the metaphor from the race-course.

Epicharmus was born at Cos but brought to Sicily when young or went there at a later date.

ut Siculi: lit. 'as being a Sicilian'; *ut* (cf. Gk ὡς) does not imply anything as to whether the Sicilians were witty or not. They were, as a matter of fact, reputed witty, cf. Verr. iv 43, 95 'numquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete et commode dicant'; also Brut. 12, 46. Here therefore the meaning is 'witty, as a Sicilian might be expected to be,' cf. 43, 104 'Diogenes, ut Cynicus, proici se iussit inhumatum.' It is equally common for *ut* to receive from the context a restrictive force, cf. Cato M. 4, 12 'multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae.' Cf. ὡς in Thuc. iv 84, 2 ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν.

scis enim: i.e. Cic. translates the extracts from Greek writers and avoids foisting in any Greek, the more so as his philosophical works are intended for readers assumed to be little acquainted with Greek literature. In writing to Atticus, his purpose being different, he introduces Greek freely.

emori...: trochaic tetrameter catalectic. H. Sauppe conjectures the Greek to have been ἀποθανεῖν οὐχ ἁνδάνει μοι· τεθνάναι δ' οὐ διαφέρει. The accus. of price (*nihil*) with *aestimo* perhaps occurs only here. Ml. and Schiche may be right in altering to *nihili*.

adgnosco = 'iam ex uerbis illis Latinis adgnosco uerba Graeca'; cf. ii 11, 26 'non enim adgnosco.'

coegisti ut concederem: the infin. is more usual with *cogo* in Cic. but cf. § 16 below and p. Mil. 26, 71; Ac. ii 3, 8; Or. iii 0.

cederem, qui mortui essent, eos miseros non esse, perfice, si potes, ut ne moriendum quidem esse miserum putem.

16. *M.* Iam istuc quidem nihil negotii est, sed etiam maiora molior.

A. Quo modo hoc nihil negotii est? aut quae sunt tandem ista maiora?

M. Quia, quoniam post mortem mali nihil est, ne mors quidem est malum, cui proximum tempus est post mortem, in quo mali nihil esse concedis. ita ne moriendum quidem esse malum est; id est enim perueniendum esse ad id, quod non esse malum confitemur.

A. Vberius ista, quaeso. haec enim spinosiora prius ut confitear me cogunt, quam ut adsentiar. sed quae sunt ea, quae dicis te maiora moliri?

M. Vt doceam, si possim, non modo malum non esse, sed bonum etiam esse mortem.

A. Non postulo id quidem, aueo tamen audire. ut enim

§ 16, 18. istuc R V G 1 3 B P S W 2 M 1 2 J O 1 5 6 8–10 12. istud W 1 R 3 6 O 2–4 7 11. ‖ *omittunt uerba* sed etiam maiora molior R 1–4 7–11 16 17 G 1–4 B 1 2 K P E 1 4 6–9 12 13 L 1 2 5 W 2 M 2 V 2 7 8 12 13 D C O 1 3 4 7–9 11. *omittunt* S B 3 E 3 L 4 *sed in margine addita habent.* *omittebat* V *at alio atram. superscripta sunt* sed ego maiora molior. *habent* M 1 R 5 6 12 14 V 6 11 E 5 14 15 L 3 6 O 2 5 6 10 ed. H. ed. P. sed maiora molior W 1 Π. et maiora molior E 2. et maiora i molior R 18. sed etiam maiora O 12 *marg.* molior. sed etiam maiora moliri paro R 15. sed etiam maiora moliar J. sed iam maiora m *in marg. scriptum habet* R 13. *quattuor uerborum spatium habet* E 11. *totam paginam omittit* V 4. 22. quia quoniam R V G 1 3 B S E W 2 D Π O 7. quia[qm] B 2. quia quō P. quia quomodo M 2. quia qn̄ M 1 O 10. quia quando O 9. quia O 3 4 6 (quoniam *omisso*). quoniam G 2 O 2 8 11 (quia *omisso*). quoniam quia O 1 5. quia si W 1 G 4 O 12. quoniam si *non inueni.* ‖ nihil est *omittunt* R G; *omittit* K *at manu antiqua superscr. habet; omittit* V *manu* 1 *at sub uerbis* post mortem, *quae lineam claudunt, manu* 2 *scriptum habet* V nihil est. *omittunt* mali B D. male (nichil÷) P *alio atram. superscr. et fortasse* e *ex* i *mut.* nihil est mali M 1 O 5 6 10 11. nil mali W 2 (est *omisso*). mali nihil est S E R 2 B 2 3 Π O 1 7–9. nihil concedis esse mali O 12. 25. id est B 1 2 E M 1 D Π J O 2 6. id ·N· O 12. id ē W 2 G 3 B 2 O 8 10. id O 11 (est *omisso*). idē V G. idem R O 7. inde W 1 O 3 4. sic O 1 9. 32. aueo R 5 6 L 3 6 J O 2–5 12. aueo (habeo) D *alia manu superscr.* habeo (u) B 3. haueo M 1. abeo (h) V *al. atram. et parum distincte superscr.* aueo O 9, *at* au *in rasura.* hăbeo S *marg.* aüeo. habeo R 1 3 9 G 1–3 B K E W 1 2 M 2 L 2 O 1 7 8 10. hēo R 7 8 G 4 B 2 L 4 O 11.

§ 16. **etiam maiora molior**, 'I am aiming at still greater achievements.' Cf. 38, 91 'aeterna moliri.'

cui: *sc. morti, proximum tempus est tempus post mortem in quo, etc.* Küh.

haec enim spinosiora, 'for the intricacies of these assertions compel me to agreement rather than to conviction.' For *spinosiora* of a harsh, crabbed style cf. Fin. iii 1, 3 'Stoicorum autem non ignoras quam sit subtile uel spinosum potius disserendi genus.'

prius=*potius*, cf. v 27, 77 'cum exanimarentur prius quam uictos se faterentur.'

ut enim non efficias: for *ut* concessive

non efficias, quod uis, tamen, mors ut malum non sit, efficies. sed nihil te interpellabo; continentem orationem audire malo.

17. *M.* Quid? si te rogauero aliquid, nonne respondebis? *A.* Superbum id quidem est, sed, nisi quid necesse erit, malo non roges.

IX. *M.* Geram tibi morem et ea, quae uis, ut potero, explicabo, nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa, quae dixero, sed ut homunculus unus e multis probabilia

§ **17**, 35. nonne R V B S E G 4 O 2–4 9–11. nonme G. nō ne O 5 12 ed. H. nōne R 5 B 2 M 2 J O 1. n̄ne P W 2 R 2 10 G 3 (*non ut adfirmat Küh.*) n̄one M 1 O 8. none O 6 7. nne K. non E W 1 G 2 B 2 D. 37. malo ne roges R 5. malo n̄ roges K. *ceteri quos quidem inspexi* malo non roges.

see n. on ii 5, 14, 'ne sit sane summum malum dolor,' a construction, however, to be distinguished from this. The negative of this *ut* is *ut non*, cf. Madv. 440 a obs. 4; Draeger 562 b, c.

efficies ut: with subj. Cic. uses *efficio*, both active and passive, with *ut* and subj. and with acc. and infin., in the sense of *probare* active and *sequi* passive. For the former cf. 31 § 76 and for the latter v 25, 71 'quibus hoc efficitur ut uirtus ad beate uiuendum sit se ipsa contenta.'

§ **17**. **nonne respondebis**: Küh. reads *non*, thinking it scarcely credible 'that copyists could change the "uulgare" *nonne* into the "rarius et exquisitius" *non*, while the change of the less familiar *non* into *nonne* was easy.' And *non* may be right, but if so I take *nonne* to have arisen from the misunderstanding of an abbreviation and not by the process assumed by Küh., and as it seems at least equally possible that *non* has got into a few MSS through an abbreviation being misread I follow the reading of the best MSS. For *non*)(*nonne* see Madv. on Fin. ii 3, 10; Kritz, Sall. Iug. 31, p. 185.

superbum id quidem est: sc. *non respondere roganti*, cf. Ac. ii 22, 94 'si habes quod liqueat neque respondes, superbe.' [*superbum*: Roman feeling on this point was curiously strong. In addition to the passages in my n. on Acad. ii 94, cf. August. Ep. 118, 2 'si interrogatus quis non responderit, indoctus et hebes putabitur.' A similar passage in Arnob. c. g. ii 1. Also a jest much misunderstood by commentators on Att. iv 18, 3 (16, 11). That the *arrogantia* attributed to Tiberius was due to persistent silence when addressed is shewn by the curious passage in Suet. Tib. 68. Cf. also Theophr. of the *αὐθάδης...ἐστὶν οἷος προσαγορευθεὶς μὴ ἀντιπροσειπεῖν*.]

malo non roges: as *ne* not *non* is used after verbs of wishing (Madv. § 456), on account of the implied prohibition, some editors (Or. Mo.) have altered to *ne*. Küh. explains *non roges* as opposed to the preceding *si te rogauero* and = *abstineas rogando*: cf. certain uses of *οὐ φάναι* in Greek and other instances of *οὐ* to be accounted for on this principle, where *μὴ* might be expected. [*malo non*: but cf. Fin. i 26, '*uellem ne* deterruisset'; Phil. 8, 31; and there are other exx.]

IX. **quasi Pythius Apollo**: i.e. with authority, *ὡς ἐκ τρίποδος*.

homunculus unus e multis: cf. Hor. Sat. i 9, 71 'sum paulo infirmior, unus multorum'; Cic. Brut. 79, 274 'non fuit orator unus e multis, potius inter multos prope singularis fuit'; Plin. Ep. i 3, 1 'quid agit Comum?...quid illa porticus?... possidentne te?...si possident, felix beatusque es: sin minus, unus ex multis.' 'An ordinary individual,' a single individual among many similar. This use is not different in kind from the use of *unus* with superlatives and words denoting eminence, where it seems to have an intensive force, as in ii 26, 64 'unam omnium rem pulcherrimam'; ii 18, 43 'quae una ceteris excellebat'; nor is it different from its use in passages where it seems to have a disparaging force, as in Catullus 22, 8 'unus caprimulgus.' For a unit among goat-herds is a humble unit, while a unit among superlatives is an exalted unit, and (as in our passage and in Or. i 29, 132 'unus paterfamilias') a unit among a multitude is an ordinary unit. Again, where men (as in i 12, 27 'unum illud erat insitum priscis illis') have only one idea they are apt to have that idea firmly fixed.

probabilia coniectura sequens: i.e. he follows the New Academy; *probabile* = *τὸ πιθανόν*. For this principle, introduced

coniectura sequens. ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut ueri similia uideam, non habeo; certa dicent ii, qui et percipi ea posse dicunt et se sapientes esse profitentur.

A. Tu, ut uidetur; nos ad audiendum parati sumus.

18. *M*. Mors igitur ipsa, quae uidetur notissima res esse, quid sit, primum est uidendum. sunt enim qui discessum animi a corpore putent esse mortem; sunt qui nullum censeant fieri discessum, sed una animum et corpus occidere, animumque in corpore exstingui. qui discedere animum censent, alii statim dissipari, alii diu permanere, alii semper. quid sit porro ipse

IX. 5. similia uideam *plerique codd.* uideam similia W 2.
§ **18**, 10. putant R V G 1–4 B 1 2 K P S E W 1 2 M 2 D Π J O 1–4 7–12. putant B 3. putent M 1 O 5 6.

by Carneades as a basis for action, see Reid's Introd. to the Academics pp. 56–7; also Ac. i 12, 45; ii 10, 32; Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* c. 23 p. 522 (E.T.).

percipi: *percipere* = καταλαμβάνειν, a technical term with the Stoics. Certain impressions were καταληπτικαί, i.e. gave a clear impression of being true. These compelled assent (συγκατάθεσις, *adsensio*, *adprobatio*) and were the standard of truth. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* pp. 86–8. [The question is still sometimes debated whether καταληπτικὴ φαντασία is an impression which enables the mind to seize on reality or one which itself grips the mind so firmly as to compel belief in its truth. Probably both senses attached to the phrase.]

se sapientes esse profitentur: but the Stoics held the *sapiens* to be an ideal character. No Stoic claimed to be *sapiens*. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* p. 255.

§ **18. igitur**: τοίνυν, 'well then.'

statim dissipari: the Epicureans held this view, Zeller, *Stoics, etc.*, p. 430.

statim: cf. καπνοῦ δίκην Sext. Empir. adu. Math. ix § 72; nay much more quickly than mist or smoke Lucr. iii 437. This was due to the extreme lightness of its component atoms.

diu permanere: the Stoics held this view, cf. 31, 77 'Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur, diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant.' Whether all souls would last as separate souls until the ἐκπύρωσις or only the souls of the good was a point not agreed upon by Stoic leaders. But it seems to have been generally held by them that even the souls of the bad held together for a time, although, being weaker, they did not hold together until the ἐκπύρωσις. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* pp. 206–7 and notes; R. and P. § 409.

alii semper: Plato, cf. the Phaedo, *passim*. Pythagoras, cf. Porphyr. Vita Pythag. 19 μάλιστα μέντοι γνώριμα παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐγένετο πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ἀθάνατον εἶναί φησι τὴν ψυχήν. It is hard however to decide how much belongs to Pythagoras and how much was attributed to him by late Pythagoreans. See Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* 1 p. 355, for his doctrine of transmigration of souls and pp. 475 foll. for the soul generally. Also for the whole question how far was Greek philosophy original and how far derived from Oriental sources see Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* 1 pp. 26 foll. Herodotus ii 123 claims for the Egyptians the first publication of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and Davies on i 16, 38 quotes Pausanias, Messen. c. 32 ἐγὼ Χαλδαίους καὶ Ἰνδῶν τοὺς μάγους πρώτους οἶδα εἰπόντας ὡς ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου ψυχή.

Probably also Socrates, cf. Xen. Mem. iv 3, 14 ἀνθρώπου γε ψυχὴ ἢ εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τοῦ θείου μετέχει ὅτι μὲν βασιλεύει ἐν ἡμῖν φανερόν.

Empedocles also made the soul, after a round of expiatory migrations, inhabit the body of some man of noble nature and thence pass to heaven to dwell with the gods. See R. and P. § 141 and notes.

See also 16, 38 for Pherecydes of Syros.

For the question whether Aristotle thought the soul immortal or not see R. and P. § 337.

Democritus and Epicurus denied this doctrine.

animus aut ubi aut unde, magna dissensio est. aliis cor ipsum animus uidetur, ex quo excordes, uaecordes concordesque dicuntur et Nasica ille prudens bis consul Corculum et

Egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus.

19. Empedocles animum esse censet cordi suffusum sanguinem; aliis pars quaedam cerebri uisa est animi principatum tenere; aliis nec cor ipsum placet nec cerebri quandam partem esse animum, sed alii in corde, alii in cerebro dixerunt animi esse

17. aelius V G B. aeliū K. elius M 1 B 2 3 G 2 D. helius W 2 G 3 O 3. Lelius G 4. Lęlius S.

cor: 'qui cor animum esse dicebant mouebantur, ut uerisimile est, usitata loquendi consuetudine qua cor pro animo ab omnibus nationibus dicitur (cf. the phrase 'to learn by heart'): poterant etiam niti hoc argumento. Principium uitae est animus: Cor est principium uitae: Cor igitur est animus.' Muretus, quoted by Mo.

excordes, 'senseless'; **uaecordes**, 'wrong in the mind'; **concordes**, 'of one mind.' [It is not unlikely that the *-que* after *concordes* is spurious.]

Corculum, 'Wise-head.' 'Corculum a corde dicebant antiqui sollertem et acutum.' Festus, *sub uoce.*

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum was a grandson of Cn. Scipio who fell in Spain during the Second Punic War, and son of the Nasica who received the statue of Cybele when it was brought from Pessinus to Rome. He was son-in-law of Africanus the elder, and was distinguished in oratory and in law.

egregie cordatus homo..., a line from Ennius' Annals, quoted three times by Cicero.

Sex. Aelius Q. F. P. N. Paetus Catus was consul in 198 B.C., as appears from the *Fasti Capitolini.* This inscription seems to shew that *Catus* was part of his name, and not a mere attribute like *Sapiens* in the case of Laelius Sapiens. Cf. Moser's n.

[I doubt the argument from the *Fasti Capit.*; it attributes too much to their authority. They were greatly influenced by late antiquarian researches, such as those made by Varro and Atticus.]

This Aelius, the founder of Roman jurisprudence, published in 202 B.C. the *Ius Aelianum* or *Tripartita*, a work on the XII Tables containing the original text, its interpretation, and the *Legis Actiones.*

§ 19. Empedocles of Agrigentum, flor. about 460 B.C. Considerable fragments of his poem *περὶ φύσεως* survive. Cic. here makes E. declare the soul to be the blood around the heart, a view actually held by Critias the pupil of Socrates. Cic. was probably misled by a line preserved in Stobaeus, Ecl. Phys. i p. 1026 *αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα.* But the two preceding lines qualify this statement—

αἵματος ἐν πελάγεσσι τεθραμμένη ἀντιθροῶντος
τῇ τε νόημα μάλιστα κυκλίσκεται ἀνθρώποισιν,

where *τεθραμμένη* refers to *κραδίη*.

Empedocles made the four elements enter into the composition of the soul, and held that we perceive each external object by means of the corresponding element in our soul: cf. *γαίῃ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν ὀπώπαμεν ὕδατι δ' ὕδωρ κ.τ.λ.*, quoted by Arist. de Anima i 2, 6; cf. also Theophr. de Sens. 10 *ὡσαύτως δὲ λέγει* ('Εμπεδοκλῆς) *καὶ περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀγνοίας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ φρονεῖν εἶναι τοῖς ὁμοίοις, τὸ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν τοῖς ἀνομοίοις...διὸ καὶ τῷ αἵματι* **μάλιστα** *φρονεῖν, ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα τῶν μερῶν κεκρᾶσθαι τὰ στοιχεῖα.*

This and the remarks that follow shew that it was because Emped. thought the four elements to be best mixed at the heart that he supposed that to be the seat of thought, yet not exclusively its seat, for he goes on to say that excellence in a single department is due to the *μέση κρᾶσις* being in a single part, orators for instance having it *ἐν τῇ γλώττῃ*, and craftsmen *ἐν ταῖς χερσί.* In i 17, 41 Cic. speaks more correctly, *in Empedocleo sanguine demersa.*

alii in corde: the Stoics held that the dominant part of the soul, the *ἡγεμονικόν*, had its seat in the heart, see Zeller, c. ix, pp. 201–2; Diog. Laert. vii 159 *ἡγεμονικὸν δ' εἶναι τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐν*

sedem et locum; animum autem alii animam, ut fere nostri: id declarant nomina; nam et agere animam et efflare dicimus et animosos et bene animatos et ex animi sententia; ipse autem animus ab anima dictus est; Zenoni Stoico animus ignis uidetur.

X. Sed haec quidem, quae dixi, cor, cerebrum, animam, ignem uolgo; reliqua fere singuli, ut multi ante ueteres, proxime

§ **19**, 23. declarant nomen R 1 2 7 10 V G 1 4 B 1–3 P E 1 3 7 L 1 4 6 W 2 M 1 2 O 1–6 8–11. declarant nom̄ K. declarant nominant J. declarant nomine W 1. declarant nominari R 6. declarant nominarunt O 7. declarant (nomen *omisso*) G 3. ‸declara t nomen S *marg.* ipsum. ipsum declarant nomen O 12. et declarant nomen R 9; *idem, ut uidetur*, R 8. declarat nomen E 9.

X. 27. cor cerebrum R 1 2 5–10 V G 1–4 B 1–3 P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 L 4 6 D J O 1–11 ed H. ed. P. cor sanguinem cerebrum cerebrum aı̄am O 12. || animum W 2 J O 7 11. animam R 1 2 5–10 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E W 1 M 1 2 L 4 6 D O 1–6 8–10 12 ed. H. ed. P.

ᾧ αἱ φαντασίαι καὶ αἱ ὁρμαὶ γίγνονται καὶ ὅθεν ὁ λόγος ἀναπέμπεται· ὅπερ εἶναι ἐν καρδίᾳ.

The Epicureans placed the rational part of the soul in the breast, its irrational part being diffused over the whole body. Zeller, c. xvii, p. 430; Diog. Laert. x 66 *καὶ τὸ μέντοι ἄλογον αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ παρεσπάρθαι σώματι, τὸ δὲ λογικὸν ἐν τῷ θώρακι, ὡς δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν φόβων καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς.*

alii in cerebro: the Pythagoreans. Cf. Philolaus in R. and P. § 70. Plato in his triple division of the soul (Republic, Timaeus) placed the rational soul in the head. Of the two divisions of the irrational soul he placed the *θυμοειδές* in the breast and the *ἐπιθυμητικόν* between the diaphragm and the umbilicus, Timaeus 69 c—70 d. It is disputed whether Plato held both *τὸ λογιστικόν* and *τὸ ἄλογον* to be immortal, or only the former.

animam = *aera*, a common meaning of the word. Anaximenes held this view; cf. Plut. de Plac. Ph. 1, 3 *ἐκ γὰρ τούτου τὰ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι· οἷον ἡ ψυχή, φησιν, ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀὴρ οὖσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς.* So also did Diogenes of Apollonia, the pupil of Anaximenes; cf. R. and P. § 163, where Simplicius quotes from him. [It is not at all clear whether Anaximenes meant by *ἀήρ* what Cic. means by *anima*; probably not.]

nam et agere...sententia: Cic. is shewing by examples that the Romans generally used the words *animus* and *anima* interchangeably, *anima* in *agere animam* and *efflare animam* having the same meaning ('spirit') as *animus* in *animosus* and *ex animi sententia.*

animus ab anima: the two words are one in origin, and the meaning 'air' or 'breath' is undoubtedly earlier than the meaning 'soul.' Where a word has both a physical and a psychical meaning the physical is, as a general principle, the earlier.

Zenoni animus ignis uidetur: rather *πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον* (Diog. Laert. vii 157), i.e. not ordinary fire but warm breath. See Zeller, c. ix, pp. 199, 200. The distinctive characteristic of air was cold while that of fire was heat, Diog. L. vii 136. The soul was therefore more akin to fire than to air, and may therefore be described as *ignis*; cf. Stob. i 314 quoting Chrysippus *λέγεσθαι δὲ πῦρ τὸ πυρῶδες πᾶν καὶ ἀέρα τὸ ἀερῶδες καὶ ὁμοίως τὰ λοιπά.* See also 18, 42 n.; N.D. ii 15, 41 foll.; R. and P. § 398, and passages there cited from Stob. Ecl. i p. 538.

X. § **20**. **uolgo**: sc. *opinantur.* F. A. Wolf and Küh. take this to mean 'these views are held by entire schools as contrasted with *singuli* individual philosophers.' But I cannot think of any parallel to such a use of *uolgo*, and I prefer to translate 'are views which commend themselves to the multitude.' Cf. Camerarius in Mo. 'Vulgares quidem esse ait has sententias de animo, corporeum illum esse: sed incorporeum fecisse nobilissimos philosophos.' Nor is this view excluded by the fact that some great philosophers had taken the soul to consist of some one or other of these substances.

ut multi ante ueteres: Küh. explains 'ut (= *ueluti*, "as for example") multi ante ueteres philosophi suam quisque de animi natura protulerunt opinionem,

autem Aristoxenus, musicus idemque philosophus, ipsius corporis intentionem quandam, uelut in cantu et fidibus quae *ἁρμονία* dicitur; sic ex corporis totius natura et figura uarios motus cieri tamquam in cantu sonos. **20.** hic ab artificio suo non recessit et tamen dixit aliquid, quod ipsum quale esset, erat multo ante et dictum et explanatum a Platone. Xenocrates animi figuram et quasi corpus negauit esse ullum, numerum

3. misicus (v superscr.) R. musicus V G B P E S. 5. harmonia S W 1 M 2. armonia R V G B P *alii.*

§ **20**, 9. uerum (*post* esse *et ante* numerum) R 1 2 5 10 12 G 1 3 B 1 2 K P E L 1 6 M 1 2 D C Π O 2–4 6–8 11 ed. P. ·uerum S *marg.* illū. ullum V *at dextra parte* u *litterae ante* ll *ex parte erasa et fuit fortasse* uerum. uerū O 5 *alio atram. superscr.* (ullū) ullum uerum R 9 G 4 L 5 O 12 ed. H. ullam uerum W 1 R 6. ~~illum~~ uerum O 10. illum uerum W 2 B 3 J. illum uere V 2. illum uero R 3 7 G 2 E 9 O 9. uerum illum L 3 4. uerum illud E 8. illum autem uerum O 1. *Lectionem* ullum. numerum *coniectura intulit* Manutius.

proxime autem Ar., singularem secutus sententiam, animum ipsius corporis intentionem quandam esse dicebat.'

The line of thought then would be 'but these are views which commend themselves to the multitude (and therefore have found many exponents). I now come to views which have found only one exponent at a time, earlier philosophers furnishing several instances and Aristoxenus a very recent one.' Bent., in a MS note in a copy of Davies' 1709 ed. in the British Museum, conjectured *ut multo ante ueteres*, comparing *erat multo ante* six lines lower down, and this is the reading of Ml. Sff. conj. *nonnulli* (*n̄nulli*) for *multi.*

ueteres: i.e. pre-Socratic philosophers.

Aristoxenus of Tarentum learnt music from his father, an eminent musician, then studied philosophy under the Pythagorean Xenophilus, and afterwards, with Dicaearchus as a fellow-pupil, under Aristotle. Ar. wrote numerous works on music, philosophy, history. Large fragments remain of three books of Ἁρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα.

corporis intentionem quandam, 'a sort of tuning up of the body.' Cf. Plat. Phaedo 92 a *ἥδε ἡ οἴησις...ψυχὴν...ἁρμονίαν τινὰ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἐντεταμένων ξυγκεῖσθαι.* Also Lactantius Inst. vii 13, 9 'quid Aristoxenus, qui negauit omnino ullam esse animam, etiam cum uiuit in corpore? sed sicut in fidibus ex intentione neruorum effici concordem sonum atque cantum, ita in corpore ex compage uiscerum ac uigore membrorum uim sentiendi exsistere.' See also Zeller, *Ph. d. Griechen* II², p. 888, and n. 1.

figura, 'conformation.'

motus, 'vibrations'; cf. N.D. iii 11, 27 'naturae ista sunt, Balbe, naturae non artificiose ambulantis, ut ait Zeno (quod quidem, quale sit, iam uidebimus), sed omnia cientis et agitantis motibus et mutationibus suis.'

tamquam: 36, 88 n.

dixit aliquid, 'he put forward an important view, the character of which had been a good while earlier stated and made clear by Plato.'

quod ipsum quale esset: for the constr. and meaning cf. N.D. l.c.

a Platone: 'qui in Phaedone (p. 92 sqq.) hanc de harmonia opinionem eleuare studuit,' Küh.

Xenocrates of Chalcedon, pupil of Plato, succeeded Speusippus in the headship of the Academy 339 B.C., which he held till his death in 315 B.C.

figuram et quasi corpus: *figura* translates the Aristotelian *εἶδος*, *quasi corpus* the Stoic *σῶμα*, i.e. 'substance.' Hei.

corpus negauit esse ullum, numerum dixit esse: where the verb of saying is thus repeated asyndeton is required: *uerum* of the best MSS cannot then be right. Bentley proposed *merum numerum*, *ψιλὸν ἀριθμόν*.

numerum dixit esse: Xenocrates called the soul a self-moving number, having roots in the 'same' and the 'different,' sharing equally in permanence and in motion, and attaining consciousness by means of the reconciliation of these opposites; cf. Plutarch in R. and P. § 292 *Ξενοκράτης...τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν οὐσίαν ἀριθμὸν αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κινούμενον ἀποφηνάμενος ...ἀμέριστον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἓν μεριστὸν*

dixit esse, cuius uis, ut iam ante Pythagorae uisum erat, in natura maxima esset. eius doctor Plato triplicem finxit animum, cuius principatum, id est rationem, in capite sicut in arce posuit, et duas partes ei parere uoluit, iram et cupiditatem, quas locis suis, iram in pectore, cupiditatem subter praecordia, locauit.
21. Dicaearchus autem in eo sermone, quem Corinthi habitum tribus libris exponit, doctorum hominum disputantium, primo

11. animum (*post* finxit) W 2 R 3 4 7 G 2 B 3 J O 2 9. *omittunt* O 6 7. animam R 1 12 G 1 3 4 B 1 2 K P E L 1 6 W 1 D Π O 1 3–5 8 10–12. 13. se parare R 1 6 G B 1 3 P E W 2 M 2 D O 1 8. separare K O 3 4 6 9. se parere V *at* se *uix dignoscendum et* e *ante* r *alia manu ex* a *mut.* se perare W 1. seperare O 2 5 7 10. separe S M 1 R 12 G 2 3 B 2 J O 11. se pare G 4. ‖ locis iram G 1 3 E L W 2 R 2 10 D C O 2 7. locis ^iram R V P S M 2 O 11; *marg. alia manu* disclusit *addunt* R S M 2; *alio atram. superscr.* disclusit *habent* V P O 11. locis suis iram Π, disclusit *alia manu et alio atram. post* suis *inculcato.* locis suis disclusit W 1 R 6 G 4. locis disclusit R 7 12 G 2 B 3 E 3 9 L 4 6 J O 3–6 8–10 12. locis discludit M 1. *omittit* O 1. 14. supter G. subter M 1 G 4 B 2 O 1–3. sup B S E R 2 G 3 O 7.

§ **21**, 16. dictorum R G. diòctorum V, *h.e.* i *in* o *mut.* doctorum P E G 3 O 1 3 7.

δὲ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐκ δὲ τούτων γίγνεσθαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ἑνὸς ὁρίζοντος τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ πέρας ἐπιθέντος...τοῦ δὲ ταὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου συμμιγέντων ὧν τὸ μέν ἐστι κινήσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ μεταβολῆς, τὸ δὲ μονῆς, ψυχὴν γεγονέναι, μηδὲν ἧττον τοῦ ἱστάναι καὶ ἵστασθαι δύναμιν ἢ τοῦ κινεῖσθαι καὶ κινεῖν οὖσαν. For this view, and for Aristotle's criticism of it, see Grote, *Aristotle*, c. 12, p. 450.

Pythagorae: cf. Arist. Met. i 5 *Πυθαγόρειοι...τὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν στοιχεῖα τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα πάντων εἶναι ὑπέλαβον.* The soul, he goes on to say, is a particular property of number, justice is another, and so on: *τὸ μὲν τοιονδὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν πάθος δικαιοσύνη τὸ δὲ τοιονδὶ ψυχὴ καὶ νοῦς.* On Number in the system of Pythagoras see Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 317 n., col. 2.

Plato triplicem: see n. on *alii in cerebro* in preceding §. The division was really into two parts, *τὸ λογιστικόν* and *τὸ ἄλογον*, the latter being subdivided into *τὸ θυμοειδές* and *τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν*, cf. Stallbaum on Plato Rep. iv 439 d foll. Plato makes this division in the Republic and Timaeus, but in the Phaedo he makes Socrates assert the soul to be uncompounded, making this fact a point in his argument; cf. Grote, *Plato* II, p. 159.

principatum: the usual phrases are *dare*, *deferre*, *obtinere* and the like, where *principatum* = 'the chief place,' cf. § 19. Here Cic. speaks of *ratio* as being the *principatus* 'the ruling portion'; cf. N.D. ii 11, 29 'omnem enim naturam necesse est...habere aliquem in se principatum ut in homine mentem.' *principatus* here = *ἡγεμονικόν*.

in capite sicut in arce: cf. 11, 24 'in caelum quasi in domicilium suum.' So usually with *quasi*, *sicut*, *tamquam* the prep. is repeated in Cic., but cf. Fin. v 6, 17 'omnis ab eo fonte quasi capite... disputatio ducitur.'

§ **21**. **Dicaearchus**, a Peripatetic philosopher, pupil of Aristotle, fellow-pupil of Aristoxenus, wrote on philosophy, geography, history, antiquities. His most important work was *Βίος τῆς Ἑλλάδος* in three books. Cic. frequently refers to works of D., e.g. *Τριπολιτικός* and *ἡ εἰς Τροφωνίου κατάβασις*, in Att. xiii 32, 2, where he also mentions a *περὶ ψυχῆς*.

The ref. here is to his *Κορινθιακοὶ λόγοι*. His *Λεσβιακοὶ λόγοι* in three books, on the same subject, are referred to in i 31, 77. These are probably identical with the *περὶ ψυχῆς* referred to above.

For Dicaearchus' view see Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II² p. 890, and n. 3. He held that the soul had no existence apart from the body; that it consisted in a certain condition of the body—*μηδὲν εἶναι αὐτὴν παρὰ τὸ πῶς ἔχον σῶμα* Sext. Empir. adu. Math. vii 349—that it was *ἁρμονίαν τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων*, i.e. *κρᾶσις καὶ συμφωνία τῶν στοιχείων* Nemes. de Nat. Hom. p. 68; 'harmony' here meaning

libro multos loquentes facit; duobus Pherecraten quendam Phthiotam senem, quem ait a Deucalione ortum, disserentem inducit nihil esse omnino animum, et hoc esse nomen totum inane, frustraque animalia et animantis appellari, neque in homine inesse animum uel animam nec in bestia, uimque omnem eam, qua uel agamus quid uel sentiamus, in omnibus corporibus uiuis aequabiliter esse fusam nec separabilem a corpore esse, quippe quae nulla sit nec sit quicquam nisi corpus unum et simplex, ita figuratum, ut temperatione naturae uigeat et sentiat. **22.** Aristoteles, longe omnibus (Platonem semper excipio) praestans et ingenio et diligentia, cum quattuor nota illa genera principiorum esset complexus, e quibus omnia orerentur, quintam quandam naturam censet esse, e qua sit mens. cogitare enim et

17. pherecraten G B S. pherecratem R V O 3 4. ferecratem E. fereoratē W 1 2. pherecratē D. fereocrantē P (o *alio atram.*). 20. frustraque animalia R 1 2 G 1–3 B 1–3 K S E W 2 M 1 2 D Π O 1 2 5–7 9. frustraque et animalia W 1 G 4 O 11 12. frustraque et animalia V *at* et *alio atram. scriptum extra lineam excurrit.* frustraque animantes et O 3 4. frustraque animalia O 10 *at rasura post* que. || animantis V G 1 3 K P E D O 5. animant$\overset{e}{i}$s W 2 R 2 *alia manu superscr.*

§ **22,** 27. quattuor V B P. quatuor K. 28. orerentur R 1 2 V G K E B 2. orerentur P e *in* i *alio atram. mut.* orirentur B 1 3 S L 1 3 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 10 12 G 2–4 D O 1–12. ornentur J. orientur Π.

a harmonious blending of the warm and cold, moist and dry, contained in the body (Zeller, as above).

duobus: sc. *reliquis*, cf. *duas partes* above.

frustra = *sine causa*; cf. Fin. ii 12, 36 'in quo frustra iudices solent cum sententiam pronuntiant, addere "si quid mei iudicii est."'

animantis: includes plants. 'And that the terms "living creatures" and "living things" were groundlessly employed.'

animum uel animam, 'neither a distinct spiritual nor a distinct physical vital principle.' Davies well cites Iuu. xv 148 (lower animals)(man) 'indulsit communis conditor illis tantum animas, nobis animum quoque.'

quae nulla sit: Cic. means that it has no *separate* existence.

temperatione...sentiat, 'owes its vigour and its perception to its natural organization.'

temperatione: cf. 28, 68 'ad temperationem corporum aptas'; iv 13, 30 'ut corporis temperatio cum ea congruunt inter se e quibus constamus, sanitas; sic animi dicitur cum eius iudicia opinionesque concordant.'

§ **22.** The doctrine of the *quattuor genera principiorum* dates from Empedocles. For the difference between the views of (*a*) Aristotle, (*b*) the Stoics and the view of Empedocles, see Dr Reid on Ac. i 7, 26, where also see his n. on *quintum genus*.

quintam quandam naturam: for the fifth element see Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 317 n. col. 2 and p. 318 col. 1 (E.T.); Madv. Fin. iv 5, 12 n. Cic. seems in error in asserting in 26, 65 that this element was *ab Aristotele inducta primum*, cf. Zeller p. 318 'the origin of this idea is evidently Pythagorean,' and there seems some reason for believing that αἰθήρ was admitted as an element by Plato towards the end of his life. See Reid on Ac. i 11, 39 n. on *ex qua...rebantur*.

e qua sit mens: in 17, 41; 26, 65; Ac. i 7, 26; i 11, 39; Fin. iv 5, 12 Cic. makes the same assertion that Aristotle derived mind from the fifth element. See Reid on Ac. i 11, 39 n. For Aristotle's real view about the soul see Excursus I. See also the remarks on αἰθήρ there. The words *continuatam motionem et perennem* apply to αἰθήρ, but not to the soul as described by Aristotle.

prouidere et discere et docere et inuenire aliquid et tam multa [alia] meminisse, amare odisse, cupere timere, angi laetari, haec et similia eorum in horum quattuor generum inesse nullo putat; quintum genus adhibet uacans nomine et sic ipsum animum ἐνδελέχειαν appellat nouo nomine quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem.

XI. Nisi quae me forte fugiunt, haec sunt fere de animo sententiae. Democritum enim, magnum illum quidem uirum, sed leuibus et rotundis corpusculis efficientem animum concursu quodam fortuito, omittamus; nihil est enim apud istos, quod

30. tam multa ạḷịạ meminisse V (*sic*). 34. endelecheian R V G B K P E. ɛɴδελεχε'αɴ S *marg.* ερλελεχειαρ. ενδελεχειαν W 1. || appeła t V appella t S *nullo rasurae indicio.* appellant G. XI. 36. haec sunt R V G 1 4 S O 1 6. heç sunt G 3 (*sic*). hec sunt D O 8. h' sunt K O 7–9 11. eae sunt M 2. hae sunt O 2. hę O 3 4 10. he O 5. nę O 1 2. || fere de R V G K S O 7 8 11. fere omnium de G 4 D O 1–6 9 10 12. ōniū ſere V.

meminisse: but for the position of this word the verbs here enumerated *cogitare...laetari* fall into two groups, the former connected with the intellect, the latter with the emotions: νοῦς)(τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν in Aristotle's division of the soul. Hence O. Heine read *et inuenire aliquid et meminisse et tam multa alia*, while Sorof read *et tam multa meminisse* ejecting *alia*, and the latter is the reading of the Vatican MS as altered by the early corrector.

ἐνδελέχειαν, 'continuity,' 'continuous motion'; cf. Choerilus (ed. Naeke p. 173) πέτρην κοιλαίνει ῥανὶς ὕδατος ἐνδελεχείῃ. Cic. is accused of a two-fold error: (*a*) of confounding ἐνδελέχεια with ἐντελέχεια, (*b*) of making Aristotle attribute motion to the soul. In MSS ἐνδελέχεια and ἐντελέχεια are often confused. Aristotle defines ψυχή as ἐντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη σώματος φυσικοῦ ὀργανικοῦ de Part. An. i 5, in R. and P. § 335 and note *b*. See also Trendelenburg on de Anima notes on Bk ii c. 1 pp. 295 foll.; R. and P. § 319 note *a*.

''Ἐντελέχεια ut descendit ab adiectiuo ἐντελεχής, i.e. *plenus*, *perfectus*, perfectionem rei significat.' Bonitz on Arist. Met. Θ 3, 1047a, p. 387. It is possible that these two words were confounded in Cicero's sources.

That the soul is not moved and not self-moving Aristotle maintains in de Anima i 3, §§ 1–21.

XI. **haec**: for this form of the fem. plur. cf. Munro on Lucr. vi 456.

leuibus et rotundis: see 18, 42 n. for the reason why the atoms of the soul were held by Democritus to be smooth and round. For the shapes of atoms in general cf. N.D. i 24, 66 'ista enim flagitia Democriti, siue etiam ante Leucippi, esse corpuscula quaedam leuia, alia aspera, rotunda alia, partim autem angulata et pyramidata, hamata quaedam et quasi adunca, ex his effectum esse caelum atque terram, nulla cogente natura, sed concursu quodam fortuito...' Also Lucr. ii 402 foll.

'ut facile adgnoscas e leuibus atque rotundis
esse ea quae sensus iucunde tangere possunt,
at contra quae amara atque aspera cumque uidentur
haec magis hamatis inter se nexa teneri.'

corpusculis: also used (*inter alia*) by Lucr. for 'atoms'; see a full n. by Munro on Lucr. i 55.

fortuito: this was the view of Epicurus, which Cic. thinks of here (and in 22, 42; N.D. i 24, 66; Ac. i 2, 6) as identical with that of Democritus, cf. Ac. i 2, 6 'si Epicurum, id est, si Democritum probarem.' But Democritus referred the perpetual downward motion of atoms to fate (ἀνάγκη, εἱμαρμένη). See Mayor on N.D. i 24, 66 where he refers to Cic. de Fato 23 and 39 for a more correct representation of Democritus' view: 'id Democritus accipere maluit, necessitate omnia fieri, quam a corporibus indiuiduis naturales motus auellere.'

non atomorum turba conficiat. **23.** harum sententiarum quae uera sit, deus aliqui uiderit; quae ueri simillima, magna quaestio est. utrum igitur inter has sententias diiudicare malumus an ad propositum redire?

A. Cuperem equidem utrumque, si posset, sed est difficile confundere. quare si, ut ista non disserantur, liberari mortis metu possumus, id agamus; sin id non potest nisi hac quaestione animorum explicata, nunc, si uidetur, hoc, illud alias.

M. Quod malle te intellego, id puto esse commodius, efficiet enim ratio, ut, quaecumque uera sit earum sententiarum, quas exposui, mors aut malum non sit aut sit bonum potius. **24.** nam si cor aut sanguis aut cerebrum est animus, certe, quoniam est corpus, interibit cum reliquo corpore; si anima est,

§ **23**, 6. aliqui R 1 2 G B K E L. aliqui (s superscr.) *et* V *et* P *alio atram. superscr.* aliquis S *at* s *alio atram.* aliquis O 5 *at rasura fuit.* aliq (is superscr.) G 3. aliquis W 1 M 1 2 R 10 G 2 4 B 2 3 L 4 6 D Π J O 1–4 6–12. 10. mortis metu R 1 2 6 10 V G 1–4 B 1–3 P S E W 1 M 1 2 Π O 2–8 10 12. metu mortis W 2 D J O 1 9 11.

§ **24**, 17. tempore R G L B 2. tēpore K. tempr̄ P. tp'e E. corpore (tēpore superscr.) B O 3. cor pore V (*sic*) *in rasura.* corpore S R 2 G 2–4 D J O 2 4 8.

Democritus held that the perpetual downward motion of atoms brought them by fate into a whirl (δῖνη) from whence arose σύγκρισις, συμπλοκὴ κ.τ.λ. and thence worlds etc. But Epicurus held that atoms in this downward motion would never meet, and postulated a swerving aside (παρέγκλισις, *clinamen*) of the atoms from the perpendicular to an imperceptible extent, at quite uncertain times and places, whence collisions etc., whence worlds etc. were formed. Cf. Lucr. ii 216–293 and Munro on l. 292. And the strongest motive of Epicurus for introducing this departure from the theory of Democritus was that he might account for freewill in man: cf. Lucr. ii 257.

[*fortuito*: passages like Ac. i § 6 are only polemical, laying stress on the supposed plagiarism of Epic.; Cic. was well aware of the differences.]

istos: i.e. the Atomists.

turba: disparaging. Gustafsson in *Hermes* xvii p. 169 suggests *turbo*, though admitting that Cic. does not elsewhere clearly express Democritus' δῖνη and that Nonius (p. 269 s.v. *conficere*) has *turba*.

[δῖνη='turbulenta concursio' Fin. i § 20.]

§ **23**. **deus aliqui**: so the best MSS here and in Ac. ii 7, 19 but 'deus aliquis' in Ac. ii 19, 61 where see Reid's n. *aliquis* is substantival, *aliqui* adjectival. With proper names *aliquis* alone is used, cf. Pacidianus aliquis iv 21, 48.

uiderit, 'I leave to some god to determine.' This use of the fut. perf. in postponing or shelving a subject is in post-comic writers almost confined to *uidero* (*uiderit*, *uiderint*). Roby § 1485; Madv. § 340 obs. 4.

si posset=*si fieri posset*: a common ellipse, cf. 31, 77 'qui potest cum ista cognouerim?' So with *solet*.

confundere, 'to combine the two.' So often, cf. Off. i 27, 95 'hoc de quo loquimur decorum totum illud quidem est cum uirtute confusum sed mente et cogitatione distinguitur'; Fin. v 23, 67 'haec coniunctio confusioque uirtutum tamen a philosophis ratione quadam distinguitur.' See also Küh. here and Reid on Ac. ii 15, 47 'confuse loqui.'

ut: concessive, ii 5, 14 n. Draeger, *H.S.* II p. 730 (§ 562 b).

quaestione animorum: gen. of remoter object, Roby § 1318.

efficiet...ut: 8, 15 n.

ratio, 'scientific consideration.'

quaecumque uera sit: the verb, being in a relative clause which depends upon a subjunctive clause, is itself attracted into the subjunctive, cf. 5, 9 n. and Ac. ii 20, 65 'nisi ineptum putarem...iurarem...me ...ea sentire quae dicerem.'

§ **24**. **quoniam est corpus**: i.e. 'since

fortasse dissipabitur; si ignis, exstinguetur; si est Aristoxeni harmonia, dissoluetur. quid de Dicaearcho dicam, qui nihil omnino animum dicat esse? his sententiis omnibus nihil post mortem pertinere ad quemquam potest; pariter enim cum uita sensus amittitur; non sentientis autem nihil est ullam in partem quod intersit. reliquorum sententiae spem adferunt, si te hoc forte delectat, posse animos, cum e corporibus excesserint, in caelum quasi in domicilium suum peruenire.

A. Me uero delectat, idque primum ita esse uelim, deinde, etiam si non sit, mihi persuaderi tamen uelim.

M. Quid tibi ergo opera nostra opus est? num eloquentia Platonem superare possumus? euolue diligenter eius eum librum, qui est de animo: amplius quod desideres, nihil erit.

A. Feci mehercule, et quidem saepius; sed nescio quo modo, dum lego, adsentior, cum posui librum et mecum ipse de inmortalitate animorum coepi cogitare, adsensio omnis illa elabitur.

25. *M.* Quid hoc? dasne aut manere animos post mortem aut morte ipsa interire?

A. Do uero.

23. hoc forte R 1 2 V G 1–3 B 1 3 P S W 2 M 1 2 Π O 1 3–10 12. forte hoc W 1 R 6 G 4 B 2 O 2 11. 27. persuaderi tamen R V G 1 2 4 B 1–3 K P S E Π *alii*. persuadere c̄ G 3. tamen persuaderi D. tamen persuadere M 1 O 1. 30. animo G 1 3 K P E D. animo V (*sic*) *h. e.* o *in* a *mut.*, *at infra* animos *ante* post *habet* V, beatas *autem ante* esse, *nulla in litura*.

it is material'; so σῶμα in Greek e.g. in Aristotle *passim*.

quid de Dicaearcho dicam: the expression is rhetorical and the effect here disparaging: 'need I speak of Dicaearchus?' Sc. the weakness of his view being so self-evident. Often the implication is of the opposite kind.

qui...dicat, 'a man who asserts,' subj. of quality.

in caelum quasi in domicilium suum: cf. 22, 51; Cato M. 23, 84. For the repetition of the prep. cf. 10, 20 n. The prep. is usually omitted in the appositional clause; its repetition heightens the apposition. Cf. Küh. on iii 15, 33.

euolue: books, if written on papyrus, consisted of narrow strips gummed end to end and rolled round a stick. Cf. *uolumen*. See Becker, *Gallus* Exc. ii sc. 3.

librum...de animo: the Phaedo.

[*librum qui est de*: so usually in Cic. rather than *de* simply; cf. 3 § 42; Planc. § 36; Cato M. § 59; De Fato § 1.]

feci, 'I have done so,' i.e. *euolui*. Cf. v 32, 90. For the use of *facere* like Greek ποιεῖν. Eng. *to do*, as also for the same word in the sense of *esse* and *pati*, instead of the repetition of another verb, see Lewis and Short *sub uoce* ii E.

nescio quo modo, like οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, often expresses puzzled regret: 'but, although I assent to the reasoning while I am reading the book, as soon as I lay it down and commence to reflect on the immortality of the soul all my assent *unfortunately* slips away.' Cf. i 15, 33; 31, 77. For the view here implied with regard to the cogency of Plato's arguments see Grote's Plato II 200 sqq. and especially Wyttenbach, quoted there; see also Geddes' Phaedo, Introd. xxviii foll.

M. Quid, si maneant?

A. Beatos esse concedo.

M. Sin intereant?

A. Non esse miseros, quoniam ne sint quidem; iam istuc coacti a te paulo ante concessimus.

M. Quo modo igitur aut cur mortem malum tibi uideri dicis? quae aut beatos nos efficiet animis manentibus aut non miseros sensu carentis. //

XII. **26.** *A.* Expone igitur, nisi molestum est, primum, si potes, animos remanere post mortem, tum, si minus id obtinebis (est enim arduum), docebis carere omni malo mortem. ego enim istuc ipsum uereor ne malum sit, non dico carere sensu, sed carendum esse.

M. Auctoribus quidem ad istam sententiam, quam uis obtineri, uti optimis possumus, quod in omnibus causis et debet et solet ualere plurimum, et primum quidem omni antiquitate, quae quo propius aberat ab ortu et diuina progenie, hoc melius

§ **25**, 38. quod (*ante* si) R. qđ L. q[i]d P *alio atram. superscr.* quid V G 1 3 4 B 1–3 S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D Π O 1–10 12. qd O 11. 40. sin R 1 2 10 V G B 1 2 S E L 4 D Π J O 2–4 8 9. si L 1 6 W 1 M 1 2 R 6 G 3 4 B 3 O 1 5–7 10–12. si[n] P *alio atram. superscr.* 41. sint R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K P S E W 2 M 1 2 D Π J O 3–12. sunt W 1 O 1 2. || istuc R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1 2 P S L 1 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 D Π J O 1–6 8–10 12. istunc E. istud B 3 O 7 11. 45. carentis R V G B P E. carentes S.

XII. § **26**, 1. si potes animos R V B 1–3 K P S G 2–4 *plerique.* si potes animos G *at* t *post* es *eraso.* si potes animum W 1 M 1. animos si potes M 2 O 11. aios si putes W 2. 2. obt[i]enebis R. obtenebis V G. obtinebis P. optinebis E G 3 D. 4. istuc R V G B 1 2 P S W 1 2 M 2 D Π J O 1 3–6 8 10 12. istunc E. istu[d] B 3. istud M 1 O 2 7 9 11. 6. obtineri R P S B 2. optineri V G 1 3 B E. 7. obtimis R. || possumus R V G. possimus M 1 2.

§ **25. sint**: reported speech: 'since (on that hypothesis) they do not exist at all.'

XII. § **26. obtinebis**, 'establish.' So often, cf. v 30, 85 'hi quid possint obtinere uideamus.' Küh., on v 41, 118 'illa lex quae in Graecorum conuiuiis obtinetur,' notes that this verb is never intrans. in Classical Latin. *obtineri* (with the best MSS), not *obtinere*, is the proper reading four lines lower down.

docebis: future as polite imperative, Küh.

omni antiquitate: the Stoics attached special importance to the argument from the *consensus gentium*, for an instance of which, with Carneades' criticism, see N.D. i 23, 62; iii 4, 11; Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* c. 23, p. 512. Editors also quote Sext. Empir. adu. Math. ix 23 *τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων Στωικῶν φασί τινες τοὺς πρώτους καὶ γηγενεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ πολὺ τῶν νῦν συνέσει διαφέροντας γεγονέναι.* Plato, Philebus 16 d *οἱ μὲν παλαιοί κρείττονες ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκοῦντες.* Cic. Leg. ii 11, 27 'quoniam antiquitas proxime accedit ad deos.'

ab ortu: sc. *generis humani*, 'from its origin.'

a diuina progenie, 'from the sons of the gods,' i.e. the heroes or demi-gods.

ea fortasse, quae erant uera, cernebat. **27.** itaque unum illud erat insitum priscis illis, quos 'cascos' appellat Ennius, esse in morte sensum, neque excessu uitae sic deleri hominem, ut funditus interiret; idque cum multis aliis rebus, tum e pontificio iure et e caerimoniis sepulcrorum intellegi licet, quas maximis ingeniis praediti nec tanta cura coluissent nec uiolatas tam inexpiabili religione sanxissent, nisi haereret in eorum mentibus mortem non interitum esse omnia tollentem atque delentem, sed quandam quasi migrationem commutationemque uitae, quae in

10. cercebant R. cer(n)cebant G *ead. manu superscr.* cerneba t V B P *littera post* a *erasa.* cernebant K E L.

§ **27**, 13. id quae cum R. idqu e cum V *litt. erasa.* idqu(a)e G. idque cum B 1–3 K P S L *alii.* cum *hoc loco* S *non in* quom *mutatum.* 14. et e R 1 2 10 V G 1 3 B 1 2 P S L E 6 J O 9–12. et (*omisso* e) E 1 3 8 R 6 G 2 4 B 3 L 2–4 6 W 1 2 M 2 D Π O 1–8. et *cum* e *superscr.* K. ex *omisso* et O 6. || cęrimoniis B. cęremoniis S. cerimoniis R 1 6 10 V G 1–4 K P E 1 3 8 L 1 3 4 6 W 1 2 M 2 B 3 D Π J O 1 2 4–10. ceremoniis R 2 B 2 E 6 L 2 O 3 11 12. || intellegi R V G B P. 15. taminexpiabile R G B K E. taminexpiabili V *at* i *post* l *in litura.* taminexpiabil(i)e P *h. e.* e *in* i *mut.* taminexpiabili B 2. taminexpiabli S. 16. haereret G. hęreret V B. hereret (? horeret) S *marg.* hęreret. hereret K P E W 2 G 2–3 B 2 3 Π J O 1 3–5 9 10. hesisset W 1 D.

quae erant uera: for the tense cf. ii 18, 43 'excellebat.'

§ **27. unum illud** = *illud potissimum*, 'this point specially.' See 9, 17 n. 'homunculus unus.'

cascos: Varro L.L. vii 28 'cascum significat uetus; origo Sabina, quae usque radices in Oscam linguam egit. cascum uetus esse significat Ennius, quod ait: Quam prisci casci populi tenuere Latini.'

excessu uitae: gen. of indirect obj. (cf. § 23 'quaestione animorum') = 'excessu e uita,' which Cic. usually writes.

pontificio iure: the college of pontiffs, presided over by the pontifex maximus, had a jurisdiction which extended over many public and private affairs so far as questions of religious ceremonial were connected with them, e.g. adoptions by means of *adrogatio*, marriages by *confarreatio*, and burial.

et e caerimoniis: where two ideas, so similar that they practically form one idea, are coordinated, the prep. is not repeated; cf. iv 20, 46 'ad opem ferendam et calamitates...subleuandas'; but where, as here, the two ideas are distinct and each has an individual prominence, the prep. is repeated, cf. Küh. on both passages.

religione sanxissent, 'branded with such unpardonable guilt'; *religio* = scruples of conscience, and thence (effect for cause) guilt which gives rise to scruples of conscience.

haereret: the imperf. is explained by Küh. as denoting time contemporaneous with the action indicated in the apodosis clause. See also Madv. § 347 b, 2. This would seem to involve a going back in thought to the time of the leading proposition. But it may be noted that, where the imperf. is thus found instead of the expected pluperf., its action always involves duration. Cf. 37, 89; iii 22, 54. Moreover *haesisset* here would not have meant 'had been firmly implanted' but 'had taken root' (single definite act).

interitum: cf. Plaut. Capt. 686 'qui per uirtutem perierit non interit.'

quandam quasi: cf. Ac. i 11, 40 'quadam quasi inpulsione.' *quasi quandam* would be the more usual order. The combination *quasi quidam* is often used to modify metaphors, Reid on Ac. i 5, 21. The effect of *quandam* here is not intensive either *in bonam* or *in malam partem*, as it often is, though Küh. by his ref. to his n. on ii 4, 11 seems to take it so. To produce this effect the adj. or noun with which *quidam* is associated must itself possess an intensive force to be heightened on the principle explained by Reid on Ac. ii 1, 2 n. on *incredibilis quaedam*. Cf. 27, 66 n. *singularis quaedam*. We should in fact distinguish four uses of the word:—

claris uiris et feminis dux in caelum soleret esse, in ceteris humi retineretur et permaneret tamen. **28.** ex hoc et nostrorum opinione 'Romulus in caelo cum dis agit aeuom,' ut famae adsentiens dixit Ennius, et apud Graecos indeque perlapsus ad nos et usque ad Oceanum Hercules tantus et tam praesens

20. et permaneret tamen R 1 2 6 10 V G 1–4 B K P L 1 4 6 M 2 E 3 D II O 2–5 12. et permaneret tñ S *at* tñ *in rasura et alio atram. scripto.* et permanet (n superscr.) tñ B 2 E 8 J O 11. et permanēt tñ M 1. et pmanet tñ W 2 O 7. et tñ permanent O 8. et permanerent tamen O 9 ed. H. et permanerent tamen W 1 O 1 10. et p'uaretur tamen O 6. *inde a uerbis* claris uiris § 27 *usque ad uerba* se pro patria § 32 *omittit* E.

§ **28**, 21. cum diis R V G B P S.

(*a*) The natural effect of *quidam* is to add *vagueness*. Often the word has no further effect, e.g. ii 4, 10 'a tali quodam ductus exordio.'

(*b*) It is fitted for apologising, as here, for the use of a word in a metaphorical sense, cf. i 20, 46 'uiae quasi quaedam'; ii 6, 16 'quaedam generosa uirtus.'

(*c*) With words of a certain class its effect is to *intensify* their meaning: the imagination makes a vague fear a great fear, e.g. ii 4, 10 'metus quidam,' or a thing vaguely great very great, e.g. i 27, 66 'singularis quaedam.'

(*d*) In i 40, 95 'magnis quibusdam bonis' the use is really the same as in *singularis quaedam*, but the added vagueness shews that *magnis* is sarcastically used, and hence the effect is *disparaging*. Similarly in ii 4, 11 'excelsum quendam uidelicet' the *irony* is heightened. See also ii 22, 52 'opinio est enim quaedam,' and note there.

quasi: as often, marks a translation, cf. 20, 46 n.; 24, 57 n. 'quasi consignatas'; also 22, 52 'quasi uas aut receptaculum'; 28, 68; ii 4, 11; ii 25, 61. What the Greek expression was is uncertain. Mr R. M. Henry suggests ἀποδήμησιν καὶ μετεμψύχωσιν. But as it was very usual for Cic. to translate a single Greek word by two Latin expressions, perhaps only one of these Greek words is referred to. Mr Henry adds that *uitae* is objective gen., μετεμψ. being = the entrance *upon* (ἐν) an *altered* (μετ-) life; and that the antecedent to *quae* is *uitae*; the following subjunctives being generic, 'a change to a life which in men and women of renown is often the pathway to the sky, while in meaner mortals it is confined to earth and yet (*tamen*) persists undestroyed.'

migrationem: cf. i 41, 98, n.

[I used to think the readings unsound. But some of the difficulties disappear after one remembers the ambiguity of the word *mors* which bears different shades of meaning, as (1) the actual moment of severance from life, (2) the process that leads up to the severance ('dying'), (3) the state or condition resulting from the severance, while (2) and (3) are sometimes combined as here in the application of *mors* to *migratio commutatioque uitae*.]

migrationem commutationemque uitae: this passage is difficult. Sff. takes *mors* to be the subject of *retineretur*. We should then have to take *mors* in its strict sense with *dux in caelum soleret esse* and as = *mortui* with *retineretur*. Hei. appears to take *uita* as the subject; but to say that *uita* by itself is *dux in caelum* would be to make a strange assertion. Or. and others take the subject to be *commutatio uitae* = *uita commutata* (abstract for concrete). The change in their life ushers the good into heaven—so many philosophers held; cf. Plato's view that the souls of the good passed to the outer rim of the universe—while in the case of the rest it, i.e. the *uita commutata*, i.e. the *animus a corpore seiunctus*, is down in the ground (? in Hades or haunting the tomb) but still alive. Sff. and Küh. read *ut permanerent tamen*.

§ **28. Romulus**...: a line from Ennius, more correctly given by Servius on Aen. vi 764 'Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aeuom degit.'

indeque perlapsus: 'passing thence to us.' Cf. the story of Hercules and Cacus, Livy i 7; Virg. Aen. viii 190 etc.

Oceanum: the Atlantic, where were the Ἡρακλέους στῆλαι. Davies notes that Hercules was worshipped at Gades and that that place was regarded as the end of the world, comparing (*inter alia*) Silius Italicus iii 3

habetur deus; hinc Liber Semela natus eademque famae celebritate Tyndaridae fratres, qui non modo adiutores in proeliis uictoriae populi Romani, sed etiam nuntii fuisse perhibentur. quid? Ino, Cadmi filia, nonne **Λευκοθέα** nominata a Graecis Matuta habetur a nostris? quid? totum prope caelum, ne pluris persequar, nonne humano genere completum est?

XIII. **29.** Si uero scrutari uetera et ex iis ea, quae scriptores Graeciae prodiderunt, eruere coner, ipsi illi maiorum gentium di

24. semela R 1 10 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K D C. semele S *at* e *post* l *colore mutato.* semelä P *al. atr. superscr.* semeia L. semele M 1 2 G 4 L 6 Π O 3–7 10 12 ed. P. semelę O 2. deus semele W 1 2 R 7 L 3 J O 1 8 9 ed. H. deűs O 11 *marg.* semele. de semele R 6. d's semel R 9. deus liber semele G 2 B 3. 27. Λεγκοε· ea R. Λεγκοθ ea V *at θ in litura.* Λεγκοθεα S *marg.* λευκοθοε. Λεγκθεα P. Λεγκοθεα B K R 10 G 3. Λευκοθεα G M 2 O 1. 28. pluris V G 1 3 K P O 3–5.

XIII. § 29, 1. ex his R V G 1 3 P W 1 2. 2. graeciae R 1 6 V G O 2. greciae P. gręcię K S. grecię B R 10 L 6 D O 3 12. grecie W 1 M 1 R 2 G 3 B 2 3 Π J O 1 4–6 8 9. gretie O 7. graeci W 1 O 11. greci G 4.

'extemplo positos finiti cardine mundi
uictor adit populos, cognataque limina
Gades.'

Compare also Juv. x 1 'omnibus in terris quae sunt a Gadibus usque Auroram et Gangen.' The instances of Hercules, Liber, Romulus, and Castor and Pollux are cited in a somewhat similar argument in N.D. i 23, 62 where see Mayor's notes, and his references—for Romulus to Seeley's Livy, Book i pp. 18 and 31, Preller pp. 694 foll.; for Hercules to Seeley p. 30, Preller p. 640, Mayor on Juv. x 361; and for apotheosis generally to Preller pp. 770 foll., Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew* I p. 343 foll., II p. 31, pp. 165 foll.

praesens...deus: from the idea of 'close at hand' comes the idea of 'helpful,' cf. *adesse*, *adsis*, often, and *propitius*.

hinc=*ex hoc*, i.e. from this belief that *clari uiri et feminae in caelum morientes migrare solent.* Cf. *inde* 16, 37.

Tyndaridae fratres: sons of Leda wife of Tyndareus, sprung from the *gemino ouo* of Hor. A. P. 147. For their grave cf. N. D. iii 5, 11 and Homer Iliad iii 243 there referred to.

adiutores ... uictoriae ... nuntii: cf. N.D. ii 2, 6 'ut apud Regillum...in nostra acie Castor et Pollux ex equis pugnare uisi sunt, et recentiore memoria idem Tyndaridae Persen uictum nuntiauerunt'; N.D. iii 5 11; Florus ii 12 *ad fin.* [Also in the Cimbrian war, Plut. Marius 26.]

perhibentur: an archaic and poetic word used (rarely) by Cic. in the sense of *celebrare*, not in the sense of *dicere*. Cf. de Re Pub. ii 2, 4 'Romulus perhibetur et corporis uiribus et animi ferocitate tantum ceteris praestitisse....'

Λευκοθέα: cf. N.D. iii 15, 39 and Mayor's n. and especially his quotation from Aristotle's Rhet. ii 23, 27 *Ξενοφάνης, Ἐλεάταις ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ θύωσι τῇ Λευκοθέᾳ καὶ θρηνῶσιν ἢ μή, συνεβούλευεν εἰ μὲν θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνουσι μὴ θρηνεῖν, εἰ δ' ἄνθρωπον μὴ θύειν.* For the *Mater Matuta* see Preller pp. 285 foll. Both were goddesses of the dawn; hence their identification with one another. Streaming light suggested streaming water; hence the goddess of the dawn became also a goddess of the sea.

humano genere: not=*hominibus*, but compressed for *dis ab hominum genere oriundis.* Mo.

XIII. § 29. **si coner...reperientur**: for the construction cf. Ac. i 2, 7 'si persequamur...quam erit...explicanda!' Or. i 14, 61 'si...uelit...confugiendum est'; Fin. iii 21, 70 'poterunt...nisi expetantur,' and Madvig's n.

scriptores Graeciae: this method of dealing with the gods on the assumption that they had originally been men—warriors, kings, inventors, benefactors, etc.—was specially developed by Euhemerus, in the time of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors, in his Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή or 'Sacred History.' Cf. N.D. i 42, 119.

maiorum gentium di: cf. Ac. ii 41, 126 'Cleanthes, qui quasi maiorum est gentium Stoicus.' Dav. quotes Aug. Ciu.

qui habentur hinc nobis profecti in caelum reperientur. quaere, quorum demonstrantur sepulcra in Graecia, reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae tradantur mysteriis: tum denique, quam hoc late pateat, intelleges. sed qui nondum ea, quae multis post annis tractari coepta sunt, physica didicissent, tantum sibi per-

3. hinc nobis R 1 2 10 G 1–3 K B 3 L 6 D O 5–7 10–12. hincanobis V *at a alio atram. inculcato.* hinc[a]nobis B P Π *alio atram. superscr.* hinc[a]nobis S *incertum an alio atram. superscr.* hinc a nobis L 1 3 4 W 1 2 M 1 R 6 G 4 B 2 E 3 J O 1–4 8 9. ‖ repperientur R V G B K. reperientur P. 4. demonstrantur R 1 2 6 7 9 10 V B 1–3 K S W 1 2 M 1 G 2–4 D Π J 1–8 10–12. demonstrant O 9. demonstrantur G *ead. manu ex* demonstrentur *mut.* 5. tradantur R 1 9 10 V G 1–4 B 1 3 K P S L 1 3 4 W 1 2 M 2 D Π J O 1–7 9–11. traduntur R 6 7 B 2 O 8 12. 6. intelleges R V G B K P. 7. tractare R 1 2 7 9 10 V G 1–4 B K P S L 1 3 4 W 1 2 B 2 D C Π J O 1 3 4 7 9 12 ed. H. tractare (i superscr.) B 3. tractari M 1 2 R 6 12 E 3 O 2 5 8 10 11. ~~tractari~~ tractari O 6 (*sic*) *fuerat* tractare tractari. ‖ coepissent R 1 6 12 V G 1 4 B K P W 1 M 2 L 4 O 2 6. cepissent (o superscr.) O 10 11. cępissent S R 10. cępisset L G 3. cepissent W 2 M 1 R 2 7 9 G 2 B 2 E 3 L 3 D C Π J O 1 3 5 7–9 12 ed. H. ‖ phisica R V G B K P M 1. ‖ dicissent (di superscr.) R. didicissent V P.

Dei viii 5 'maiorum uero gentium deos, quos etiam Consentes uocabant, hoc disticho complexus est Ennius—

Iuno, Vesta, Minerua, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Ioui', Neptunus, Volcanus, Apollo.'

The expression is formed upon *patres maiorum gentium*, for whom see Furneaux on Tac. Ann. xi 25. Reid is probably right in finding some sarcasm in the application of the expression in the passage in the Academics: similarly here—'the gods first enrolled.'

sepulcra: e.g. those of Zeus in Crete, Asclepios in Arcadia, and Dionysos at Delphi. Döllinger, *op. cit.* I 135, also I 148 and Cic. N.D. iii 21, 53; 22, 57; Callimachus, Hymn to Jove 9. The importance attached by the ancients to the due performance of funeral rites and the intense conviction entertained by each family that their dead would haunt them if these rites were neglected, constituted a guarantee for their performance. Anyone therefore who asserted (as Euhemerus did) that any particular god had been a man would be at once asked to point out the tomb of that man. (Hence where no tomb could be found the rationalisers in some cases assumed that the man had been torn to pieces, cf. Seeley, Livy i, Introd. p. 42 on Romulus and Mettus Fuffetius.)

quoniam es initiatus: barbarians were excluded (Isocr. Paneg. 42) but the Romans when victorious ceased to be barbarians, though not many names of Romans actually initiated are known. For a list of these see Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew* I 194.

demonstrantur...tradantur: we should have expected the same mood in each of these two parallel clauses. *a* and *u* are apt to interchange in MSS; so also are *a* and *e*. I prefer to take *quaere* as = 'seek out,' 'inspect' and not 'inquire.' The indic. then necessarily follows. *quaere*, sc. *eos quorum* etc. *quae* before *tradantur* is most naturally taken as relative, not indirect interrogative. If we are to detect any difference between the grammatical positions of the two words we must take *tradantur* as subj. of reported thought, and suppose the appeal to A.'s reason to render the word subjective.

quae tradantur mysteriis: on this subject see Lobeck's *Aglaophamus* and Döllinger *op. cit.* i 125—202.

tum denique: different from *tum demum*: *tum denique* here = *then* you will realise, i.e. these preliminaries will fully enable you to realise; *tum demum* would have meant *only then*, *then at last*, you will realise. Cf. i 31, 75, iii 31, 75. In the former expression the emphasis is on *tum*, in the latter it is on *demum*.

quam hoc late pateat, 'this will enable you to realise how widely this principle applies.'

annis: abl. of measure, 1, 3 n.; **post** is adverbial.

tractari coepta sunt: the best MSS read *tractare coepissent*; a few inferior

suaserant, quantum natura admonente cognouerant, rationes et causas rerum non tenebant, uisis quibusdam saepe mouebantur, iisque maxime nocturnis, ut uiderentur ei, qui uita excesserant, uiuere.

30. Vt porro firmissimum hoc adferri uidetur, cur deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam sit inmanis, cuius mentem non inbuerit deorum opinio (multi de dis praua sentiunt; id enim uitioso more effici solet; omnes

8. cognouerunt R 1 2 10 G 1–3 B 1–3 P S L D Π O 3 4 7 9. cognouer̃ K. cognouerant O 10 *at* a *ex* u *mut.* cognouerant V *at* a *ex* u *mut.* ɑ *non, ut praebere solet*, ꝏ *uel* a. cognouerant W 1 2 M 1 2 G 4 J O 1 2 5 6 8 12. cognouerunt O 11 *at* u *ex* a *mut.* 10. hisque R V G B 1 2 P W 2. iisque S M 2.

§ 30, 12. adferri R V G B P. afferri K S W 1 M 1 R 2 *plerique.* ‖ uidetur R G B 1 3 P S W 1 M 1 Π J O 1–6 9–12. uid&^{re} K. uidetur V *alio atram. superscr.* uideretur O 7. uide'tr O 8. uidentur G 4. 13. tam sit B P S W 2 M 1 2. tam fit G. 14. inmanis V G. 15. idem R. id enim V G P S W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1 3–5 8 10. id enī B 1 2 D J. id eī Π O 7. id N O 2 6 12. id ė O 11.

MSS *tractari coepissent.* Kühner seems right in reading *tractari coepta sunt* (after Keil and Madvig), noting that COEPTA-SUNT might easily pass into COEPISSENT, and in finding the subjunctive unnatural even on the theory of attraction to the following *didicissent.* Cicero constantly uses the passive form (*coeptus sum*) with the passive infin. and the active form with the active infin. *fieri*, not being a true passive in origin, is exceptional, and is joined with the active form (*coepi*).

For Livy's use see Kühnast, *Livianische Syntax*, p. 251 [Riemann, *Études*, p. 161 sq.]; and for that of Tacitus see Draeger, *Synt. des Tacitus*, p. 9; see also Draeger *Hist. Synt.* I[1] pp. 137—140, § 92.

didicissent: the subj. contains a reason; *qui=cum hi.* Sections 27—29 have dealt with the opinion of *omnis antiquitas.* It is possible that a word has fallen out after *sed*, e.g. *ueteres* or *hi.* The line of thought, which is here somewhat involved, is thus best explained, after Heine—'Yet the ancients, being unacquainted with philosophic principles, had only a hazy belief in this matter, based upon obvious phenomena, and often due even to the impressions produced by dreams.'

tantum...quantum: with limitation implied 'only so much...as,' ii 19, 44 n.

rationes, 'the underlying principles.'

§ **30.** The argument in this section is, 'just as general consent is held to prove the existence of the gods, so it should prove the immortality of the soul.' Cf. 16, 36 'sed ut deos esse natura opinamur ...sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium.'

We have here a parenthesis and an anacolouthon. The parenthesis (*multi ...putanda est*) is inserted to meet a possible objection, viz.—all believe in the gods, it is true, but why do they not agree in their belief? The anacolouthon consists in this—to the *ut*-clause (*ut porro...*) an *ita* clause should correspond, but the insertion of a parenthesis often leads, as here, to the omission of the second limb of the sentence, often to its modification. Küh. holds that ancient writers of dialogues (e.g. Plato, Cicero) did not fall into such constructions through negligence, but purposely sought to imitate in them the natural turns of conversation.

tam sit inmanis: reported reason. For the custom of separating *tam quam tantus quantus* from the words they qualify by some small word, a preposition or *sit* or the like, see Reid on Ac. ii 26, 83 *quam in paruo.*

inbuerit: for *inbuere* of first impressions cf. Tac. Hist. v 5 'nec quicquam prius inbuuntur quam contemnere deos,' also 7, 13 n.

deorum opinio: *persuasio de deis.* Gen. of indirect object.

tamen esse uim et naturam diuinam arbitrantur, nec uero id conlocutio hominum aut consensus efficit, non institutis opinio est confirmata, non legibus; omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est) — quis est igitur, qui suorum mortem primum non eo lugeat, quod eos orbatos uitae commodis arbitretur? tolle hanc opinionem, luctum sustuleris. nemo enim maeret suo incommodo; dolent fortasse et anguntur; sed illa lugubris lamentatio fletusque maerens ex eo est, quod eum, quem dileximus, uitae commodis priuatum arbitramur idque sentire. atque haec ita sentimus natura duce, nulla ratione nullaque doctrina.

17. consensus *codd. ut uid.* consessus *non notaui.* || efficit R 1 2 6 7 10 V G 1–4 (G 2 *plane*) B 1–3 K P S L 1 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 D (*plane*) O 2–8 10 11. *omittit* O 12 *marg.* efficit. effecit L 3 J O 1 9. 18. omni‸ autem R. (illicuo superscr.) omni aū V *cum interuallo.* omni autem G B P S L. 22. meret suo incommodo K *nigro atram. manu recentiore superscr.* 24. *insunt uerba* idque sentire R 1 2 6 10 G 1–3 B 1 2 K L D O 1–7 9–12. *lacunam cum rasura habet* V. *omittunt* W 2 O 8. 25. haec R V G B M 2 O 6 7 10. hęc L G 4. h^oc K *in marg. excurrens.* hec M 1 R 2 B 3 O 3–5 8 11. *omittit* O 12. h' W 2 G 3. h̄ B 2. hoc *in* haec *mut.*, *ut uid.*, S. hoc W 1 G 2 (*plane, Orellio non obstante*) L 6 Π O 1 2 9. hǫc P, *utrum* o *in* ę *an* ę *in* o *mut. incertum.*

consensus = *conuentio*, *pactum*, *συνθήκη*, Küh. Not in the same sense as in 15, 35 or as *consensio* here. Sff. follows Bouhier and Nissen in reading *consessus*, pointing out that GR which have *consensus* here have *consensu* wrongly for *consessus* in § 37. Hei. and TS. also adopt *consessus* comparing § 37 'consessus theatri' and referring it and *conlocutio* to casual meetings as contrasted with *institutis* and *legibus*, while Sff. takes it in the sense which it has in *consessus iudicum*.

[For *conlocutio* combined with *consessus* cf. N.D. i 61 *sermone et consessu*. The word *consessus* seems to fit well with the idea of laying down ordinances; cf. e.g. Leg. ii 13.]

efficit: the pres. is read by almost all MSS including the best and should not be altered by Küh. and others to the perf., for this is a question of a view being constantly brought about, not a view merely formed at some past time.

quis est igitur: for *igitur* in resuming after a digression cf. 28, 70, and 7, 14 n.

Strictly the clause corresponding to *ut porro...* should run thus:—*ita animorum immortalitatem eadem ratione ex omnium gentium consensione probare possumus: nemo est enim qui* etc. TS.

primum: no *deinde* clause follows. Instead of *deinde maximum argumentum est* we have the construction interrupted, and the argument continued by *maximum uero argumentum*, cf. 24, 57 n. So often *etiam*, *uero*, *autem* take up an interrupted *primum* clause.

lugeat refers strictly to outward signs of woe, especially in the dress; **maeret** to grief shewn in the countenance; **dolent** to grief felt at heart. Cic. takes the dismal wailing and the tears of woe to be intended as a solace to the dead.

quod eos orbatos...arbitretur: Cic. might have written *arbitratur*. The subj. is due to an attraction. Strictly the clause should be *quod orbati sint*, *ut arbitratur*, cf. ii 2, 4.

[**arbitretur**: cf. *quod dicat* = *quod*, *ut dicit*, in Fin. i 4; *quod...arguerent* = *q. ut arguebant* in Fin. i 24; Roby § 1746; Madv. § 357 a.]

tolle...sustuleris: similarly 22, 57 *reputent...uidebunt*; 3, 94 *confer...reperiemur*. *et* is not inserted in classical Lat. in sentences of this form, see exx. in Roby §§ 1552 and 1557.

sustuleris: for the tense cf. Roby § 1485 (c), Madv. § 340 obs. 4.

atque haec...: this argument, as Hei. points out, cuts two ways, for if the

XIV. **31.** Maximum uero argumentum est naturam ipsam de inmortalitate animorum tacitam iudicare, quod omnibus curae sunt, et maximae quidem, quae post mortem futura sint. 'serit arbores, quae alteri saeclo prosint,' ut ait *ille* in Synephebis, quid spectans nisi etiam postera saecula ad se pertinere? ergo arbores seret diligens agricola, quarum aspiciet bacam ipse numquam, uir magnus leges, instituta, rem publicam non seret? quid procreatio liberorum, quid propagatio nominis, quid

XIV. § **31,** 1. maximum K. 3. et maxume quidem R 1 2 G D. et maxime quidem V B 1–3 K P S L 1 6 M 1 R 6 10 G 2 3 Π O 1–10 12. et maxime
eo2+
quae M 2. et m̄x̄ / quid' W 2 *alio atram. superscr.* eorum et maxime quidem W 1. eorum maxime quidem G 4 O 11. maximae *non inueni: non legitur aut in* D *aut in* G 2 *ut adfirmant Or. et Küh.* || sint R V G 1 3 4 P S M 1 2
u
B 3 Π O 1 3 4 6 10 11. sunt W 1 2 B 1 2. sint K *alio atram. superscr.* O 2 5
u
7–9 12. 4. saeclo R V G. saeculo M 2. sęculo K. sęclo B. seclo S *alio atram. superscr.* seculo M 1 O 3. || ut ait insinephebis R 1 10 K D O 7. ut ait insine phebis V. ut ait in sine phebis G. ut ait insinephoeb̄ B. ut ait S Ennius *in marg. addito.* in sinephebis S *marg.* synephebis. ut ait insinephoebis
Ennius
G 3. ut ait in sinephebis P *alio atram. superscr.* ut ait‸ in sinephebis Π *marg.* Statius. ut ait Ennius in s. W 2 M 1 R 4 12 V 4 G 4 J O 1–6 8–12 ed. H. ut ait Statius in s. W 1 R 6 G 2. ut ait Actius in s. R 7. 5. saecula V G.
u
sec‸la S *alio atram. superscr.* 6. bacam R 1 2 10 V G 1 3 K L O 3 4. baca B.
c
ba‸am S *alia manu superscr.* baccam P W 2 R 6 G 4 O 7 9. bacham M 2 O 1. 7. numquam R V G. || conseret R 1 2 G 1–3 B 1–3 P W 1 M 1 2 D O 2 5–12. c̄seret K. conseret S. *marg. alia manu* nō seret. nonseret V *at* n *ante* o *in litura.* nọ̄ seret W 2 J. nō seret R 4. conserit R 6 O 3 4. conseruat G 4 O 1. ccseret Π. 8. progatio R V. ꝑpagatio K.

consensio omnium gentium is a proof of the immortality of the soul, as Cic. maintains, it is also a proof that the dead feel their loss, which he denies, § 12. For the rest, a view to which we are guided by nature (*natura duce*) can never be convincing so long as it eludes analysis and explanation.

XIV. § **31. tacitam iudicare,** 'gives silent testimony.' Cicero himself in 38, 91 destroys all the force of this argument: *itaque non deterret sapientem mors...*, and especially *quare licet etiam mortalem...*

et maximae quidem: Cicero regularly writes *aliquid mihi magnae maiori maximae curae est*, not *aliquid mihi ualde magis maxime curae est.* Therefore read *maximae* here against the MSS.

quae post mortem futura sint: not *sunt* with inferior MSS, for the sense requires *quae* to be interrogative, the plural of *quid*, not relative, the plural of *quod*.

The feet are bacchics, and the line is from Caecilius Statius' *Synephebi*, which was based upon Menander's *Συνέφηβοι.* Cf. Reid on Cato M. § 24 where the line also occurs.

ut ait ille in Synephebis: MSS agree in reading *ait.* Küh. following Dav. reads *ut est in*, but *spectans* could not be referred back to *serit* if *est* intervened. Codex Aug. (=G 4) does *not* read *ut ait ille in* as Or., Küh. and Schiche assert.

[**ut ait**: I do not believe that a subject is necessary where the quotation is so well known that the reader or hearer can readily supply it. Edd. are mistaken in tampering with Att. xiv 12, 2 'ubi nec Pelopidarum' inquit. The Latin Fathers constantly use *inquit*, *dicit* etc. without subj. in quoting Scripture. For the subjectless *inquit*, *dicit* in other directions see my n. on *Acad.* ii § 79.]

ille: the character, not the author.

quid spectans = *quo consilio.*

ergo arbores seret...rem publicam non seret: for the form cf. ii 14, 34 'ergo hoc pueri possunt, uiri non poterunt'; ii 17, 39 'ergo haec...miles facere poterit,

adoptationes filiorum, quid testamentorum diligentia, quid ipsa sepulcrorum monumenta, elogia significant nisi nos futura etiam cogitare? **32.** quid? illud num dubitas, quin specimen naturae capi deceat ex optima quaque natura? quae est melior igitur in hominum genere natura quam eorum, qui se natos ad homines iuuandos, tutandos, conseruandos arbitrantur? abiit ad deos Hercules; numquam abisset, nisi, cum inter homines esset, eam sibi uiam muniuisset.

XV. Vetera iam ista et religione omnium consecrata: quid in hac re publica tot tantosque uiros ob rem publicam interfectos

9. adoptationes R 1 2 4 V G B 1 2 K S W 2 D O 7. adoptiones P L 1 6 M 1 2 R 6 G 3 4 B 3 O 1–6 8–12. 10. monumenta elogia R V G 1 3 B K P D C M 2 O 12. monimenta elogia L R 2 10 B 2 O 7 11. monumenta elogia S *et* O 10 *at* quid *alia manu in marg. inculcato.* monumenta eulogia G 4. quid elogia R 4 6 V 4 E 8 O 1 9. ^quid^ elogia Π *alio atram. superscr.* quid eulogia W 1 M 1 G 2 B 3 L 4 6 O 2–4 6 8 ed. H. ed. P. quid e^u^logia E 3 O 5. quid eloqia J *at* q *in litura.* q^i^d eloqa W 2.

§ **32**, 12. deceat R 1 2 V G 1 2 B 1–3 S W 1 2 M 1 2 J *alii complures.* doceat P O 1 9. debeat O 8. ‖ melior igitur R V G 1 2 B 1–3 P W 1 2 M 1 D O 1–5 7 8 10 12. igitur melior M 2 O 6 11. melior ergo O 9. 15. numquam V G. ‖ abisset R 1 10 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K P L M 1 O 8 12. ab^i^isset S. abiisset W 1 2 M 2 D Π J O 2–4 9.

doctus uir non poterit.' An example of the *argumentum a minore*. For the metaphor cf. de Rep. iii 5 'ei qui diuturnam rem publicam serere conatur.'

adoptatio: the form presented here by the best MSS is earlier than *adoptio*; cf. p. Balbo 25, 57; Sall. Iug. xi 7.

[The insertion of a syllable is such a common phenomenon in MSS that the three passages where *adoptatio* occurs in Cic. cannot be said to be above suspicion. E.g. *significatio* for *significo*, Fam. i 9, 20; *sectatorem* for *sectorem*, Fam. xv 19, 3. How easily these syllables slipped in is shewn by the archaic inscription which has *pococolom*.]

testamentorum diligentia: that there might be a *heres* to keep up sacrifices to the *manes*. The Roman horror of intestacy is a horror which seems at first sight out of proportion to the evil threatened. In reality the fear was that if there were no *heres*, and if there were consequently no sacrifices, the shade would become an unlaid ghost.

monumenta elogia: so the best MSS and Sff. TS. Hei. etc., but the asyndeton is harsh. Tr. and Bai. bracket *monumenta*, but we should expect *monumenta* to be mentioned and the word is not a gloss upon *elogia*. Küh. after Davies' conj. reads *et elogia*. *et* could easily fall out before *el*, but perhaps it is better to retain the asyndeton which often occurs in the case of two closely connected ideas.

elogia: the word = ἐλεγεῖον taken *by ear* from the Greeks of Magna Graecia or Sicily. Cf. 49, 118 n. on *exanclauisset*.

§ **32**. **specimen**: 'we ought to look for the *type* of human nature in the best natures.'

capi deceat: so almost all MSS. Lamb. and Dav. adopted *debeat*. But the meaning wanted is 'it is proper that we should take,' not 'we are bound to take.' Similarly ii 3, 9 *decere*; cf. also Leg. i 8, 24 'nulla gens est quae non, etiam si ignoret qualem habere deum deceat, tamen habendum sciat.'

quae est melior igitur: for the position of *igitur* cf. i 32, 77; ii 5, 12. Similarly *enim*, *autem*, often even in the fourth place in the sentence. Cf. Küh. here, and Madv. § 471 (see also 2, 4 n.).

uiam muniuisset: the expression originated in the fact that *uiae* (as *moenia* also) were often made by task-work. *moenia* = *munera*.

cogitasse arbitramur? isdemne ut finibus nomen suum, quibus uita, terminaretur? nemo umquam sine magna spe inmortalitatis se pro patria offerret ad mortem. **33.** licuit esse otioso Themistocli, licuit Epaminondae, licuit, ne et uetera et externa quaeram, mihi, sed nescio quo modo inhaeret in mentibus quasi saeculorum quoddam augurium futurorum, idque in maximis ingeniis altissimisque animis et exsistit maxime et apparet facillime. quo quidem dempto quis tam esset amens, qui semper in laboribus et periculis uiueret? **34.** loquor de principibus; quid? poetae nonne post mortem nobilitari uolunt? unde ergo illud?

Aspicite, o ciues, senis Enni imaginis formam.
Hic uestrum panxit maxima facta patrum.

XV. 3. isdemne V G. 4. inmortalitatis V G K. 5. offer& K.

§ **33**, 8. maximis (v superscr.) et 9. maxime (v superscr.) K *manu recent. superscr.* 9. existit V K P E G 4. exsistit G. 10. quod (*ante* quidem dempto) R V K B 2. quod G. qd E (*h. e.* quod *in* quo *mut.*). quo B 1 3 P S L 1 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 R 2 6 10 G 2–4 D C Π J O 1–12.

§ **34**, 14. enni R G B 2. enni (i superscr.) K *alio atram. superscr.* eni E. ennii B P S *alii.* ‖ formam G 1 4 K P E R 2 10 E 8 C Π J O 1 2 4 5 7–9 12. formam V *marg.* urnā. urnam W 1. 15. pinxit R 1 2 V G 1–4 (G 2 pīxit) B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 J O 1–12. panxit *non inueni: non legitur in sex Oxx. aut in* G 2 *ut adfirmat Or.*

XV. **cogitasse...ut terminaretur** = *consilium habuisse...ut, spectasse...ut. cogitasse isdem finibus terminatum iri* would have referred to a mere *opinion*, not to an idea under which they *acted*.

offerret: the protasis is contained in *sine magna spe = nisi magna spes esset*; cf. 25, 63 n.

§ 33. **ne et uetera et externa**, 'not to seek instances which are at once ancient and foreign'; *aut...aut* would not give the meaning required here. 'And...and' after a negative are in Latin *et...et* where it is the *combination* that is negatived, e.g. Off. i 14, 42 'uidendum est ne obsit benignitas et eis ipsis, quibus benigne uidebitur fieri, et ceteris.'

nescio quo modo: cf. 11, 24 n. 'Unfortunately (for their ease).'

quis tam esset amens: cf. 13, 30 n. 'tam sit inmanis.'

§ 34. **principibus**, 'leading men,' 'statesmen'; cf. 42, 101 'sed quid duces et principes nominem?' For the form of expression cf. below 'sed quid poetas? opifices...uolunt'; 42, 102 'uiros commemoro. qualis tandem Lacaena?' iv 32, 69.

Enni imaginis formam: for the shortened final in hiatus cf. Virgil Aen. iii 211 *insulae Ionio* and Juv. xii 32 *arbori incertae*. For the final *s* disregarded cf. *uiuos* below and Pl. and Ter. *passim*.

senis Enni: Ennius lived to old age, and so perhaps did Lucilius. But *senis* here and in Hor. Sat. ii 1, 34 may refer to their time—writers of old—rather than to the age to which they attained. Ennius may have used the word of himself in that sense taking a future point of view. Lucian Müller (*Philol.* XLIII, p. 104) does not think that these lines really belong to Ennius.

panxit: MSS generally have *pinxit*, to which Bentley objected that *pingere = carmen scribere* requires concomitant words to point the metaphor: 'si *calamo pingere*, *uersibus pingere* dixeris, agnosco poetam: si nude dixeris *pingere* neminem nisi pictorem intellego.—Repudietur ergo illud pinxit; ne aduenae qui spectatum ueniant non poetae structum monumentum sed pictori arbitrentur.'

For *pangere = componere* cf. Val. Max. ii 1 'egregia superiorum opera carmine comprensa pangebant'; Cic. Fam. xvi 18,

Mercedem gloriae flagitat ab iis, quorum patres adfecerat gloria, idemque:

> Nemo me lacrumis—
> Cur? uolito uiuos (uo superscr.) per ora uirum.

Sed quid poetas? opifices post mortem nobilitari uolunt.

18. lacrumis cur R 1 10 G E B 2. lacrumis cur (ret superscr.) B. lacrimet cur V *at* et *in litura.* lacrumis cur P S decoret ne funera faxit P *alia manu superscr. marg. alia manu* decoret neque fletu funera faxit S. lacrimis cur K G 3 O 11. neque funera fletu faxit O 5. nec funera fletu faxit O 9. nec funera faxit cur W 1. n3 funera faxet cur W 2. neque fletu funera faxit O 6. nec funera faxit fletu M 1. 19. uiuos G K R 10. iuos per ora O 11. uiuas O 7. uiuus V *at ultimum* u *in litura.* uolitos uiuo S. ‖ docta per ora M 1 G 4 B 3 J O 3–5 9 10 12. per docta ora O 2. 20. putas R . G 1 3 B 1 2 K P S E Π O 1 3 4 7 8. putas *in* poetas *alia manu mut.* D O 10. po & ę V *multa in litura.* poetę G 4. poetas W 2 M 1 G 2 J O 2 6 9 11 12 *alii.* pętas (o superscr.) O 5.

3 'an pangis aliquid Sophocleum?' And often with *poemata* e.g. Hor. Ep. i 18, 40; *carmina* Lucr. iv 8. The reference is specially to Ennius' Annales, in 18 books.

mercedem gloriae, 'glory as a reward.' Gen. of definition or contents (*Inhalt*), cf. 4, 8 n.; 45, 109 'suis et propriis bonis laudis et gloriae.'

lacrumis: Ennius, as O. L. generally, used alliteration freely, cf. *funera fletu*, *uolito uiuos...uirum*. Hence Bergk's emendation here, *dacrumis* before *decoret*, is tempting, but Reid, on Cato M. 20, 73, where the line also occurs, objects that if Ennius had really used *dacruma* the ancient grammarians would have been certain to mention a form so extraordinary. Lucian Müller (*Philol.* XLIII p. 104) also objects that Ennius is a thorough moderniser, and that the form *dacruma* is only mentioned from Livius Andronicus.

The words *decoret nec funera fletu faxit* should follow *lacrumis* if the quotation were complete. But these words are not in any of the best MSS, and those MSS that quote them quote them inaccurately. They are not essential to Cicero's purpose.

uolito uiuos per ora uirum: usually taken to mean 'I float still living on the lips of men.' But Henry, *Aeneidea*, on Aen. xii 235 'ille quidem ad superos quorum se deuouet aris succedet fama uiuusque per ora feretur' holds that there, and here, and in Georgic iii 8—9 'temptanda uia est qua me quoque possim tollere humo uictorque uirum uolitare per ora,' the meaning is 'before the faces of men.' Henry cites Livy ii 38; Sall. Iug. 31; Pliny Ep. ii 10; Ovid Trist. iv 2, 47: Hor. Sat. ii 1, 62; Stat. Theb. ii 649 for *per ora* with this meaning as against Aen. xi 296 where it means 'through' or 'among mouths.' But the immediate context here, referring to posthumous fame, not to life after death, suits the latter interpretation. *uolito* at first sight seems to support Henry's view, suggesting a comparison of the poet to a bird of song, but it may refer to the 'winged words' by which his fame is to be spread.

Mr R. M. Henry suggests that Ennius may have referred to *transmigration* although Cic. did not take the epitaph in that sense. He compares Hor. Epp. ii 1, 52 'leuiter curare uidetur quo **promissa** cadant et somnia Pythagorea.'

sed quid poetas? sc. *commemoro.* For the ellipsis cf. ii 17, 41 'sed quid hos...? gladiatores....' More usually the verb is expressed, Or. 31, 109 'sed quid poetas...profero? histriones...' Cf. infra 42, 100, 101; 45, 108. Küh. The reading *sed quid putas*, though supported by GRB and many inferior MSS and by Bentley, is obviously wrong.

opifices: the word is somewhat disparaging, cf. v 12, 34 'Zeno...ignobilis uerborum opifex'; Off. i 42, 150 'opifices omnes in sordida arte uersantur'; Ac. ii 47, 144 and Reid's note; N.D. i 8, 18 and Mayor's note.

It seems strange to us to find Phidias so referred to. For the Roman attitude towards art and Cicero's own taste in art see Sandys on Or. 2, 5 'nec solum ab optimis studiis excellentes uiri deterriti non sunt, sed ne opifices quidem se ab artibus suis remouerunt,' where among

quid enim Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit in clupeo Mineruae, cum inscribere nomen non liceret? quid? nostri philosophi nonne in iis libris ipsis, quos scribunt de contemnenda gloria, sua nomina inscribunt? **35.** quod si omnium consensus naturae uox est, omnesque, qui ubique sunt, consentiunt esse aliquid, quod ad eos pertineat, qui uita cesserint, nobis quoque idem existimandum est, et si, quorum aut ingenio aut uirtute animus excellit, eos arbitrabimur, quia natura optima

21. clupeo R V G 1 3 B K E W 2. clıpeo P *fuerat* u *ante* p. clipeo S L M 1 2 R 2 4 6 10 G 2 4 B 2 3 D J *alii.* clypeo O 12. 22. cū S *hoc loco non in* quom *mutatum.* ‖ inscribere non R 1 2 6 7 10 V G 1–4 B 1–3 P S E L 1 4 W 1 2 M 1 2 D Π J O 1 5 6 8 10–12 ed. H. ed. P. inscribere ñ K. scribere non O 2–4 7 9. 23. in his R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P E L W 2 M 2. in hiis C Π O 5 12. in iis S *at* h *eraso, fuerat* hiis. ‖ libris ipsis R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E L W 2 M 1 2 Π O 1–10. ipsis libris W 1 R 6 G 4 D C O 11. ipsis *omittit* O 12.

§ **35**, 26. cesserint R (*planissime, non ut Dau.*) V G B 1 3 K P S E L 1 6 M 1 2 Π J O 1 3 4 6 7 9 10 12. ^{ex}cesserint O 5. excesserint W 1 O 8. cessīt W 2. cesserunt B 2 O 11. excesserunt O 2. recesserunt G 4. 28. excellet V. arbitra mur V *duabus litt. erasis.*

opifices are included Protogenes, Apelles, Phidias, and the elder Polyclitus.

For the two greatest works of **Phidias**, his chryselephantine images of Olympian Zeus and of Athene Παρθένος, see Sandys on Or. §§ 5 and 8; and for the shield of the latter statue, here referred to, see Sandys' full note on Or. 71, 234.

sui similem. The distinction of the old grammarians 'sum similis tui moribus; similis tibi figura' has long been rejected. Madv. on Fin. v 5, 12 lays it down that *in Cic. and the older writers* the gen. is the rule and the dat. very rare in the case of resemblance to living beings, especially gods and men, and that both cases are used indifferently of resemblance to things; that with Livy the dative becomes more and more usual even of resemblance to persons, and that in Augustan poets (Virg. Hor. Ov.) the gen. is scarcely found. Sff. thinks that Madv. does not give the ground of the distinction, and that *patris similis*='the very image of his father,' *patri similis* 'like his father.' Cf. 33, 81 'facie uel *patris*, uita *omnium perditorum* ita similis'; v 19, 56 'hunc illi duco simillimum.' See also Draeger *H. S.* I § 197 p. 410; Reid on Ac. ii 37, 118. For the reference cf. Plut. Pericl. 31 *τὴν πρὸς 'Αμαζόνας μάχην ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι ποιῶν αὑτοῦ τινα μορφὴν ἐνετύπωσε πρεσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρον ἐπηρμένου δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους εἰκόνα παγκάλην ἐνέθηκε μαχομένου πρὸς 'Αμαζόνα.*

cum inscribere nomen non liceret: so Küh. Sff. Ml. TS. *nomen* is not in the MSS. It was restored by Ernesti, *nom̄*, i.e. *nomen*, having fallen out before *non*. As sculptors often inscribed their names upon their works, and Phidias himself (cf. Pausanias v 10 p. 397) actually inscribed his name at the feet of his Olympian Zeus, many have read *cum inscribere nomen liceret.* But Klotz, quoted in Küh., notes that many ancient statues have been discovered in Paris to contain the name of the sculptor carefully concealed within them with a statement that the artists were not allowed to append their names openly. Whence Klotz conjectures that it rested with the patron or authority, who ordered the statue, to allow or forbid the inscription of the name.

sua nomina inscribunt: cf. p. Arch. 11, 26 for the same thought.

§ 35. omnesque qui ubique sunt: loosely expressed and compressed for *omnes qui sunt, ubicumque sunt.* Before Virg. and Livy *ubique* only follows relative and interrogative words.

[**ubique** is related to *ubi* as *utique* is to *uti*, the *que* having a generalising force. In Cic. the clause in which *ubique* occurs always contains some part of *esse*.]

arbitrabimur: the fut. is the same as

sint, cernere naturae uim maxime, ueri simile est, cum optimus quisque maxime posteritati seruiat, esse aliquid, cuius is post mortem sensum sit habiturus.

XVI. **36.** Sed ut deos esse natura opinamur, qualesque sint, ratione cognoscimus, sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium, qua in sede maneant qualesque sint, ratione discendum est. cuius ignoratio finxit inferos easque formidines, quas tu contemnere non sine causa uidebare. in terram enim cadentibus corporibus iisque humo tectis, e quo dictum est humari, sub terra censebant reliquam uitam agi mortuorum. quam eorum opinionem magni errores consecuti sunt, quos auxerunt poetae. **37.** frequens enim consessus theatri, in quo sunt mulierculae et pueri, mouetur audiens tam grande carmen:

29. sint (*post* optima) R V G 1–3 B 1 2 K S L W 1 2 D J. $\overset{v}{\text{sint}}$ P *alio atram. superscr.*

XVI. § **36**, 5. contemnere R V G B. contempnere E L. contem⁄nere S. 6. hisque humo R V G L W 1 2 M 1 *alii.* iisque M 2. iisque S *at* h *ante* ii *eraso.* isque B. $\overset{h}{\text{isque}}$ P *alio atram. superscr.*

§ **37**, 9. consensu R G E L O 8. consensu *in* $\overset{s}{\text{conseſſu}}$ *mut.* P. $\overset{ſ}{\text{consensu}}$ V *manu antiqua superaddito.* consens⁹ B. consensus S *marg.* consessus. $\overset{s}{\text{consensus}}$ M 2 V 9 *alio atram. superscr.* in consessu O 7. consessus *ex* consensu *mut.* O 5. consensus W 2 M 1 R 2 10 G 3 4 D II J O 1–4 6 9 11. cōsēssus R 9. consessus W 1 R 8 G 2 B 2 3 L 4 6 O 10 12. čsensi tehathri K.

nesciet 22, 53 n. Many editors unnecessarily alter to *arbitramur.*

posteritati seruiat: cf. v 3, 9 'alios *gloriae seruire* alios *pecuniae*'; Q. Fr. i 1 end '*ualetudini* tuae...diligentissime *seruias.*' Küh.

XVI. § **36.** **formidines**, 'forms of terror,' e.g. Cerberus, Acheron, Cocytus, etc. For the use of abstracts in the plural cf. Küh. on iv 1, 2.

uidebare: cf. 5, 10; 6, 11.

consecuti sunt: 'and in the train of this opinion great errors have followed.' Here the prefix denotes that the *opinio* and the *errores* are *linked* as cause and effect; *post hoc ergo propter hoc;* cf. 38, 91 'uirtutis quam necessario gloria...consequatur'; iv 8, 19 'ex quo fit ut pudorem rubor...consequatur'; v 34, 99 'adde siccitatem quae consequitur hanc continentiam in uictu.'

As a cognate force of *con-* in *consequi* may be noted that of *immediate* sequence, cf. Mur. 39, 85 'si haec...in eum annum, qui consequitur, redundarint'; and so best explain Or. i 35, 160 'haec cum Crassus dixisset silentium est consecutum.' With this use probably connect the use of *consequi*='to imitate' i.e. to follow close upon. Cf. N.D. i 15, 41 'quem Diogenes Babylonius consequens.' Hence the notion of *hot pursuit*, cf. Caes. B. G. i 13 'reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut consequi posset'; often with the implication of *overtaking*, cf. B.G. i 53 'reliquos omnes equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt'; and, metaphorically, *to obtain*, *to acquire*, Off. i 19, 64 'ut opes quam maximas consequantur.' The idea of *connected* consequence may perhaps always be traced.

§ **37.** **consessus theatri**: concrete use, cf. Att. i 16, 3 'in ludo talario consessus,' and often.

mulierculae: dim. disparaging, 'silly women.' Women were admitted to the Roman theatre, and also, though Hei. asserts the contrary, to the Greek. See Becker, *Charicles*, pp. 403–7.

carmen: for *carmen* applied to an *extract* from a poem cf. iii 25, 59 'Euripideum carmen.'

Ádsum atque aduenio Ácherunte uíx uia alta atque árdua
Pér speluncas sáxis structas ásperis, pendéntibus,
Máxumis, ubi rígida constat crássa caligo ínferum,

tantumque ualuit error, qui mihi quidem iam sublatus uidetur, ut, corpora cremata cum scirent, tamen ea fieri apud inferos fingerent, quae sine corporibus nec fieri possent nec intellegi. animos enim per se ipsos uiuentis non poterant mente complecti, formam aliquam figuramque quaerebant. inde Homeri tota *νεκυία*, inde ea, quae meus amicus Appius *νεκυομαντεῖα* faciebat, inde in uicinia nostra Auerni lacus,

12. acherunte R 1 10 V G P E L O 9. acheronte O 5 u *in* o *mut.* acheronte B 1–3 S W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 G 3 L 4 D O 1–4 6–8 10–12. acherṽonte K *alio atram. superscr.* 17. cum S *h.l. non in* quom *mut.* 18. possent R 1 6 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 *alii.* possent (u *superscr.*) V *manu antiqua superscr.* || intellegi R V G B P. intelligi K S E. 19. uiuentis R G B K P E L W 2 M 2. uigentis V, *h.e.* u *in* g mut. 21. NECYIA R B K E. NECYA (I *superscr.*) P. NECYIA S *marg.* *μεχια* (nechia *superscr.*). necyia G 1 3. *νεcyρα* V. нєkγρὰ W 2. || NEPCYO manτia R P K E L C (necromancia *subscr.*). nepsyomantia G. nħcbоaNtia S *marg.* *μειγρομαρκια*. *μεκυομαρτια* W 1. *μεκυιομαρτια* M 2. psichomantia V *at* psicho *in litura.* nekyomatia O 11. nekromantia R 6 O 1. nekyloalantia W 2 J. *spatio relicto omiserunt* M 1 O 6. 22. in uitia R B 1 2 K E G 3 O 7. in uicia G L. in uicia (ni) *al. atram. superscr.* V II. in uicinia P *at fuerat* in uicia *aut* in uitia. in uicinia S M 1 G 2 J O 1 2 12. uicinia (in *omisso*) O 3.

adsum...: lines from some unknown Latin tragic poet. The metre is trochaic tetrameter catalectic. Kiih. thinks from Accius' Hecuba, after Eur. Hec. in which Polydorus' phantom speaks lines 1, 2

Ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
λιπών, ἵν' Ἅιδης χωρὶς ᾤκισται θεῶν,

but Mo. objects that our passage has only one word in common with the Euripidean passage, i.e. *ἥκω*=*adsum et aduenio*, and that Polydorus' *corpus* is not at the time *crematum* but *inhumatum*.

Acherunte: with *a* long, cf. Pl. Bacch. 196; Mil. 627; Capt. 685, 995; Trin. 494, and usually in Plautus: but short in Poen. 341 and 830 and in the extract lower down in the present section. (Modify Lewis and Short, who only give *ăcheruns*.) The insertion of *ab* found in ed. II and in W1, and adopted by one or two scholars, is required neither by grammar (Madv. 275 obs. 4) nor by the metre.

uix=*statim*, *modo*, Mo.

rigida: cf. Lucr. v 764 'rigidas... umbras.'

constat: *συνίσταται*—*rigida constat* 'stiffly holds together.'

quae...possent: cf. 11, 23 n. on 'quaecumque uera sit.'

Homeri tota νεκυία: i.e. Od. book xi in which Ulysses is represented as communicating with the underworld and conversing with the shades.

quae meus amicus Appius νεκυομαντεῖα faciebat: *νεκυομαντεῖον*, *νεκρομαντεῖον*, *ψυχομαντεῖον*, *ψυχοπομπεῖον* usually denote a *place* where ghosts are conjured up to be questioned, cf. 48, 115 'uenisse in psychomantium.' The meaning wanted is rather *rites* for conjuring up the dead, as in Diu. i 58, 132 'ne psychomantia quidem, quibus Appius amicus tuus uti solebat.' And so Küh., followed by TS., takes our passage. There seems to be no other direct support for this view, but *μαντεῖον*='oracular response' as well as 'seat of oracle.' Earlier editors sought

V́nde animae excitántur obscura úmbra aperto ex óstio
Áltae Acheruntis sálso sanguine, mórtuorum imágines.

23. apertae G. aperte R L. optę V *at* o *in litura.* optę B R 2. optę K *at fuerat* aptę. opte E G 3. opte O 7. operet B 2. apto P W 2 M 1 R 10 G 2 B 3 E 8 C Π J O 8 12. aperto S W 1 M 2 R 6 G 4 O 1–6 9–11. 24. hostio R 1 2 V G 1–4 K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 B 2 3 E 8 Π J O 1–7 9–11. ostio B R 10 C O 1 8 12. 25. altę R. altę L. alte G E 8 O 7. altę P *h. e.* i *alio atram. superscr.* alte *in* alto *mut.* K. alti S *at* i *mut. est.* alto V B 1 2 E R 2 7 G 3 L 4 Π. alti W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 G 4 B 3 L 6 C J O 1–6 8–12. ‖ acheruntis R 1 10 J O 9. a cheruntis V. acherontis S *at* o *mut. uid.* acheruntis u *in* o *mut.* P O 5. acherōtis ymagines loqui O 7 *ceteris omissis.* acherontis K. ‖ salso R 1 2 7 V G 1–3 B 1 2 K E L 6 Π O 2 5 12. salso, *ut uid.*, S. salso *in* falso *alio atram. mut.* P. falso O 10 *at mut. uid.* falso L W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 9 10 G 4 B 3 O 1 3 4 6 8 9 11 ed. P. ‖ imagines mortuorum R 1 10 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E L 1 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 J O 2–6 8–10 12. mortuorum imagines Π. *omittit* O 11. imagines *omittit* O 1.

to emend: Camerarius and Ciacconius by striking out *νεκυομαντεῖα*, Bentley by reading for *faciebat*, *consulebat*, Davies *adhibebat*. Mo. early conjectured *quae meus amicus Appius tanti faciebat*, **νεκρομαντεῖα**, later *ea quam m. a. A.* **νεκρομαντείαν** (or **νεκυομαντείαν**) *faciebat* i.e. *exercebat*. *νεκυομαντεία* = *νεκυία* = a magical rite by which ghosts were called up and questioned, see L. and Sc. sub uoce. All the above emendations are, in the face of the MSS, too violent, except the last, which Orelli adopted.

meus amicus Appius: Appius Claudius Pulcher, Cicero's colleague in the augurship, elder br. of Clodius; to him Cic. addressed the letters ad Fam. bk iii. For his superstitious rites etc. cf. Val. Max. i 8, 10; Lucan, Phars. v 68 foll.

in uicinia nostra: i.e. not far from Cicero's Cuman villa.

Auerni lacus: there was a *νεκυομαντεῖον* there, described in Max. Tyr., Diss. xiv 2 ed. Long, quoted in Mo. Cf. Strabo v p. 374 and i p. 46.

The lake was between Cumae and Baiae in the crater of an extinct volcano. Dense woods surrounded it and covered the mountain sides; mephitic exhalations issued from the rocks. It was regarded as an entrance to the underworld, cf. Aen. vi 201, 237 sqq. for the descent of Aeneas there. The physical character of the place is now greatly changed. Cf. Heyne's Virgil, Exc. 2 on Aen. vi.

unde animae...: the metre is the same as in the three lines in the text above, of which these two are probably a continuation. The source is unknown.

obscura umbra: epexegetic of *unde* 'whence.........from lurid gloom.'

aperto ex ostio: the best MSS read *apertae*, *apertę*, *aperte* or *opertę hostio.* Hence Madv. conjectured *aperto ex ostio* which has been adopted by Kl. Sff. TS. Küh. reads *aperto ostio*, which is not so close to the reading of the best MSS. For *o* final not elided but shortened (in Kühner's reading) cf. Virg. Geo. i 281 'inponere Pelio Ossam' and 15, 34 n. For *ĕx* cf. Plautus *passim*. Bentley's corr. *obscura umbra opertae*, adopted by Dav. Hei. Ml. and Schiche, is the reading of V *manu secunda* and other MSS, and is in harmony with Max. Tyr. xiv 2 (cited above) *καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπήντα εἴδωλον* **ἀμυδρὸν μὲν καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀμφισβητήσιμον** and with the popular idea with regard to phantoms, but suggests a sceptical vein not expected in an early poet. The rhythm of the line and the isolation of *ostio* would also be less natural.

Acheruntis: G R and five other MSS have *alte* or *altę*, and Nonius 191, 26 supports *Acheruns* as fem. in Pl. Capt. 996 'nulla adaequest Acheruns atque ubi ego fui in lapicidinis.'

salso sanguine: I retain the reading of the best MSS with Dav. Or. Hei. TS. Ml. Schiche, but I think *cassae* may be the true reading. Küh. reads *falso sanguine*; Mo. *sanguine falso* (to avoid the dactyl in the 4th foot), but Bentley well objected to *falso sanguine* 'Durus et ferreus poeta sit, qui sic loqui sustineat: potius *falso corpore*: nam sanguis ne in uiuentibus quidem uideri potest, nisi uulneratis.' *salso sanguine* is harder to dispose of. It is the reading of the best MSS and of several editors, and the epithet is applied to blood in two

Has tamen imagines loqui uolunt, quod fieri nec sine lingua nec sine palato nec sine faucium, laterum, pulmonum ui et figura potest. nihil enim animo uidere poterant, ad oculos omnia referebant.

38. Magni autem est ingenii seuocare mentem a sensibus et cogitationem ab consuetudine abducere. itaque credo equidem etiam alios tot saeculis, sed, quod litteris exstet, Pherecydes

28. laterum pulmonum R V G B 1 2 K P S E W 2 M 2 Π O 2 5–11. laterumue et pulmonum W 1 R 6.

§ **38,** 31. reuocare R 1 2 V G 1–4 B 1 3 K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 Π J O 1–12. eeuocare B 2. *ueram lect.* seuocare *ex S. Aug. ad Volus. ep.* 3 *reposuit Dauisius.* 32. ab (*ante* consuetudine) R G 1 3 B 1–3 K P E L 1 6 M 1 O 6 10 11. a S W 1 2 M 2 G 2 4 E 8 C Π J O 1–4 7–9 12. *omittit* O 5 *at marg. habet* ab. abs R 2. a V *et uix satis spatii habet pro* ab *at longa linea* / *prope ab insequente* c *erasa uidetur.* 33. quod R 1 10 V B 1–3 K W 1 2 M 1 2 G 4 Π J O 1–6 8–12. quod S *at* d *mut. uid.* qd' qt P *alia manu superscr.* quot G 1 3 L O 7. quot qot E. quot quot C. ‖ exstet V B G K P. exstat B 2. extet R 1 10 L W 1 2 M 1 2 G 4 J O 2–12. existet G 3. ex stet Π *litt.* i *erasa.* cōextet O 1.

passages, if the reading is sound, Ennius 127 (Ribbeck) quoted by Macrobius vi 2 'neque miserae lauere lacrimae salsum sanguinem,' and Accius 322 quoted by Nonius p. 192 'salsum cruorem guttis lacrimarum lauit.' If *salso sanguine* be retained it must be taken with *excitantur*, 'are lured forth by the salt blood' sc. of victims, cf. Hom. Od. xi 35—38, 95, 96, 147–8. Mo. objects to the extracts from Ennius and Accius that we have not the context and so cannot determine the exact reference in *salsus* as applied to *sanguis*, and also that, as Bentley's note shews, easy emendations (*lacrimis salsis*, *salsis cruorem guttis*) are available in both places. The *mola salsa*, to which Neidius (in Mo. and Küh.) referred the epithet, cannot naturally be referred to as salting the blood by falling from the victim's head into the trench. Orelli, reading *falso sanguine*, notes 'mire tamen dicitur pro facillimo nec minus poetico *cassae sanguine*,' a reading which Sff. admits into his text, explaining that a copyist altered the termination from *ae* to *o* to make the adjective agree with the adjacent noun. The stages of corruption would then have been *cassae*, *casso*, *salso*. [A conj. of mine is *also sanguine*; cf. Lucr. *alsia corpora*, and the phrase *frigidus sanguis* common in poets.]

mortuorum imagines: MSS have *imagines mortuorum* which Hei. Ml. and Schiche retain, making the quotation end at *sanguine*. For the expression cf. Od. xi 476 βροτῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων.

[**imagines mortuorum** has a strong appearance (as several scholars have noted) of being a marginal comment.]

ad oculos omnia referebant: for *referre* of the standard by which anything is judged cf. Lael. 9, 32 'ad uoluptatem omnia referunt,' and Reid there.

§ **38. seuocare,** 'to abstract,' cf. 31, 75 'cum a negotio omni seuocamus animum'; 30, 72; N.D. iii 8, 21 'non quod difficile sit mentem ab oculis seuocare'; Diu. i 30, 63 'cum ergo est somno seuocatus animus...a contagione corporis.' *seuocare* probably lurks in *eeuocare* of B 2. *reuocare* of MSS cannot be right. '*reuocare* i.e. ab incepto aliquo statu actioneue ad pristinum (iustum legitimumque) reducere, in tales locos cadit quales sunt hic iii 19, 46 a maerore ad cogitationem bonorum; iii 15, 33; de R.P. ii 13, 25; 14, 27; p. Sulla 16, 46 *alii*; scilicet librarius facili, praesertim post *referebant*, errore rarius uocabulum deprauauit.' Küh.

alios: supply *dixisse* from the following *dixit*.

quod litteris exstet: subjunctive of limitation; *quod=ita ut*. Cf. Madv. § 364, and obs. 2.

exstet, 'survives,' cf. Brut. 15, 57 'quem uero exstet et de quo sit memoriae proditum eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum'; Off. ii 14, 48 'exstant epistulae Philippi ad Alexandrum.' *constet*, introduced by Sff. into his text, has no MS support except *cōexstet* in one Oxford MS, and does not give a better meaning ('is confirmed'). For *constet*, cf. Or. ii 22, 93 'quorum quidem scripta constent.'

Syrius primum dixit animos esse hominum sempiternos, antiquus sane; fuit enim meo regnante gentili. hanc opinionem discipulus eius Pythagoras maxime confirmauit. qui cum Superbo regnante in Italiam uenisset, tenuit magnam illam Graeciam cum honore disciplinae, tum etiam auctoritate, multa-

34. syrus R 1 2 V G 1–3 B 1 3 K P S E W 2 M 1 2 Π O 2 5 10. syr(i)us O 12. sirus L J O 3 4 6 7 11. syrius W 1 B 2 O 1. sirius G 4 O 8 9. ‖ primum R 1 2 V G 1 3 4 B 1–3 K P S (*non ut adfirmat Küh.*) E W 1 2 M 2 J O 1–12. primus *corr. Bentleius.* ‖ antiqu(v)os R K. antiquus V G B S E. 38. disciplinae E. disciplinę O 3. discipline C Π O 4. disciplina R 2 *at rasura et spatium post* a; *idem* O 10 *at* a *mut. est.* disciplina R V G B 1 2 K P S L M 1 2 E 8 9 13 O 1 5–7 12. disciplinā R 10 G 3. et disciplina W 1 2 R 4–6 8 9 G 2 4 E 4 L 6 J O 2 8 9 11 ed. P.

Pherecydes: mentioned by Strabo i p. 18 among the first three writers of Greek prose, in this order Κάδμος, Φερεκύδης, Ἑκαταῖος. For the statement below that Pythagoras was his pupil see sources in R. and P. § 42, and see Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy* I p. 327.

Syrius: the adj. from *Syros*, cf. Diog. L. viii 2 Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου. In the MSS the more familiar adj. *Syrus* has generally prevailed.

primum: Bentley's corr. *primus*, though unsupported by MSS, would give a much more natural reading.

gentili: much as we might say 'my namesake,' sc. Servius Tullius. Cicero is not serious here, cf. Brut. 16, 64. It is true that in Leg. ii 1, 3 he says 'hinc enim orti stirpe antiquissima sumus'; but according to the definition of *gentiles* which he gives in Top. 6, 29 Cicero, if he adopted the account of Servius Tullius received in his own day, could not be the *gentilis* of one *qui seruitutem seruiuerat.*

Pythagoras: 9, 18 n.

Superbo regnante: cf. Rep. ii 15, 28 'quartum iam annum regnante Lucio Tarquinio Superbo Sybarim et Crotonem et in eas Italiae partes Pythagoras uenisse reperitur.'

in Italiam uenisset: see Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 336 'The first luminous point in the history of this philosopher is his emigration to Magna Graecia, the date of which we cannot precisely fix, nor can we do more than conjecture the reasons which led to it.' See also the following pages there.

tenuit...: cf. Diog. L. viii 3 καὶ εὑρὼν τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ὑπὸ Πολυκράτους ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κρότωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας, κἀκεῖ νόμους θεὶς τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐδοξάσθη σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἳ περὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ὄντες ᾠκονόμουν ἄριστα τὰ πολιτικά, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι τὴν πολιτείαν.

magnam illam Graeciam: for *illam* cf. Or. ii 37, 154 'tum cum erat in hac gente magna illa Graecia'; Or. iii 34, 139 'totam illam ueterem Italiae Graeciam quae quondam magna uocitata est.' Strabo vi p. 253 καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ηὔξηντο ὥστε τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα ταύτην ἔλεγον καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν. The term Magna Graecia thus appears to have been first applied when the Greek colonies in the south of Italy were numerous and powerful, and it does not seem to have been a term in general use in Cicero's day. Mr R. M. Henry has called my attention to a very probable view of Cauer, who in his *Grundfragen der Homerkritik* p. 146 takes the view that μεγάλη Ἑλλάς was so called in contrast to the smaller (and original) Ἑλλάς in Southern Thessaly. His words are 'Denn als sie (d. h. die Achäer) später vom Ägialos aus nach Italien hinüberführen und dort Kolonien gründeten, nennten sie das neu-erworbene Land "das grosse Hellas" im Gegensatz zu dem älteren kleineren, das am Othrys die Heimat ihrer Vorfahren gewesen war.'

cum honore disciplinae tum etiam auctoritate: Mo. read *honore et disciplina*, taking it as ἓν διὰ δυοῖν = *honore disciplinae* which Ern. Küh. Sff. read. Sff. follows F. A. Wolf 'Itaque hoc dicit Cicero, ut Wolfii persequar rationem, Pythagoram magnae illius Graeciae quasi rectorem quendam ac moderatorem fuisse duabus rebus, quod et disciplina, quam profitebatur, in magno honore erat studiosorumque et multitudine et nobilitate floruit, et quod ipse etiam consilio et prudentia in rebus publicis multum apud suos ualebat'—'both by the honour which his system received and by his personal influence.' [The case for cutting

que saecula postea sic uiguit Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli alii docti uiderentur.

XVII. Sed redeo ad antiquos. rationem illi sententiae suae non fere reddebant, nisi quid erat numeris aut descriptionibus explicandum. **39.** Platonem ferunt, ut Pythagoreos cognosceret, in Italiam uenisse et didicisse Pythagorea omnia primumque de animorum aeternitate non solum sensisse idem, quod Pythagoram, sed rationem etiam attulisse. quam, nisi

XVII. 2. discriptionibus R V G K P O 6 9. disscrictionibus O 7. descriptionibus B 1–3 S E W 2 M 1 2 R 10 G 2–4 Π J O 1–5 8 10–12.

qui
§ **39**, 3. ferunt ut V *alia manu superscr.* 4. *post* uenisse *inserunt multi* et in ea cum (*uel* tum) alios multos tum architam timeumque cògnouit. *inserunt* W 1 R 3–9 11 12 14 G 2 4 L 2–6 J O 1 2 5 6 9 ed. P. *perpauci* cognouisse *pro* cognouit, *inter quos* Π O 8. *in marg. inserit* O 10. uenit V *at* t *in litura*: *post* uenit ⊍ *habet* V *et ad caput paginae* ⊍ et in ea cū alios multos tū architā tymaeūq› cognouit V. *nihil horum uerborum habent* R 1 2 10 15–17 G 1 3 B 1 2 K P S E L C O 3 4 7 11 12. *Orellio ex Fin. V 29, 87 et R. P. I 10, 16 inlata uidentur.* ‖ edidicisse V (*multa in litura*). edidicisse O 9. 6. pythagoram R 1 2 10 V G 1 3 4 B P 1 4 E 1 9 L W 2 M 1 2 J O 2–10. pithagorās S *at* s *alia manu addito.* pytagoras
s
ex pytagorā *mut.* Π. pythagoram L 4. pitagora B 2. phitagorā K. cum pictagora O 11. pythagoras W 1 R 6 B 3 O 1 12. ‖ rationem G 1–4 B 1–3
s
K P E L R 2 10 Π O 3–5 7 8 11 12. rationem V. ratione O 1. rationes W 1 2 M 1 P 4 O 2 6 9 10. ‖ adtulisse V P. ‖ quam R 1 10 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S L M 2 O 1 3–5 7 8 11 12. quaṁ V. quas W 1 2 M 1 O 2 9 10. q̃ O 6.

out *honore* and reading *disciplina* seems strong.] Hei. and Ml. bracket and TS. and Schiche eject *honore*, but it could scarcely have gained entrance to the text as a gloss upon *disciplina*.

uiguit: 2, 4 n. 'floruerunt, discebant.'

XVII. **sed redeo ad antiquos**: sc. *Pythagoreos*, as distinguished from those referred to in *multaque saecula postea*..., for whom compare Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I 337, 'The spread of Italian Pythagoreanism was brought about by the dispersion of the Pythagoreans long after the death of the master.' For the cause of the dispersion cf. *ibid.* p. 357, and for the duration of the school p. 367, 'We are expressly told that Philolaus was the first Pythagorean who published a philosophical work, that before his time no Pythagorean writings were known, and that Pythagoras himself wrote nothing.' Zeller I 313. Cicero is tracing the development of the doctrine. Pherecydes asserted it; the early Pythagoreans established it; Plato gave reasons for it. Cicero does not want to contrast early with later Pythagoreans but merely to trace the history of the doctrine.

rationem...non fere reddebant: cf. N.D. i 5, 10 'nec uero probare soleo id, quod de Pythagoreis accepimus, quos ferunt, si quid adfirmarent in disputando, cum ex eis quaereretur, quare ita esset, respondere solitos: "ipse dixit." "ipse" autem erat Pythagoras.' See also Diog. L. viii 1, 46.

numeris aut descriptionibus, 'numbers or geometrical plans.' For *descriptiones* = διαγράμματα cf. Virg. Ecl. iii 41 'descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem,' and Aen. vi 850 'caelique meatus describent radio.' Also Cato M. 14, 49; Fin. v 19, 50. For *numeris* cf. Zeller I p. 418 'The fundamental conception, from which the Pythagorean philosophy starts, is contained in the proposition that all is number.'

descriptionibus: for the application of the number theory to geometrical figures see Zeller I p. 434 sqq.

§ **39.** **in Italiam uenisse**: for Plato's three visits to Italy and Sicily see Grote's *Plato* I pp. 120–9, where he gives the dates as B.C. 387, 367, 360.

primumque: strictly the sentence should have run thus, *primumque, cum de animorum aeternitate sentiret idem quod Pythagoras, rationem etiam attulisse.*

quid dicis, praetermittamus et hanc totam spem inmortalitatis relinquamus.

A. An tu, cum me in summam exspectationem adduxeris, deseris? errare mehercule malo cum Platone, quem tu quanti facias scio, et quem ex tuo ore admiror, quam cum istis uera sentire.

40. *M.* Macte uirtute! ego enim ipse cum eodem isto non inuitus errauerim. num igitur dubitamus? an sicut pleraque?

7. inmortalitatis V. 10. deseris R 1 2 6 10 G 1 3 B 1–3 K P 1 4 S E 1 3 L M 1 2 C II O 2–8 10 12. diseris O 11. deseres V e *post* r *ex* i *mut.* deseres W 1 2 G 2 4 O 1. desereres O 9.

§ 40, 13. ipso R V G B 1–3 P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 II O 1–12. isto *de coni. Wesenbergii receperunt* Bai. Sff. Hei. TS. Ml. Schichius. *et* isto *in* ipso *ob antecedentem* ipse *procul dubio deprauatum est.* illo *coni. Matthiae ad d. Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 16, 46. 14. orauerim M 1.

He was the first to give grounds for his opinion.

quod Pythagoram: the construction is based on an ellipse of *ferunt sensisse*, but surely *quod Pythagoras* (*sensisset*) would be the more natural expression. If so, *Küh. non probante*, this is a case of attraction due to a desire for brevity of expression, cf. Madv. on Fin. ii 27, 88.

an tu: for *an* rhetorical cf. 2, 4 n.

cum ... adduxeris deseris: for *cum* with subj. where it expresses a *contrast* between the contents of the leading and those of the subordinate proposition, 'whereas,' 'although,' see Madv. § 358 obs. 3 and cf. Ac. ii 19, 62 'an tu cum res occultissimas aperueris...negabis...?' and Roby § 1726 and the exx. from Off. iii 2, 6 and Livy xxxix 36 quoted there. After this construction the verb in the leading proposition can stand in the indic. and the tense depends upon the meaning required, as in Ac. quoted above *negabis*; here *deseris* with best MSS (also Dav. TS. Hei. Sff. Ml. Schiche), and there is no need to follow Mo. and Küh. in reading *deseres* with some inferior MSS. If *adduxeris* were *fut. exactum*, as Küh. supposes, *deseres* would be necessary; but it is evident that A. is already in *summ. exspect. adductus.*

ex tuo ore = *ex tuo sermone*, cf. 21, 49 'ut enim rationem Plato nullam adferret... ipsa auctoritate me frangeret'; Quintil. i 6, 2. [Balb. § 64; Orat. § 42.]

istis: i.e. *eis qui de animorum aeternitate contraria sentiunt.*

§ 40. **macte uirtute**: Or. thinks this expression derived from the sacrificial formula *Iuppiter O.M. macte hac hostia esto.* Conington takes *macte* as voc. of participle, Madvig as adverb with *e* shortened. For a full discussion, with citation of analogous uses in favour of each view, see Con. Exc. to Aen. ix, ed. mai.

cum eodem isto: the emendation *isto* seems necessary. *illo* is not so good. *ipse* and *iste* are more readily confused by copyists than *ipse* and *ille*. *ipse* with *idem* is redundant and seems only to be found in Verr. Act. ii 1, 28, 71 'haec eadem ipsa se ex Philodamo audisse dicat.'

errauerim: for the tense and mood see Roby § 1541, Madv. § 350 b. In what follows many points of detail are Stoic rather than Platonic.

num igitur dubitamus, 'We are not then in doubt (on the following point) are we?' 'Can we be in doubt (on this) as on most questions?' *an*, though in all MSS, has been bracketed or ejected after Bentley by several editors, Ern. Tr. Bai. Mo. TS. Hei. It is retained by Küh. Sff. Ml. and Schiche. *num* is followed by *an* in Or. i 58, 249 'num igitur si qui fundus inspiciendus... est, Magonis Karthaginiensis sunt libri perdiscendi, an hac communi intellegentia contenti esse possumus?' Rosc. Com. 9, 25 'num tabulas habet? an non?' Cato M. 7, 23; Off. iii 28, 102; Hor. Sat. ii 5, 58. See Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* 1^2 § 157. 3.

Only one or two inferior MSS have the words *sic et hoc* after *pleraque*. Küh. seems right in noting that, while *et* in the sense of *etiam* is found in Cicero (though rarely), *sicut* is not followed by *sic et.*

sicut pleraque: after the manner of

quamquam hoc quidem minime. persuadent enim mathematici terram in medio mundo sitam ad uniuersi caeli complexum quasi puncti instar obtinere, quod *κέντρον* illi uocant; eam porro naturam esse quattuor omnia gignentium corporum, ut, quasi partita habeant inter se ac diuisa momenta, terrena et umida suopte nutu et suo pondere ad paris angulos in terram et in mare ferantur, reliquae duae partes, una ignea, altera animalis, ut illae superiores in medium locum mundi grauitate ferantur et pondere, sic hae rursum rectis lineis in caelestem locum

15. quamquam V G. 17. optinere V G. || KENTPON S. centron R V G 1–3 B K E W 1 2. centrum M 1 B 2 O 10 11. 18. quattuor V G B E. 19. terrena *post* momenta V G B 1–3 K P E II O 3 4 7 8. ~~ut~~ terrena O 6. ut terrena B 3 O 1 2 5 9 11 12. ut / terrena G 4. ut *alio atram. superscr.* O 10. || umida R G. $\overset{h}{\text{u}}$mida V. humida B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 *plurimi*. 20. paris R V G K P L 1 6 M 1 2 B 3 O 4 5. 21. mare B E O 3. mari *ex* mare *mut.*, *ut uid.*, P. mari R V G B 2. mare *ex* mari *mut.* K. 22. superioris R V G 1 3 K L B 2. i *in* e *mut. praebet* P. 23. rursum R G B 1 2 S E W 1 M 2. rursu$\overset{ſ}{\text{m}}$ V. rursus M 1 O 3 4 6. sursum W 2.

the New Academicians. For Cicero's attitude to this school see Reid's *Acad.* Introd. § 2.

minime: sc. *dubitemus* or *dubitare possumus*. The sentence is an anacolouthon and strictly should have run thus, *num igitur dubitamus quin terra...obtineat?* the constr. is due to a sort of attraction caused by *persuadent*, cf. 36, 88 'hoc premendum etiam atque etiam est argumentum, confirmato illo, de quo... *dubitare non* possumus, *quin* tantus interitus in morte sit, ut ne minima quidem suspicio sensus relinquatur,' where strictly an acc. and infin. ought to have followed *confirmato illo*.

terram in medio mundo sitam: cf. Plato, Timaeus 39 b; also Phaedo 108 e and 109 a [Chalcid. in Tim. 68 (words much like Cicero's here), attributed to Plato; Sen. Dial. 6, 21, 2]. For the view of Aristotle see de Caelo ii 14; Grote's *Arist.* p. 652 col. 1. For the Stoic view see Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* p. 191. For the Epicurean *ibid.* p. 425. Cf. Lucr. v 534 'terraque ut in media mundi regione quiescat euanescere....'

The Pythagoreans placed the central fire in the centre of the universe, cf. Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 446 and Reid on Ac. ii 39, 122.

For the earth as centre cf. Diog. L. vii 137 in R. and P. § 405 *τὴν γῆν μέσην ἁπάντων οὖσαν*, and Shakespere, *Troilus and Cressida* i 3, 85 'The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre Observe degree, priority and place.' See also editors on *Hamlet* ii 2, 160 'though it were hid indeed within the centre.' Hicetas held that the earth rotated on its axis, Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 391.

ad uniuersi caeli complexum: for *ad* 'in comparison with' = *πρός* cf. Ter. Eun. 361 'at nil ad nostram hanc'; Or. ii 6, 25 'nihil ad Persium'; Livy xxii 22, 15 'homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido persuasit.'

κέντρον: Pliny uses *centrum* but the word was not yet established in Cicero's day.

quattuor omnia gignentium corporum: see 10, 22 n. *corpora* = *elementa*, cf. Lucr. *passim*.

momenta, 'laws of motion,' 'tendencies to motion,' cf. Hor. Epp. i 6, 3 'decedentia certis tempora momentis,' 'the seasons as they pass under fixed laws of motion.'

nutu, 'by their own gravitation,' 'centripetal tendency,' cf. N.D. ii 39, 98 'terra...undique ipsa in sese nutibus suis conglobata'; Or. iii 45, 178 'terra ut media sit eaque sui ui nutuque teneatur'; also Fin. i 6, 20 'atomi...suo nutu recte ferentur,' where Madv. notes 'nutus...est *pondus et inclinatio*.'

ad paris angulos = *recte*, *rectis lineis*, 'perpendicularly.'

animalis: of the nature of air (*anima*), cf. 9, 19 n.

illae superiores: i.e. the two elements first mentioned.

grauitate et pondere: ii 4, 12 n.

rursum: *contra*, Gr. *αὖ*, cf. 20, 45 'et

subuolent, siue ipsa natura superiora adpetente, siue quod a grauioribus leuiora natura repellantur. quae cum constent, perspicuum debet esse animos, cum e corpore excesserint, siue illi sint animales, id est spirabiles, siue ignei, sublime ferri. **41.** si uero aut numerus quidam est animus, quod subtiliter magis quam dilucide dicitur, aut quinta illa non nominata magis quam

27. in sublime W 1 M 2 G 2 4 O 2 9. 1 *superscr.* O 10. in *ignorant* R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E L W 2 M 1 *alii.*
§ **41**, 28. sit *post* quidam R V G B 1–3 P E W 1 2 M 1 2 C O 1–12.

habitabilis regiones et rursum omni cultu uacantis.'

ipsa natura: sc. *ipsa harum duarum partium natura.*

a grauioribus, '*away from.*' For the Stoic view, derived from Aristotle, see Zeller, *Stoics, etc.*, pp. 187–9. Aristotle held that there were two original kinds of motion, (*a*) circular or ἡ περὶ τὸ μέσον, (*b*) rectilinear or ἡ ἄνω καὶ κάτω, i.e. centrifugal and centripetal. *aether* is in eternal circular motion; of the four elements earth is heavy, fire light, air heavy relatively to fire, light relatively to water; water heavy relatively to air, light relatively to earth. Fire and air are centrifugal, water and earth are centripetal. For the view of Aristotle cf. De Caelo ii 3 quoted in R. and P. § 332. See also Grote's *Aristotle* p. 631 col. 2 and Zeller, *Phil. der Griechen* II^3 pp. 435—446. The same view passed down to the Stoics and is assailed by Lucr. i 1083 sqq., where see Munro.

animos...corpore: for the change from plur. to sing. (or *uice uersa*) cf. 30, 72 'animorum e corpore excedentium'; ii 23, 54 'corporibus...animus' (where see Kühner's note). So often.

animales, 'gaseous.'

spirabiles: cf. N.D. ii 36, 91 'terra circumfusa undique est hac animali... spirabilique natura, cui nomen est aer.'

siue animales...siue ignei: and if the soul belongs to any one of the four elements it must be *animalis* or *igneus*, for these two elements were active and the seats of all active force, while earth and water were passive. Zeller, l.c. p. 189. See also Ac. i 6, 24, and Reid's n.

sublime: there is no need to read *in sublime* with inferior MSS. *sublime* is used by Cic. in this sense, cf. ii 10, 24 'sublime auolans'; and also as an adverb of rest 43, 102 'humine an sublime putescat'; Diu. ii 31, 67 'scuta quae fuerant sublime fixa'; N.D. ii 39, 101 'aer...sublime fertur.'

§ **41. numerus**: cf. 10, 20 n.

est: MSS *sit*, but Madv. (on Fin. iii 17, 58) is pretty certainly right in altering to *est*, which Hei. Sff. TS. Ml. Schiche adopt. Either Cic. wrote *est* and below *sunt* or he changed the construction as the sentence proceeded. Küh. endeavours to support *sit* as expressing the view of others as opposed to Cicero's own, but this is not a recognised use of *si* with the subjunctive. No passage of those cited from Cicero by Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* II § 548 p. 689, supports Küh.'s view. Those consist mainly of: (*a*) *si* with verbs of wishing in subj. pres. of pure hypothesis followed by dogmatic present indic. (*b*) *si* clauses with verb in the 2nd sing. subj. pres. (indefinite, Roby § 1544). (*c*) Draeger does not seem to have the best reading in the extract from Cat. i 13, 31 where Wilkins reads *si biberunt* 'with Madv. and the best MSS, for *si biberint* of inferior MSS.' (*d*) In Fin. iii 11, 38 'quis...non ipsa turpitudine, etiam si eum laesura non sit, offenditur,' the meaning is 'Who is not offended by what is base (general principle) even though it would not injure him' (particular hypothetical instance) i.e. 'even in the case where it would not injure him.' If we had the subj. in both clauses the meaning would be 'who would not be offended by baseness even though it would not injure him.'

quod subtiliter magis quam dilucide dicitur, 'a statement more superficial than clear.' From the original meaning of 'finely woven' we have (*inter alia*) the metaphorical sense of 'refined,' hence '*slight*,' *not deep*, and also the sense of 'over-refined.' The latter scarcely suits here. For a good note on *subtilis* see Sandys on Or. 5, 20. The form of expression seems here suggested by the fact that the *genus tenue* in oratory (*subtile*) was also a *clear* style, cf. Or. 5, 20.

quinta...natura: cf. 10, 22 n.

non nominata: cf. 10, 22 'quintum genus adhibet *uacans* nomine.'

non nominata magis quam non in-

non intellecta natura, multo etiam integriora ac puriora sunt, ut a terra longissime se ecferant. horum igitur aliquid est animus ne tam uegeta mens aut in corde cerebroue aut in Empedocleo sanguine demersa iaceat.

XVIII. Dicaearchum uero cum Aristoxeno, aequali et condiscipulo suo, doctos sane homines, omittamus; quorum alter ne condoluisse quidem umquam uidetur, qui animum se habere non sentiat, alter ita delectatur suis cantibus, ut eos etiam ad haec transferre conetur. harmoniam autem ex interuallis sonorum

31. ecferant R G. ecferant B *at litt. ante* ec- *erasa.* $\overset{f}{\text{e}}$cferant P *alio atram. superscr.* $\overset{h}{\text{e}}$cferant K *alio atram. superscr.* hec ferant E C. efferant V L B 3 Π J O 3 4 8. ferant R 2. ‖ animus (*omisso* est) R V G 1 3 P W 2 M 2 O 12. *pro quo Sff. e coni.* dabimus. animus est R 6 O 7 11. est animus S W 1 M 1 G 4 O 1–6 8–10. ē animus G 2. $\overset{\div}{\text{a}}$nim^{9} K, ÷ *alio atram. superscr.* 32. ne (*ante* tam) R 1 (*plane*) 5 12 V G 1 2 B 1–3 E 1 2 5 W 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 1–6 8–10 12. nec K S L R 2 6 10 G 3 4 O 7 11. ‖ uegeta B 1–3 S E 1 2 5 W 2 M 1 2 R 2 6 10 G 2 4 C Π J O 1–6 8–12. uegetata G 3 O 7. uegeta V *at* ueg *in litura.* $\overset{ge}{\text{u}}$eta K *fortasse eod. atram.* $\overset{ge}{\text{u}}$eta P *alio atram. superscr.* ueta R G. uetera L. 33. iaceat R (*plane*) V G 1–4 B 1 3 K E 1 2 W 1 2 J O 1–10 12. iacet S R 10 B 2 O 11. XVIII. 3. umquam V G E. 5. harmonian R G. armonian V E *at infra* harmonias *et* harmoniam V G. armoniam S *marg.* harmoniam. *infra* $\overset{h}{\text{a}}$rmonias *et* $\overset{h}{\text{a}}$rmoniam S. armoniam W 2. harmoniam W 1 R 6.

tellecta: cf. Klotz in Küh. 'Duplici scilicet negatione Cicero locutus est, ut hanc exprimeret sententiam: natura illa quam non dixerim quidem prorsus intellegi posse, sed quae tamen mente magis comprehendi posse atque intellegi uideatur quam apto nomine appellari. Qualis sit quinta illa natura, licet plane perspicere non possimus, scimus tamen diuinam eam esse et caelestem et aeternam; sed quo nomine singularem illam naturam afficiamus, non habemus.' It has no distinct name, cf. πέμπτον σῶμα in Aristotle. Trans. 'rather unnamed than not understood.' Sff. needlessly altered to *uoce nominata magis quam animo intellecta*.

integriora ac puriora: *animus* preceded, 'the soul,' but he is now thinking of 'souls'; the gender as in *uarium et mutabile semper femina*, cf. Madv. § 211 b, obs. 1. 'More unmixed and uncontaminated.'

est animus: *est* is absent from the best MSS; *nec*, not *ne*, is read by some inferior MSS. R reads *ne*, not, as asserted by Küh. Sff. Or., *nec*. Küh. and Or. also assert that G reads *nec*, but Sff. himself reads *ne* and notes no variant in his collation of that MS. Wesenberg conjectured *horum igitur aliquid animus sit, nec tam uegeta mens...iaceat*, while Sff. reads *dabimus, ne...iaceat*: Küh. better takes *est* to have fallen out after *animus*, as in 19, 43 after *adeptus* (written *animust*, *adeptust*), but I think it more probable that *ē* (=*est*) has fallen out before *a* in *animus*.

ne...iaceat: short and elliptical for *ne nisi ita statuerimus...iacere statuamus.* Cf. Madv. on Fin. ii 24, 77 'ne id non pudeat sentire, quod pudeat dicere.'

mens = *animus*, which immediately precedes, as in 20, 46 'quae quasi fenestrae sint animi; quibus tamen sentire nihil queat mens, nisi id agat et adsit.'

in corde...: cf. 9, 18–19.

XVIII. **Dicaearchus**: 10, 21 n.

Aristoxenus: 10, 20 n.

condoluisse: cf. ii 22, 52 'si pes condoluit'; Or. iii 2, 6 'latus ei dicenti condoluisse'; Ac. i 10, 38 'condolescere et concupiscere.' The prefix intensifies by suggesting concentration, cf. *conlaudare, coniti, concalefactam*.

qui...sentiat: *qui* is causal, cf. 6, 12 n.; iii 12, 27 'Tarquinio uero quid inpudentius, qui bellum gereret cum eis, qui eius non tulerant superbiam?' Att. x 10, 1 'me caecum, qui haec ante non uiderim!' Madv. § 366; Draeger II § 491.

animum: cf. 'dolentibus ex animo,' Hor. A.P. 432; 'discrucior animi,' Ter. Ad. 610, and similar expressions.

harmoniam: this word had other and

nosse possumus, quorum uaria compositio etiam harmonias efficit pluris; membrorum uero situs et figura corporis uacans animo quam possit harmoniam efficere, non uideo. sed hic quidem, quamuis eruditus sit, sicut est, haec magistro concedat Aristoteli, canere ipse doceat. Bene enim illo Graecorum prouerbio praecipitur:

Quam quísque norit ártem, in hac se exérceat.

42. illam uero funditus eiciamus indiuiduorum corporum leuium et rotundorum concursionem fortuitam, quam tamen Democritus concalefactam et spirabilem, id est animalem, esse uolt. is autem

7. pluris R V G B E 1 13 W 2. 9. sicutiē K.
§ **42**, 13. eiciamus R 1 10 G 1–4 B 1–3 K S E L 1 6 W 2 M 1 2 O 1 3–5 7–9 11. eiiciamus W 1 O 2 6 10 12. 14. rutundorum R G. rotondorum (u superscr.) S *alia manu corr.* rotundorum V B K P E W 1 2 M 1 2 G 2–4 O 3 6 11.
15. uolt R V G B K. uolt (u superscr.) E *alio ut uid. atram. superscr.* uoluit P M 1 B 3 L 6 O 5 10. uoluit *ex* uolt, *ut uid.*, *mut.* O 6. uult S W 1 2 M 2 G 2–4 C II O 1–4 7–9 11 12.

earlier applications before it was referred to musical sounds: cf. L. and Scott s.v. *ἁρμονία*. Aristoxenus, as a musician, applied it to the soul in its musical acceptance, but only by metaphor; cf. 10, 20 n. and see Reid on Ac. ii 39, 124. Strictly by *harmonia* (*ἁρμονία*) the ancients understood, not what we term *harmony*, but *melody*. Whether the ancients had any knowledge of harmony is a question that has been much discussed. They sang or played unisons. Men and boys sang together, the boys an octave higher than the men, Arist. Probl. xxxix 19. They also played successions of concords on the *μάγαδις*, 'a treble instrument with double strings tuned octaves to each other, like the octave stop in our harpsichord.' Cf. Burney, *History of Music*, I p. 132, who quotes Arist. Probl. xix § 8 *διὰ τί ἡ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνία ᾄδεται μόνη· μαγαδίζουσι γοῦν ταύτην· ἄλλην δὲ οὐδεμίαν*. See also Helmholtz, *Sensations of Tone*, trans. by Ellis, pt iii c. xiii, sect. on homophonic music (p. 237 of 2nd edn), 'That music in the time of highest Grecian culture, neglecting perhaps individual instrumental ornamentation, cadences, and interludes, was written in one part, or that the voices at most sang in octaves, can now be considered as established.'

ex interuallis sonorum: i.e. from the distance (in *pitch*) between sounds; cf. Plat. Phil. 17 c, d *ἐπειδὰν λάβῃς τὰ διαστήματα* (intervals) *ὁπόσα ἐστὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς φωνῆς ὀξύτητός τε πέρι καὶ βαρύτητος* (in respect of acuteness and gravity, i.e. in respect of pitch), *καὶ ὁποῖα, καὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῶν διαστημάτων* (i.e. the two notes that bound each interval) *καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ὅσα συστήματα γέγονεν, ἃ κατιδόντες οἱ πρόσθεν παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐκείνοις καλεῖν αὐτὰ ἁρμονίας*.

quorum uaria compositio: 'and the varied arrangement (the *συστήματα* of the Philebus, above) of these musical notes (according to scale) also gives us several melodies' (*harmonias* i.e. airs or tunes).

situs, 'arrangement,' lit. 'position.'

uacans animo: cf. Lactantius quoted on 10, 20.

quam quisque norit...: cf. Aristoph. Wasps 1431 *Ἔρδοι τις ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην·* Hor. Ep. i 14, 44 'quam scit uterque libens, censebo, exerceat artem.' For the position of *quisque* cf. 4, 7 n.

§ **42**. **eiciamus**: cf. Fin. v 8, 23 'iam explosae eiectaeque sententiae.'

indiuiduorum corporum: cf. Fin. i 6, 17 'atomos,...id est, corpora indiuidua propter soliditatem.'

leuium et rotundorum: cf. 11, 22 n.

fortuitam: cf. *fortuito* 11, 22 and note there.

concalefactam et spirabilem: the soul, according to Democritus, is that which effects the movement of living beings. It must therefore consist of the most movable substance—of *fine*, *smooth*, and *round atoms*—in other words of *fire*.... On account of the fineness and mobility

animus, qui, si est horum quattuor generum, ex quibus omnia constare dicuntur, ex inflammata anima constat, ut potissimum uidetur Panaetio, superiora capessat necesse est. nihil enim habent haec duo genera proni et supera semper petunt. ita, siue dissipantur, procul a terris id euenit, siue permanent et

18. uideo *post* potissimum *et ante* Panaetio R G. uideo (uideri) K P *alio atram. superscr.* uideri uideo B 1 2 E 1 2 14 15 R 2 10 16 V 2 G 3 P 4 L 2 C II O 1 8 12. uideri uideor O 3 4. uideo uideri E 8 13. uidetur uideo B 3. uidet' V *nulla, ut uid., in litura.* uidetur O 10 *at* tur *in litura.* uidetur W 1 2 M 2 R 3–6 8 9 11–15 17 V 3–7 11–13 G 2 4 P 2 3 E 4–7 9 11 12 L 3–6 J O 2 5 6 ed. H. ed. P. uideretur V 10. uideo O 7. panetio uidetur V 8. uidetur superiora M 1. uidetur panecio uidetur O 9. uideo panetio placuisse R 7. uideo et plana et superiora L. *omittit* O 11.

of the soul's atoms, there is danger lest they should be forced out of the body by the air that surrounds us. Against this danger we are protected by our inspiration, the importance of which lies in its constantly introducing new fiery and vital matter into the body (cf. *spirabilem* here). Zeller, *Pre.-Soc. Phil.* II pp. 257 sqq. See also Arist. De Anima i 2 quoted there.

spirabilem, id est animalem: but in § 40 we have 'animales, id est spirabiles.' Neither word is more clear or more obscure than the other. Cic. inserts both on the principle laid down in Fin. iii 4, 13 'erit enim notius, quale sit, pluribus notatum uocabulis idem declarantibus.' See also ii 21, 47 n.

uolt, 'maintains': Küh. on ii 21, 49 notes that the present is correct where the writings quoted from are extant at the time when the quotation is made. See also 24, 57 'inscribitur.'

ex inflammata anima = πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον, cf. 9, 19 note on 'Zenoni Stoico animus ignis uidetur.'

potissimum...Panaetio: Diog. L. vii 157 says Ζήνων...(ἔφη) πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον εἶναι τὴν ψυχήν, τούτῳ γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐμπνόους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου κινεῖσθαι. This was therefore the general Stoic view. Perhaps *potissimum* may indicate that the view was more clearly and fully set forth by Panaetius.

Panaetius of Rhodes, flor. about 150 B.C. He succeeded Antipater of Tarsus as head of the Stoic school. For his attitude towards Stoic doctrines and style see Fin. iv, 28, 79. His most important work was Περὶ τοῦ Καθήκοντος, the main source from which Cicero derived his materials for the first two books de Officiis.

haec duo genera: i.e. *ignis et aer* which are both implied in *inflammata anima.*

nihil habent proni: cf. 17, 40 'reliquae duae partes...rectis lineis in caelestem locum subuolent.'

supera semper petunt: for a modification with which this statement must be taken see Zeller, *Stoics, etc.*, p. 189, note 3.

dissipantur: for the plur., though *animus* preceded, cf. Küh. 'a singulari numero, qui omnes animos complectitur, ad pluralem deflexit oratio, uti saepissime.' Cf. 17, 40 'animos cum e corpore excesserint'; ii 23, 54 'corporibus... animus,' and Küh. there.

siue dissipantur...: the world, according to the Stoics, was developed from the πῦρ τεχνικόν, which is God. R. and P. § 398 and notes; Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 148. From God (= πῦρ τεχνικόν) all things are developed in a fixed order. Cf. Diog. L. vii 136, 137, 142 (in R. and P. § 398); see also R. and P. § 402; Zeller, ch. vii *init.* Evil is in the world by an inevitable necessity, as being the contrary of good (*nullum adeo contrarium sine contrario altero*); R. and P. § 403 with notes, and extracts there quoted. Owing to the presence of evil the world deteriorates, and all that deteriorates perishes; R. and P. § 400. But God is eternal (ἄφθαρτος) and into him everything returns at each successive destruction (ἐκπύρωσις); Diog. L. vii 137; and from him all things are developed once more, exactly as before; Diog. L. *ibid.*; see also Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 157. The ἐκπύρωσις takes place when all the planets have come back once more to the identical places which they occupied at the beginning of the world; cf. a fragment of the Hortensius on the term *magnus annus*; and these periodic developments and

conseruant habitum suum, hoc etiam magis necesse est ferantur ad caelum et ab iis perrumpatur et diuidatur crassus hic et concretus aer, qui est terrae proximus. calidior est enim uel potius ardentior animus, quam est hic aer, quem modo dixi crassum atque concretum, quod ex eo sciri potest, quia corpora nostra terreno principiorum genere confecta ardore animi concalescunt.

XIX. **43**. Accedit, ut eo facilius animus euadat ex hoc aere, quem saepe iam appello, eumque perrumpat, quod nihil est animo uelocius, nulla est celeritas, quae possit cum animi

22. ab his R V G B S W 12 M 1 O 3. ab hiis O 6. ab eis O 11.

destructions of the world will go on for ever; Nemes. de Nat. Hom. c. 38 (in R. and P. § 404). Nothing will survive the ἐκπύρωσις except the πῦρ τεχνικόν. In the souls of men reason is the dominant part (ἡγεμονικόν); besides the ἡγεμονικόν there were seven other parts, viz. the five senses, and sixthly φωνητικόν, seventhly σπερματικόν· Zeller, c. ix p. 202; Plut. de Plac. Phil. iv 2 (in R. and P. § 410). The individual soul has a special relationship to the Divine Being, Zeller, c. ix p. 204 and notes. No soul can last *as a separate soul* beyond the ἐκπύρωσις, Zeller, c. ix, p. 205. The criticism of the Stoic view further on (31, 77), where a long lease is spoken of, is not very fair, as the Stoics did not believe the soul to be *annihilated* at the ἐκπύρωσις. Cleanthes thought that all souls would last as separate souls until the ἐκπύρωσις; Chrysippus thought that only those of the wise would do so; Diog. L. vii 156 (in R. and P. § 409); Zeller ix p. 205 and footnote.

procul a terris id euenit: because every soul, however clogged and weak the ἡγεμονικόν may be, is very much lighter than the atmospheric air.

permanent: sc. until the ἐκπύρωσις.

concretus, 'compact,' cf. Lucr. v 466, 468 'corpore concreto'; Virg. Ecl. vi 34 'ipse tener mundi concreuerit orbis.' For the thought along here see Zeller, c. ix p. 206 foot-note.

quia: Cic. might have written *quod* with the same effect though Küh. thinks not. Probably Cic. preferred *quia* because of the *quod* just preceding.

concalescunt: cf. Diog. L. viii 157 (in R. and P. § 409) quoted on § 42; also Nemes. de Nat. Hom. 2 p. 33 (in R. and P. § 408) συμπάσχει δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ...αἰσχυνομένης γοῦν ἐρυθρὸν γίγνεται.

XIX. § **43. accedit ut...euadat** = *praeterea fit etiam ut euadat*, Küh. Where the clause depending upon *accedit* does not merely state a fact as a fact and nothing more, *ut* and the subj. *must* be used: where that clause merely states a fact, *quod* and the indic. *may* be used. See Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* II 231 § 386. Dr. doubts whether the constr. with *quod*, often asserted to be the more usual, is really so in Cicero. Küh. on iii 3, 5 explains this and similar subjunctives thus—'*ut c. coniunctiuo* significat, uti aliis locis, effectum, h.e. sententiam ponit tanquam rem quae cogitatione demonstratione ve spectetur.'

aere quem saepe iam appello: cf. N.D. ii 36, 91 'cui nomen est aer, Graecum illud quidem, sed perceptum iam tamen usu a nostris'; Ac. i 7, 26 'aer quoque—utimur enim pro Latino,' and Reid's n.

uelocius: in classical prose we find repeatedly *uelocitas corporis*, *celeritas corporis*, but usually *celeritas animi* not *uelocitas animi*; cf. iv 13, 31. But the present passage shews that this distinction may be accidental. Doederlein, *Lat. Syn.* II 123 sqq., seems right in finding in *celeritas* the idea of motion by successive bounds or strokes (√*cel* 'push' in *percello* etc.), cf. *rapiditas* and Hor. Ep. i 18, 90; Livy ix 32, 3; xxii 38, 11; and in *uelocitas* the idea of smooth measured speed, while *pernicitas* denotes speed as the result of energy contained within.

nulla est celeritas: 'Mira orationis redundantia, quam Cicero, si ultimam his libris admouisset limam, sine dubio sublaturus fuit, nisi cum Seyfferto legere placet *nulla est certe celeritas*; v. *certe* ante v. *celeritas* facile interire potuit; *certe* ut Gr. γοῦν indicat causam = nam hoc quidem certum est nullam rem in-

celeritate contendere. qui si permanet incorruptus suique similis, necesse est ita feratur, ut penetret et diuidat omne caelum hoc, in quo nubes, imbres uentique coguntur, quod et umidum et caliginosum est propter exhalationes terrae. quam regionem cum superauit animus naturamque sui similem contigit et adgnouit, iunctis ex anima tenui et ex ardore solis temperato ignibus insistit et finem altius se ecferendi facit. cum enim sui similem et leuitatem et calorem est adeptus, tamquam paribus examinatus ponderibus nullam in partem mouetur, eaque ei

XIX. § **43**, 6. umidū K. umidum G h *superscripto sed rursus eraso.* ʰumidum R V. humidum B S E W 1 2 *plerique.* 9. adgnouit K. a gnouit V *una litt. post a erasa.* || iunctis (v superscr.) R. iunct⁹ K *h.e.* iunctus. iunctus V G B 1–3 S W 1 2 *plerique.* 10. ē (ī superscr.) sistit V. existit S *marg.* insistit. || ecferendi R 1 2 G. ʰecferendi K *alio atram. superscr.* etferendi E. hec ferendi P 4 haec (ef superscr.) ferendi P *alio atram. corr.* efferendi V *at primum* ſ *in litura esse uid.* efferendi B *marg.* ecfe. efferendi S L W 1 2 M 1 2 *plerique.* offerendi O 8 ed. H. || cum enim V G B K. quom enim S *hac uice ut uid. non ex* cum *mut.* tum enim O 1 6 10. 11. adeptus (*ante* tamquam) R V G B 1 2 K P E L C O 1–4 7 9. adeptus ‸ (ē superscr.) O 10. adeptus est G 2 O 5 6 8 11. est adeptus W 1 2 P 4 J O 12.

ueniri celeritate praeditam, quae possit cum animo contendere....quod in nonnullis edd. uett. legitur *enim* eodem tendit, sed minus probabile est quam *certe*.' Küh.

incorruptus suique similis, 'unimpaired and unaltered in substance.'

caelum hoc: the atmosphere, cf. 25, 60 'terra hoc nebuloso et caliginoso caelo'; N.D. ii 16, 42 'licet uidere acutiora ingenia...eorum qui terras incolant in quibus aer sit purus et tenuis, quam illorum qui utantur crasso caelo atque concreto.'

coguntur, 'are massed.'

naturam = οὐσίαν, 'substance.' See 25, 62 n.

iunctis ex anima...ignibus insistit: R. alone, so far as I know, reads *iunctis* (*prima manu*), the rest *iunctus*. The constr. is abl. absolute, for the meaning is 'it halts where a fiery compound is formed by the blending of the rarer air with the modified heat of the sun,' not 'it halts upon a blending,' nor 'it rests upon a blending.' Consequently the question whether *insistere* with dat. (for wh. see Wilkins, Or. iii 9, 33 n.) is or is not Ciceronian does not come in here.

For the thought cf. N.D. ii 46, 118 'sunt autem stellae natura flammeae; quocirca terrae, maris, aquarum uaporibus aluntur eis, qui a sole ex agris tepefactis et ex aquis excitantur, quibus altae renouataeque stellae atque omnis aether refundunt eadem et rursum trahunt indidem, nihil ut fere intereat aut admodum paullum, quod astrorum ignis et aetheris flamma consumat.' Hei. compares Lucan Phars. ix 6 'quodque patet terras inter lunaeque meatus | semidei manes habitant, quos ignea uirtus | innocuos uitae patientes aetheris imi | fecit.'

se ecferendi: the gerundive with *sui* would be more usual, but the gerund is found at all periods, Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* II § 597 p. 79; Phil. ix 3, 6 'reficiendi se et curandi potestas'; Or. ii 4, 6 'cupidus te in illa longiore et perpetua oratione audiendi.'

cum...est adeptus: the best MSS have *cum...adeptus* (without *est*); most editors following Bentley's conj. read *tum... adeptus*; Kl. Bai. Ml. read *adeptus est*; the *t* in *adeptust* would more easily fall out before *t* in *tamquam* than *tum* be corrupted into *cum*. But I think it still more probable that *est* (*ē*) fell out after *-em* (*ē*) of *calorem* and before *a*.

sui similem...calorem, 'a medium as light and warm as it is itself.'

paribus examinatus ponderibus, 'balanced in equipoise,' i.e. because the surrounding medium is of the same specific gravity as the soul.

demum naturalis est sedes, cum ad sui simile penetrauit: in quo nulla re egens aletur et sustentabitur isdem rebus, quibus astra sustentantur et aluntur. **44.** cumque corporis facibus inflammari soleamus ad omnis fere cupiditates eoque magis incendi, quod iis aemulemur, qui ea habeant, quae nos habere cupiamus, profecto beati erimus, cum corporibus relictis et cupiditatum et aemulationum erimus expertes; quodque nunc facimus, cum laxati curis sumus, ut spectare aliquid uelimus et uisere, id multo tum faciemus liberius totosque nos in contemplandis rebus perspiciendisque ponemus, propterea quod et natura inest in mentibus nostris insatiabilis quaedam cupiditas ueri uidendi et orae ipsae locorum illorum, quo peruenerimus, quo faciliorem nobis cognitionem rerum caelestium, eo maiorem cognoscendi cupiditatem dabunt. **45.** haec enim pulchritudo etiam in terris patritam illam et auitam, ut ait Theophrastus, philosophiam

14. hisdem R G P. isdem V h *ante* i *eraso*. hisdemū B 2. isdem B G 2 3 O 11. iisdem S h *ante* i *eraso*. iisdem W 1 2 M 1 *alii*.

§ **44**, 16. omnis V G B. omīs K. 17. quod his R V G B S P E W 1 2 M 1. quod iis M 2. 23. in mentibus R 1 10 V G B K E W 2 M 2 O 1 7–9 11 12. ~~in~~ mentibus S. mentibus (in *omisso*) W 1 M 1 B 2 3 O 2–6 10. ‖ uidendi R V G B 1 2 K S E W 1 2 C Π J O 1–4 8 9 11. uiuendi P L V 9 O 7 12. uisendi M 1 2 B 3 L 6 O 5 6 10.

§ **45**, 27. patritam W 1 V 3 6 9 13 E 4. patriam V 11 *marg. alia manu* patritam. *omittit* R 13 *marg.* patritā illā R 13. *cf. Nonium p. 161.* patriam R 1 2 4–7 9–12 14–17 V 1 2 4 5 7 8 10 12 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P 1–4 S E 1–3 5–9 11–15 L 1 3–6 W 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 1–12 ed. H. ed. P. pτ̄ιam R 8. primam illam R 4.

isdem rebus quibus astra...: cf. N.D. quoted above. Diog. L. vii 145 τρέφεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἔμπυρα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα κ.τ.λ., also *ibid.* § 139 οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ζῷον ὄντα καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ λογικὸν ἔχειν ἡγεμονικὸν μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα κ.τ.λ. For Aristotelian views connecting the soul with the region of the stars, see R. and P. §§ 331—2, and for Platonic views see R. and P. § 266 and note c.

§ **44. corporis**: subjective genitive.

facibus, 'firebrands' = *corporis incitamentis*.

iis aemulemur: *aemulari* in bad sense, 'feel envious of,' takes dat. in classical Latin. For the two senses of the word cf. iv 8, 17; see also iv 26, 56.

habeant...cupiamus: subjunctives of attraction, cf. 11, 23 n. *habent...cupimus* would also be good Latin.

uisere: often intensive; here = 'contemplate,' 'survey.' The meaning 'go to see,' 'visit,' springs from this intensive force—the person who travels to see is usually, or in ancient times was usually, one of those who *see with attention*.

In this section the views with regard to emancipation from desires, envy etc., and with regard to contemplation of the phenomena of the heavens, are Platonic rather than Stoic, and hence perhaps the somewhat poetic expression *orae locorum* = *loci*.

§ **45. haec pulchritudo** = *huius rei pulchritudo*. See Küh. for explanation and examples. '*Haec pulchritudo* ita dictum est ac si iam in antecedenti enuntiatione pulchritudo commemorata esset; nec tamen quicquam aliud dictum est nisi causa pulchritudinis.' A very common construction.

etiam in terris: i.e. before their souls were separated from their bodies.

patritam: only a few inferior MSS have *patritam*, the rest *patriam*, but Nonius p. 161 says that *patritam* is the reading here and that the word was used in two places by Varro. Bent. Dav. Or. and Ern. rejected Nonius' evidence, but all recent editors accept it. Wolf suspects

cognitionis cupiditate incensam excitauit. praecipue uero fruentur ea, qui tum etiam, cum has terras incolentes circumfusi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis dispicere cupiebant.

XX. Etenim si nunc aliquid adsequi se putant, qui ostium Ponti uiderunt et eas angustias, per quas penetrauit ea, quae est nominata

Argó, quia Argiui ín ea delectí uiri
Vectí petebant péllem inauratam árietis,

aut ii, qui Oceani freta illa uiderunt,

Europam Libyamque rapax ubi diuidit unda,

quod tandem spectaculum fore putamus, cum totam terram

XX. 1. ostium R 1 10 V G B 1 2 K P C O 5 6 8. ostium S *at* h *ante* o *eraso*. 4. dilecti R 1 2 10 G 1 3 B 2 O 4. delecti *at* e *post* d *alio atram. ut uid. et parum distincte scripto* S O 5. delecti V B 1 3 K P 1 4 E L 1 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 9 G 2 J O 1–3 6–12. *habet* V dflecti (*sic*) *fortasse ex* dilecti *mutatum*. 6. aut hi R V B. aut ii S *at litt.* h *erasa*.

that Theophrastus' words were πατρῷος καὶ παππῷος, as in Demosthenes. Cic. perhaps wished to reproduce the Gk identity of termination. The reference is to the early physicists, Thales etc.

philosophiam incensam: Neidius conj. *incensa* but Mo. replies 'cum philosophia sit *sapientiae amor* cur eum amorem non dicat incensum esse cognitionis cupiditate omnibus hominibus insita?'

dispicere, 'to pierce the gloom.' Much used of making effort to see through obstacles, e.g. scales over the eyes, Fin. iv 23, 54, v 15, 4; or mist, as when one swoons, Fin. ii 30, 97 (of Epaminondas, mortally wounded) 'ut primum dispexit'; or an unfavourable medium, as here.

XX. **aliquid**: something *definite*; hence often as here something considerable; 'they think they reap some results.' Cf. iv 20, 46 '*nihilne* tibi uidentur an *aliquid* dicere?' iii 16, 35; v 36, 104; Juv. i 73 'si uis esse aliquid'; Prop. iv 7, 1 'sunt aliquid manes.' So, more rarely, *aliquis*, *aliquem*. This use is especially found with *esse*, *dicere*, *uideri*. Similarly in Greek τις and τι, cf. Liddell and Scott, *sub uoce*.

adsequi: Küh. is probably right in explaining this as a pres. of abiding result of past action. Cf. *Gram.* II p. 89 § 31, 5. This use is more common in Livy, e.g. *uincere* = *uictor esse*. Cf. Kühnast, *Liv. Synt.* § 208; and in the poets cf. *edunt* Virg. Ecl. 8, 45; *creat* Geo. i 279; *dat* Aen. ix 266. So in Gk φεύγειν, νικᾶν. A Ciceronian parallel seems to be ii 1, 2 'qui...mortem non timet magnum is sibi praesidium ad beatam uitam comparat.' Yet this latter use is not so strong as our present one, since he who does not fear death now may come to fear it later on and then his *praesidium ad beatam uitam* is gone: this *praesidium* must therefore be kept in order from day to day.

angustias: Hellespont and Bosporus.

delecti: the form *dilecti* is adopted by Bai. Küh. Hei. TS. and may very possibly be right. The evidence of the MSS seems rather in favour of *delecti*, but the reading of V may have been tampered with. The passage is from Ennius' Medea, reproducing Eur. Med. 5 ἀνδρῶν ἀριστέων, οἳ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρας.... Ennius may have used *dilectus* in the sense of 'carefully chosen' though the word seems not to occur elsewhere in this sense; but cf. *diligentia*. Nine lines are quoted by the Auctor ad Herennium ii 22, 35, and he and Priscian de Metr. Com. p. 1325 quote these lines thus:—'Argo qua uecti Argiui; delecti uiri, petebant illam pellem inauratam arietis.' Cicero, as often, does not quote the lines quite accurately. *arietis* scanned *āryetis* (dactyl).

Europam Libyamque: the Straits of Gibraltar are referred to. This line, from Enn. Annales, occurs again N.D. iii 10, 24. See Vahlen p. 45 for its source, Ann. ix frag. 3.

contueri licebit eiusque cum situm, formam, circumscriptionem, tum et habitabilis regiones et rursum omni cultu propter uim frigoris aut caloris uacantis? **46.** nos enim ne nunc quidem oculis cernimus ea, quae uidemus; neque est enim ullus sensus in corpore, sed, ut non physici solum docent, uerum etiam medici, qui ista aperta et patefacta uiderunt, uiae quasi quaedam sunt ad oculos, ad auris, ad naris a sede animi perforatae. itaque saepe aut cogitatione aut aliqua ui morbi inpediti apertis atque integris et oculis et auribus nec uidemus nec audimus, ut facile intellegi possit animum et uidere et audire, non eas partis, quae quasi fenestrae sint animi, quibus tamen sentire nihil queat

9. cumsitum R cum (con *superscr.*) situm V *alio atram. superscr.* consitum (cū *superscr.*) S *uix ead. manu.* consitum W 2 O 2 7 11. cum situm G B 1–3 E M 1 2 O 1 3–5 8 10 12. cum situm *in* tum situm *alia manu mut.* K. aīmi situm O 6. complexum O 9. 11. uacantis R V G B 1–3 P E 1 4 L W 2 O 3–5.

§ **46**, 12. neque est enim R 1 2 10 V G 1–3 K S L W 2 M 2 B 2 P 4 J O 1 2 12. neque enim est B E P W 1 M 1 Π O 3–6 8 10 11. neque enim (*omisso* est) O 7 9. 13. non physici V G 1 2 S O 6 7. non phisici R B 1–3 K W 2 M 1 2 G 3 O 12. physici solum O 10 *marg.* ut non. non solum phisici W 1 O 1 4 11. non solum physici O 3. 15. auris R G B 1 3 K W 2 M 1 L 6 O 5. aures V i *in* e *ut uid. mut.* oris (au *superscr.*) P *alio atram. superscr.* || naris R G B 1 3 K P W 2 M 1 L 6 O 3 5. nares V i *in* e *ut uid. mut.* 18. intellegi B. intelligi (*hoc loco*) R V G. || partis V G B K E. 19. sint R V G 1 3 B 1 2 K P E L W 2 M 2 Π J O 2 5 10. sunt S W 1 M 1 G 2 B 3 L 6 O 1 3 4 6–9 11 12. || quaeat R M 2. quęat K. q̄at W 1. queat V G B *alii.*

habitabilis...uacantis: for this view cf. 28, 69; N.D. i 10, 24; Rep. vi 20, 21; Virg. Geo. i 233 foll.; Hor. Odes i 22, 17—20; Ov. Met. i 48 foll.; Tibullus iv 1, 152 foll.

rursum: 17, 40 n.

§ **46**. **cernimus**: lit. 'distinguish,' the root being in *cribrum*, κρίνω, riddle. The word is very commonly used as interchangeable with *uideo*, as here where the emphasis is on *oculis*, not on *cernimus*. Cf. Reid on Ac. ii 25, 80.

neque est enim: for the order of the words see Kühn. on 27, 66 and references there.

aperta: see Reid on Ac. ii 39, 122 'itaque medici ipsi, quorum intererat ea nosse, aperuerunt ut uiderentur.'

quasi quaedam: *quidam* as often, to modify a metaphor; cf. 12, 27 n. 'quandam quasi migrationem'; *quasi* indicates a translation, Gk πόροι τινές, cf. 12, 27 n. on *quasi*. Below *fenestrae* = θυρίδες.

perforatae: according to the Stoics sensations were passed on from the eyes to the ἡγεμονικόν, at the heart, by means of atmospheric currents. Plut. Plac. Ph. iv 4, 2 and 21 quoted in Zeller, *Stoics*, c. ix p. 202 n. and in R. and P. § 410. The ancients, finding the arteries empty when laid open by dissection, supposed them to be air-tubes, cf. N.D. ii 55, 138 'sanguis per uenas in omne corpus diffunditur et spiritus per arterias,' and Mayor's note there and at § 136 on *aspera arteria*. See also Seneca, Natur. Quaest. iii 15 'placet natura regi terram et quidem ad corporum nostrorum exemplar in quibus et uenae sunt et arteriae, illae sanguinis, *hae spiritus receptacula*.'

animum et uidere et audire: cf. especially Epicharmus νοῦς ὁρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει· τἆλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά. The same view was held by Parmenides, cf. Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 591 and p. 584 n. 1; and by Empedocles, cf. Zeller II p. 169.

quasi fenestrae: for this expression and *perforatae*, above, and for an Epicurean criticism of the view here given, cf. Lucr. iii 359—369, and Munro's n.

sint: as *sunt* would have been good Latin, the mood is here due to attraction (11, 23 n.) rather than to reported thought.

mens, nisi id agat et adsit. quid, quod eadem mente res dissimillimas comprendimus, ut colorem, saporem, calorem, odorem, sonum? quae numquam quinque nuntiis animus cognosceret, nisi ad eum omnia referrentur et is omnium iudex solus esset. atque ea profecto tum multo puriora et dilucidiora cernentur, cum, quo natura fert, liber animus peruenerit. **47.** nam nunc quidem, quamquam foramina illa, quae patent ad animum a corpore, callidissimo artificio natura fabricata est, tamen terrenis concretisque corporibus sunt intersaepta quodam modo; cum autem nihil erit praeter animum, nulla res obiecta inpediet, quo minus percipiat, quale quidque sit.

XXI. Quamuis copiose haec diceremus, si res postularet, quam multa, quam uaria, quanta spectacula animus in locis caelestibus esset habiturus. **48.** quae quidem cogitans soleo saepe mirari non nullorum insolentiam philosophorum, qui naturae cognitionem admirantur eiusque inuentori et principi gratias exsultantes agunt eumque uenerantur ut deum; liberatos

20. qui quod R G P 1 4 B 2. q (id superscr.) qđ K d (*post* i) *alio atram. superscr.* qui q (d đ superscr.) B. quid cū V *at fuerat alia litt.* post ū. quid q̷ W 1 2 B 3 O 10–12. quid quod G 2 C II J O 1–6 8 9. qd' O 7. 21. comprendimus R G B 1 2 O 11. cō prendimus V. comp̄hendimus S E W 2 M 1 G 3. comprehendimus W 1 M 2 *alii.* 23. et is R V G 1 2 S L W 2 M 1 2 B 2 3 D C O 4–6 8 9. et his B E R 2 G 3 O 2. et hiis P 4. et (is superscr.) P *alio atram superscr.* et nisi is II. et idem W 1 O 11. et isdem O 12.

id agat)(*alias res agere.* So, more frequently, *hoc agere.*

adsit = *adsit animo.*

quinque nuntiis: cf. N.D. ii 56, 140 'sensus autem, interpretes ac nuntii rerum.'

referrentur: of referring to the decision of a referee, cf. p. R. Deiot. 2, 7 'tuum est, Caesar...quid nunc mihi animi sit ad te ipsum referre.' So also, and more often, of testing by a standard of reference, cf. 'ad uoluptatem omnia referunt,' Lael. 19, 32 and Reid's n.

atque ea profecto: I was disposed to refer *ea* to *omnia* (cf. *quale quidque sit* below), but Dr Reid takes it to refer back to *quae*, and this seems better. [*Quae* sums up the sense-impressions mentioned in the preceding sentence. The impressions made by the outer world on the mind will be much more vivid when they have not to be received through bodily channels.]

§ 47. **terrenis...corporibus**, 'collected particles of earthy nature.'

quale quidque sit, 'everything as it really is'; cf. 10, 20 n.

XXI. **quamuis**: adverb = *tam copiose quam uis*, i.e. *uel copiosissime*; cf. ii 38 'quamuis leui ictu,' and often.

esset habiturus: attraction of tense, 11, 23 n.; see also Madv. § 383.

§ 48. **philosophorum**: emphatic by position, cf. 6, 11 n.

The train of thought is this:—Cic. has sought to shew that from a careful study of nature the immortality of the soul may be inferred. How strange then are the Epicureans who, while professing devotion to the study of nature, have only inferred therefrom that when the hour of death arrives they will completely perish! Cic. cannot refrain from making a thrust at the Epicureans, although the digression is not much to the point. Cf. Kūh. here.

inuentori et principi: viz. Epicurus. Cf. 'harum disputationum inuentori et principi' (Platoni), Or. i 11, 47; 'Zeno qui inuentor et princeps Stoicorum fuit,' Ac. ii 42, 131 and exx. cited there by Reid.

uenerantur ut deum: cf. Lucr. v 8

enim se per eum dicunt grauissimis dominis, terrore sempiterno et diurno ac nocturno metu. quo terrore? quo metu? quae est anus tam delira, quae timeat ista, quae uos uidelicet, si physica non didicissetis, timeretis, 'Acherunsia templa alta Orci, pallida leto, nubila tenebris loca'? non pudet philosophum in eo gloriari, quod haec non timeat, et quod falsa esse cognouerit? e quo intellegi potest, quam acuti natura sint,

XXI. § 48, 10. acherunsia R G B K E L W 2 P 4 O 11. acheru sia V *litt. erasa.* acheruntia P *at* t *in litura.* acherū si B 2. archerusia G 2 (*non ut* Or.). archerunsia O 8. acherusia O 1. acheruntia R 2 10 V 4 G 3 4 E 4 13 L 3 O 5 9. archeruntia J. acheronta M 1. acherontia S W 1 M 2 R 7 12 17 B 3 L 4 6 D C Π O 2–4 6 7 10 12 ed. P. 11. letio nubila R G E O 8 11. lecio nubila L. leno nubila B 2. let o nubila V *litt. erasa.* letio(b)nubila K *alio atram. superscr.* letiob nubila P *at* letio *lineam claudit et* b *extra lineam manu recentiore inculcatum est.* leto nubila S *marg.* paludes lethei S. leto nubila B R 2 10 P 4 Π. loeto nubila R 4. lecto nubilla O 7. leti nubila W 2 R 9 17 V 4 L 3 J O 1. lethi nubila D C. lethei nubila W 1 G 4. letheis nubila G 2 L 2. leti obnubila M 1 R 5 12 G 3 E 3 4 9 L 6 O 3–5 9 10 ed. H. leti ob nubila B 3 L 4 O 2 6 ed. P. loeti ob nubila M 2. obsita tenebris loca *in* W 1 R 6 *solum inueni.* leti obnubila O 1 2 *at* i ob *multa in litura.* 13. e quo R 1 2 10 V G B L M 2 E 13 O 1 11. e(x) *alio atram. superscr.* P S L 4. ex quo W 1 2 M 1 G 2–4 P 4 E 4 Π J O 2–10 12. de quo B 2. eoque D. || intellegi B. intellegi P e *in* i *alio atram. mut.* intelligi G K.

sqq. 'deus ille fuit, deus....' Diog. L. x 18 where Epicurus in his will directs his disciples to keep not only his birthday but also the 20th of every month; Fin. ii 3, 101; N.D. i 16, 43 and Plut. adu. Colot. 17, quoted there by Mayor. The disciples made offerings (ἀπαρχάς) and feasted. See also Zeller, *Stoics, etc.*, p. 394. [Timon compared Pyrrho to the sun, Sext. adv. Math. i § 305 μοῦνος δ' ἀνθρώποισι θεοῦ τρόπον ἡγεμονεύεις.]

dominis: Bentley, objecting that *terror* and *metus* are only a single *dominus*, proposed *errore* here and in the next line, against the MSS; but cf. Lucr. v 87 'dominos acris adsciscunt'; ii 1090–2 'dominis priuata superbis,' and Munro there. Hei. refers to iv 8, 19 for a distinction between *terror* and *metus*; but I do not take the *domini* to be *terror* and *metus*, but the gods and other supernatural *causes* of *terror* and *metus*.

Acherunsia templa: from Ennius' Andromacha Aechmalotis, probably referred to in Lucr. i 121. Varro L. L. vii 6, to illustrate the use of the word *templum*, quotes the words 'Acherusia templa alta Orci saluete infera.' Cicero, as Dav. observes, has omitted such words as did not suit his purpose. Vahlen, *Enn. Poes. Rel.* p. 102, makes the lines trochaic septenarii, 'Ácherunsia témpla alta Orci, [sáncta], saluete, infera | pállida leti obnúbila tenebris [átris, aeternis] loca.' Ribbeck, *Scaen. Rom. Poes. Frag.* 1 p. 24, sets up the lines as anapaests thus:

Acherúnsia templa alta Órci
Pallída leto, nubíla tenebris,
Loca sáluete infera...,

but the rhythm is not good and the catalectic line seems impossible except at the end of a sentence, cf. ii 21, 50 n.

templa: originally an augurial term, sections of the sky, as marked out with the augur's wand (*lituus*); root in τέμνω, *contemno*, etc., hence 'regions.' See Munro on Lucr. i 121.

nubila: many editors read *obnubila*, among them Dav. Küh. TS. Hei. Ml. Schiche, Hasper, Gschwind. Or. and Mo. read *nubila*. *obnubila* does not occur elsewhere and is not found here in any except second and third-rate MSS. The best view seems that adopted by Fleckeisen, *N.J.f. Ph.* 1887, p. 87, who holds that *letio* of the best MSS is due to original *leti*, and that *leto* is the true reading here. The emendation was made by Bergk in *Philol.* XVII p. 39, and adopted by Ribbeck in *Trag. Rom. Frag.* ed. 2 (1870), and this is actually the reading of several MSS.

e quo: for *e* of the best MSS here in-

quoniam haec sine doctrina credituri fuerunt. **49.** praeclarum autem nescio quid adepti sunt, quod didicerunt se, cum tempus mortis uenisset, totos esse perituros. quod ut ita sit (nihil enim pugno), quid habet ista res aut laetabile aut gloriosum? nec tamen mihi sane quicquam occurrit, cur non Pythagorae sit et Platonis uera sententia. ut enim rationem Plato nullam adferret (uide, quid homini tribuam), ipsa auctoritate me frangeret; tot autem rationes attulit, ut uelle ceteris, sibi certe persuasisse uideatur.

XXII. **50.** Sed plurimi contra nituntur animosque quasi capite damnatos morte multant, neque aliud est quicquam, cur

14. quoniam R 1 2 10 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P 1 4 E 1 13 L 1 3 W 2 D C Π J O 3 4 7 10 12. quum O 11. quomodo M 2 *marg.* qui. qui W 1 M 1 G 2 4 E 4 O 1 2 5 6 8 9. ‖ fuer̄ R 1 2 10 B K. fuerunt V G 1 3 P 1 4 S E 1 4 13 L 1 3 W 2 D C Π J O 3 4 7 10 12. fuerant W 1. ferunt G 2. fuerint G 4 O 1 2 6 8 9 11 ed. P. fuerīt *in* fuerūt *al. atram. mut.* O 5.

§ **49**, 15. quod (*ante* didicerunt) R 1 2 10 G 1 3 B 1 2 K P S E 1 4 13 L W 1 2 D C J O 3 4 7 8. quod V (i *superscr.*). quo (d *eraso*) Π. quu O 6. qui M 1 2 G 2 P 4 O 1 2 5 9–12. 16. quod ita sit R. quod ita sit K (ut) *alia manu superscr.* quod ut ita sit V G B 1–3 S E L D *plerique.* 17. lo&tabile R. lœtabile V. loetabile G. lętabile B S. 19. adferret G E. afferret V *at primum* f *mut. est.*

XXII. § **50**, 2. damnatos V. dam~natos S (*unius litt. spatio relicto*). dampnatos G K B 3 O 5. ‖ multant R 1 10 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K E 1 4 W 2 C O 2–4 7 9–12. mulctant W 1 M 1 2 R 17 B 3 Π O 1 6 8. multant (c *superscr.*) O 5.

stead of *ex*, wh. is more usual before *q*, see Madv. on Fin. ii 5, 15.

quoniam...fuerunt: the reading of inferior MSS *qui...fuerint* has no doubt arisen from an abbreviation of *quoniam* ($\overline{qm}$) being mistaken for *qui*, cf. Klotz *Add.* p. 26.

sine doctrina: equivalent to a conditional clause, *nisi didicissent*. For the indic. following see Madv. § 358 a. Draeger § 151, 5 (g) reads *quoniam... fuerint*, taking *fuerint* as a case of attraction (11, 23 n.), but noting that the MSS support *fuerunt*.

§ **49. uenisset...perituros**: or. obl. representing *cum tempus mortis uenerit toti peribimus* of or. recta.

quod ut ita sit: the reading *quod ut sit*, which Mo. supports by Fin. ii 31, 102 'sed ut sit,' and Att. ii 15, 2 'uerum, ut hoc non sit,' is not supported by MSS.

ut: concessive, cf. i 8, 16 'ut enim non efficias,' and ii 5, 14 n.

nihil enim pugno seems best taken with Mo. and TS. as ironical; 'even assuming this to be the case, for I make no objection, sc. to the Epicureans (*se*) perishing completely at death.'

Pythagorae: see 9, 18 n.

ipsa = *sola*, Mo.; cf. 22, 52, 'animo ipso animum videre'; de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 15, 45 'quam facile exercitu socios conseruaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit'; Fin. i 19, 63 'ignoratione rerum e qua ipsa horribiles exsistunt saepe formidines.' Cf. Draeger 1 34 n. For the thought cf. Diu. i 30, 62 'hunc ergo (Epicurum) antipones Platoni et Socrati? qui ut rationem non redderent, auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos uincerent.'

uelle ceteris: supply *persuadere* from the following *persuasisse*.

uideatur: the pres. represents the abiding result, therefore not *uideretur*. Cf. Madv. § 383, obs. 2. For the same reason *uelle* not *uoluisse*.

XXII. § **50. capite damnatos**: *capitis deminutio maxima* involved loss of *libertas*, *ciuitas*, *familia*, Paulus in Digest iv 5, 11. Hence 'seruus nullum...caput habet,' cf. Inst. i 16, 4. In *capite damnare* the abl. seems to do the work of the lost locative (cf. Roby § 1196) and to be abl. of price. *capitis damnare* is more usual. [There may have been assimila-

incredibilis iis animorum uideatur aeternitas, nisi quod nequeunt, qualis animus sit uacans corpore, intellegere et cogitatione comprehendere. quasi uero intellegant, qualis sit in ipso corpore, quae conformatio, quae magnitudo, qui locus. at si iam possent in homine uiuo cerni omnia, quae nunc tecta sunt, casurusne in conspectum uideatur animus, an tanta sit eius tenuitas, ut fugiat aciem? **51.** haec reputent isti, qui negant animum sine corpore se intellegere posse: uidebunt, quem in ipso corpore intellegant. mihi quidem naturam animi intuenti multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio, multo obscurior, qualis animus in corpore sit tamquam alienae domui, quam qualis, cum exierit et in liberum caelum

3. his R V G B W 2 O 11. iis O 6. iis S *at fuerat* hiis. 4. intellegere R G B. intelligere V K E. ‖ comprehendere V. compraehendere G. 5. intellegant R V G B. intelligant K. 6. qui (*ante* locus) R V G B 1 2 W 1 2 D O 1–4 7–9 11. qui^{s} *alio atram. superscr.* P S. quis M 1 2 B L 6 O 5 6 10 12. 7. uno R V G B 1–3 K S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1–12 *alii.* uiuo *corr. Bentleius.*

§ **51**, 10. intellegere V G B. intelligere K. intellegant R 1 2 V G B. intelligant K. 12. multo (*ante* obscurior) R 1 2 10 17 V G 1–3 B 1 2 K P 1 3 4 S E 1 13 W 2 D C J O 1 2 7 9. multaque ed. H. multoque W 1 M 1 2 R 6 G 4 B 3 E 4 9 L 6 Π O 3–6 8 10–12. 13. domui R 1 2 V G B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J *alii.* domu O 6 *litt. post* u *erasa.* domi *non inueni.*

tion to *morte* here. I think there are not more than two other exx. in the texts of Cicero.]

cogitatione comprehendere, 'to imagine.'

quasi uero: ironical as usual. For the thought cf. p. Mil. 31, 84.

intellegant: Küh. notes that even where the supposition is unfulfilled the pres. and perf. subj. follow *quasi uero* when a pres. or fut. tense precedes. Cf. 33, 80; 35, 85; 38, 92; iii 5, 11.

qui locus: 10, 20.

at si iam possent: I have adopted the emendation of Pearce, accepted also by Hei. This gives a reading free from all difficulty. *uel*, conjectured by Kl., would be equally good. *ut* of the MSS can be retained, as by Küh. and Or., only by assuming an unusually harsh mixture of constructions. Hottinger took *ut* in the sense of 'for example,' and Lambinus, followed by Bai. Sff. and others, conjectured *aut*; but both of these views give an anacolouthon after the exclamatory *quasi uero*. This TS. removes by reading *casurus* for *casurusne*; but how did *-ne* get into the MSS?

si iam, 'supposing for the moment'; often used of a supposition introduced for the sake of argument, cf. Munro on Lucr. i 968; Madv. on Fin. iv 24, 66 n. (*ut iam*).

in homine uiuo: Bentley's certain emendation for *in homine uno* of the MSS, 'quippe in homine mortuo iam excessit animus ex corpore neque ibi quaerendus est.' In 36, 88 MSS generally read *sed in uiuo*, but C reads *set in uno*.

§ **51. animum sine corpore**: the attributive use of the prep. with its case is not common in Cl. Lat. It is specially found attached to *verbal* nouns. Where used with non-verbal nouns there usually is an adjective coordinated, cf. Att. i 18, 5 'ignauus ac sine animo miles,' or (as in our instance) there is no adjective in use to express the meaning required. In Cic. this use is chiefly found with *cum* and *sine*.

haec reputent...uidebunt: cf. 13, 30 n. 'tolle...sustuleris.'

quem in ipso = *qualem*....

multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio, 'presents itself as a thing much more difficult to imagine.'

domui: this locative form is given by the best MSS here and in Off. iii 26, 99; p. Mil. 7, 16; and adopted by most recent editors. Or. and earlier editors read *domi*, the usual form. See Kühner, *Gr.* I § 89, Roby I § 394. *domui* is read by M[1] in Att. viii 2, 3.

quasi domum suam uenerit. nisi enim, quod numquam uidimus, id quale sit, intellegere non possumus, certe et deum ipsum et diuinum animum corpore liberatum cogitatione complecti possumus. Dicaearchus quidem et Aristoxenus, quia difficilis erat animi, quid aut qualis esset, intellegentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt. **52.** est illud quidem uel maximum animo ipso animum uidere, et nimirum hanc habet uim praeceptum Apollinis, quo monet, ut se quisque noscat. non enim, credo, id praecipit, ut membra nostra aut staturam figuramue noscamus, neque nos

14. numquam R V G P E. nunquam S. 16. complecti possumus *spatio ante* complecti *relicto* R *et* S. complecti possumus V G 13 B 12 K O 178. complecti non possumus M 2 B 3 O 2–4 6 9 10 12 *et* (*marg.*) O 5. *omittit* O 11.
n̄ u
complecti possimus P *alio atram. superscr.* 18. intellegentią R V G B K.

nisi enim..., 'for unless we are unable to realise the nature of anything we have never seen, our imagination is surely able to comprehend both the deity and the divine soul.' This, the reading of the MSS, gives a fair sense in connection with the context. It is followed by Dav. TS. Mo. Ml. Küh. changes *nisi* into *etsi*. He makes the meaning turn on the contrast between *intellegere* (=*acriter perspicere*) and *cogitatione complecti*. But this scarcely suits the context. Sff. changes *nisi* to *si* (with *cod.* Rehd.) and *et*...*et* to *nec*...*nec*. The Epicureans admitted the existence of the gods: Sff. thinks that Cic. argues that they must equally admit the existence of the divine soul apart from the body. But the reasons that induced Epicurus to admit the existence of the gods (Zeller pp. 438–40) did not apply in the case of the disembodied soul. Hei. reads *nisi enim*...*intellegere possumus*...*complecti non possumus*. But this is not an instance in which *et*...*et* can be used after a negative instead of *neque*... *neque*. For an instance of *et*...*et* after a negative cf. 15, 33 n.

diuinum animum: cf. 18, 42 note on 'siue dissipantur'; also Zeller, p. 204 and notes.

Dicearchus: 10, 21 n. **Aristoxenus**: 10, 20 n.

nullum esse: stronger than *non esse*; cf. p. Rosc. Am. 44, 128, 'haec bona in tabulas publicas nulla redierunt'; Verr. ii 17, 43 'petatur hereditas quae nulla debetur.' More frequent in colloquial Latin, e.g. in Cicero's letters; Att. xi 24, 4 'Philotimus non modo nullus uenit'; xv 22 'quia (Sextus)...ab armis nullus discederet,' and in the comic dramatists, cf. *nullus sum*, Plautus, *passim*. See Naegelsbach, *Stilistik*, § 82, 2.

§ **52. est illud quidem**..., 'it is a most important principle that mind sees by means of mind alone.'

nimirum: especially in stating views put forward with some irony as here, cf. *credo* in next line.

praeceptum Apollinis: inscribed along with other maxims on the wall of the *pronaus* of Apollo's temple at Delphi.

quo monet: cf. Cato M. 10, 32 'ueteri illo laudatoque prouerbio quod monet mature fieri senem si diu uelis senex esse.' It is comparatively rare to have a clause depending directly upon a substantive as in p. Flacco 27, 65 'utrum igitur nostrum est an uestrum hoc prouerbium Phrygem plagis fieri solere meliorem?' For further instances of the latter constr. see Draeger II § 445. See also Reid on Cato M. 10, 32 and on Ac. ii 38, 120. [For *quo* cf. e.g. Cato M. § 73 'elogium, quo se negat etc.'; Ac. 2 § 111 'illam tolli altero, quo negat etc.'; Ep. ad Brut. i 16 § 5 'illud iudicium, quo non concesserim etc.'; ad Fam. xii 15, 2 (Lentulus) 'foedere quo iurauerunt Rhodii etc.'; Sen. Ep. 95 § 60 'hoc ipsum quo negarem curanda esse praecepta, praeciperem'; Sen. dial. v 6, 3 'Democriti salutare praeceptum quo monstratur etc.' In de Or. 3 § 64 'quo negant' should be read.]

ut se quisque noscat: for *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* see Mayor on Juv. xi 27 'e caelo descendit *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*.'

neque nos corpora sumus: cf. Rep. vi 24 'nec enim tu es quem forma ista declarat; sed mens cuiusque is est quisque, non ea figura quae digito demonstrari potest.'

corpora sumus, nec ego tibi haec dicens corpori tuo dico. cum igitur 'nosce te' dicit, hoc dicit: 'nosce animum tuum.' nam corpus quidem quasi uas est aut aliquod animi receptaculum: ab animo tuo quidquid agitur, id agitur a te. hunc igitur nosse nisi diuinum esset, non esset hoc acrioris cuiusdam animi praeceptum tributum deo.

§ **52**, 23. nec (*post* corpora sumus) R 1 2 V G 1–3 B 1 2 K P 1 4 S E 1 4 8 W 1 2 M 1 2 Π J O 1 2 7 9 11 12. nunc O 10. nū B 3. num O 3 4. nō O 5. non O 6. neque O 8. 28. sic ut (*ante* tributum) M 1 R 6 12 V 2 B 3 P 2 L 6 O 2–6 10 ed. P. a deo sit hoc seipsum posse cognoscere R 1 2 10 G 1 3 B 1 2 K E 1 5 8 13 W 2 M 2 V 5 9 P 4 O 1 7 ed. H. *quam lectionem ita uariatam praebent ceteri*:—a deo S R 9 13 14 17 V 3 4 7 8 12 P 3 E 2–4 7 9 11 L 2–5 D C Π J O 2 8 9 11. a deo sit animus *cet. omissis* O 2. deo M 1 R 6 12 V 2 B 3 L 6 O 3–6 10 12 ed. P. sit M 1 R 6 9 12 14 V 2 8 B 3 P 3 E 3 4 9 11 L 3 5 6 D C J O 3–6 10 12 ed. P. sic S R 13. sil' V 12. scilicet R 8 V 4 7 G 2 P 2 E 2 7 L 2 Π O 8 9. scilic̄et E 6. hoc .s. (=hoc scilicet) G 4 O 11. hoc seipsum S R 8 9 13 14 V 4 7 8 G 2 P 3 E 3 4 7 9 11 L 2 3 5 6 J O 3 4 6 9. seipsum E 2 Π. hoc est seipsum M 1 R 6 12 V 2 B 3 P 2 L 4 O 5 10 12 ed. P. ipsum se D C. posse se ipsum O 8. posse cognoscere S M 1 R 6 12 13 V 2 4 G 2 B 3 P 2 E 2 7 L 2 4 6 D C Π O 3-6 9 10 ed. P. posse agnoscere R 8 9 14 V 7 8 G 4 P 3 E 3 4 9 11 L 3 5 J O 11 12. *unicam lectionem praebet* V non esset hoc praeceptum a deo. sit hoc acrioris cuiusdam animi seipsum posse cognoscere. *at uerbum* praeceptum *et omnia quae sequuntur in litura sunt.*

cum igitur nosce te dicit...: cf. Plat. Alcib. 131 a ψυχὴν ἄρα ἡμᾶς κελεύει γνωρίσαι ὁ ἐπιτάττων γνῶναι ἑαυτόν.

quasi uas aut aliquod animi receptaculum = ἀγγεῖον. Prof. J. E. B. Mayor compares Synes. Calvit. 6 note 93 (Krabinger) νοῦ δοχεῖον. For *quasi* and for the two terms to render a single Greek word cf. 12, 27 n.

hunc igitur: the line of thought seems to be this: the assertion is that mind is immortal: of this the fact that the maxim 'know your own mind' was attributed to a god is a proof.

esset, non esset: Küh. notes and illustrates the repetition and collocation of the verb in the second clause, for emphasis. [Lucr. iii 440 with Munro's n.; (N.T. 'vessel'); and cf. Bücheler's Anthologia 684 (early Christian epitaph) 'cum tuba terribilis sonitu concusserit orbem, | humanaeque animae rursum in sua uasa redibunt.' **ab** animo tuo...**a** te: the first *ab* is not due to symmetry but emphasises the theory that the *animus* IS the person.]

acrioris cuiusdam animi: subjective gen. The maxim was variously ascribed to Chilon, Thales, Solon, etc., but see Mayor, as above. Cf. also Leg. i 22, 58; Fin. v 16, 44, quoted below.

praeceptum tributum deo: the reading in the text is due to Wesenberg and is adopted by Küh. TS. Hei. Ml. The expression is very similar to that employed by Cic. in two other places:—Fin. v. 16, 44 'quod praeceptum quia maius erat quam ut ab homine uideretur, idcirco *adsignatum est deo*'; Leg. i. 22, 58 'docuit (philosophia) ut nosmet ipsos nosceremus: cuius praecepti tanta uis, tanta sententia est ut ea non homini cuipiam sed *Delphico deo tribueretur*.' The prep. *a* before *deo*, read by many MSS including the best, I take to have been inserted by an early copyist who supposed *deo* to denote the giver not the recipient. After *a deo* the best MSS read *sit hoc se ipsum posse cognoscere*, some MSS have *agnoscere* instead of *cognoscere*, some omit *sit*, some omit *sit hoc*. Wesenberg held *sit* to have arisen out of *scilicet* and the following words *hoc se ipsum posse cognoscere* to be a gloss, and this seems best. *scilicet* moreover is actually read by several MSS including E 2. Still it is strange that the word *posse* should have been inserted even in a gloss. May the original gloss have been *sc. hoc se ipsum nosse*? This may have got into the text and *cognoscere* may have been added as a gloss upon *nosse*, and may itself subsequently have got into the text, causing the change of *nosse* into *posse*. Sff. emends, reading *tributum deo. adeo arduum est hoc seipsum posse cognoscere.*

53. Sed si, qualis sit animus, ipse animus nesciet, dic, quaeso, ne esse quidem se sciet, ne moueri quidem se? ex quo illa ratio nata est Platonis, quae a Socrate est in Phaedro explicata, a me autem posita est in sexto libro de re publica.

XXIII. 'Quod semper mouetur, aeternum est; quod autem motum adfert alicui, quodque ipsum agitatur aliunde, quando finem habet motus, uiuendi finem habeat necesse est. solum igitur, quod se ipsum mouet, quia numquam deseritur a se, numquam ne moueri quidem desinit; quin etiam ceteris, quae mouentur, hic fons, hoc principium est mouendi. **54.** principii autem nulla est origo; nam e principio oriuntur omnia, ipsum autem nulla ex re alia nasci potest; nec enim esset id principium, quod gigneretur aliunde. quod si numquam oritur, ne occidit quidem umquam; nam principium exstinctum nec ipsum ab alio renascetur nec ex se aliud creabit, si quidem necesse est a

§ **53**, 29. nesciet R V G 1-3 B 1-3 P E W 2 M 1 L 6 J O 1-6 8-10. nesciat (e superscr.) K *eod. ut uid. atram. superscr.* nesciat S W 1 M 2 R 10 O 11 12. nesciret O 7. nescit D. XXIII. 1. et aeternum R V G O 2. ˥ aeternum K *puncto alio atram. subscripto.* & ęternum P. et eternum W 2 M 1 B 3 J O 5 6. ẹṭ ęternum O 10. id eternum R 6 E 5 O 11. eternum V 9 G 2-4 B 2 P 4 C Π O 1 3 4 7-9 12. 2. alicunde R 1 8 V G 1-3 B P 1 4 S E M 1 2 L 6 O 2-5 7 8 12. aliunde W 1 2 R 3 6 10 G 4 B 2 L 3 4 D Π J O 1 9-11. aliunde *in* alicunde *mut.* O 6. [*infra*, § 54, aliunde R V G B *plerique.* alicunde M 1 O 12.]

§ **54**, 9. ne (*ante* occidit) R 1 10 V 1 5 B 1 2 K P 1 4 E 1 13 M 2 O 1. nec S W 1 2 M 1 G 2 3 B 3 E 3 Π O 2-8 10-12. *omittit* O 9. nec *in* ne *rasura mut.* G. 11. necse R 1 10 16 K P 14 E 13. nec se G B 1 2 R 2 O 2. nec (ex superscr.) se V S (*ead. fortasse manu*) E (*alia manu superscr.*). nec (de superscr.) se R 13 *alio atram. superscr.* nec ex se W 1 R 4 11 17 V 4-6 12 G 2 4 E 6 8 L 2 D C O 17. ne ex se E 2 Π O 8. oritur ex se (*cet. omissis*) O 9. nec e se W 2. nec a se M 1 R 6 12 V 2 7 G 3 B 3 P 2 L 6 O 3-6 10 ed. P. nec de se M 2 R 3 5 7-9 14 15 V 3 8 10 11 13 P 3 E 3-5 7 9 11 L 3-5 J O 11 12 ed. H.

§ **53.** **nesciet...sciet**: the fut., lit. = 'if the mind be found not to know.' Cf. iii 7, 14 'nemo sapiens nisi fortis. non cadet ergo in sapientem aegritudo'; i 38, 91; 44, 107; ii 13, 30. Also Juv. i 126 'noli uexare, quiescet,' and Mayor's note.

ratio, 'reasoning,' 'line of argument,' cf. Diu. ii 10, 25 'concludatur igitur ratio,' and often.

in Phaedro: p. 245 c–e.

in sexto libro de re publica: vi cc. 25, 26. (= Somn. Scip. c. 8.)

XXIII. **mouetur**: middle.

aeternum est: some of the best MSS have *et* before *aeternum*, probably due to dittography of the *aet-* of *aeternum* (written *et-* in many MSS); some inferior MSS read *id*, probably by correction of the unusual *et*. Küh. and many earlier editors read *id*; most recent editors omit it.

aliunde: ὑπ' ἄλλου, Plato, as above. The best MSS have *alicunde*, and Moser, followed by many, prefers this as the rarer reading. But the meaning wanted is *aliunde* 'by another than itself' not *alicunde* 'from some source or other'; *alicui* is allowable four words earlier, though Cic. might have written *alii*, but *alicunde* would be wrong, as it would not exclude self-movement. The error was probably due to the preceding *alicui*.

ne moueri quidem, 'not...either,' 7, 14 n.

principium mouendi = *principium motus*, cf. πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, in Plato, as above. For the origin and meaning of the gerund see Draeger II pp. 789 sqq.

§ **54.** **quod gigneretur aliunde** = *si* (*ex hypothesi*) *gigneretur aliunde*. For the

principio oriri omnia. ita fit, ut motus principium ex eo sit, quod ipsum a se mouetur; id autem nec nasci potest nec mori, uel concidat omne caelum omnisque natura consistat necesse est nec uim ullam nanciscatur, qua a primo inpulsa moueatur. cum pateat igitur aeternum id esse, quod se ipsum moueat, quis est, qui hanc naturam animis esse tributam neget? inanimum est

15. qua a primo D C qua[a] primo V *alio atram. superscr.* qua primo R 1 6 10 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E 1–3 5 13 L 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 Π J O 1–10 12. quę primo L 4. quam primo P 4. pͥo O 11 *cet. omissis.* || inpulsa V K. impulsa P *at* m *ex* n *mut.* ipulsa O 11.

subjunctive see notes on 36, 87 'cum id non habeas,' and on 41, 98 'cum...conuenirem.'

ne occidit quidem, 'not...either.' For the reading see 26, 65 n.

nec ex se: the best MSS omit *ex*, but in Rep. vi 25 the best MSS read *nec ex se* and Plato has *οὔτε ἄλλο ἐξ ἐκείνης γενήσεται*. *ec* and *ex* were so frequently confused that we have here no doubt a case of haplography.

motus principium: Plato's words are *οὕτω δὴ κινήσεως μὲν ἀρχὴ τὸ αὐτὸ αὑτὸ κινοῦν*, 'the source of motion is a thing which is self-moving.' Cic. expresses the same meaning by 'motion originates from a thing which is self-moving.' *principium* here is used in the abstract sense of 'commencement,' while in the previous lines it has been several times used in the concrete sense of 'initial cause.' The seeming contradiction between this line and *principii nulla est origo* has led Hei. to give the words *ex eo sit quod* a meaning ('belongs to the class of that which') for which it would be hard to find parallels. The instance wh. he quotes from Off. i 30, 107 does not bear that interpretation.

uel concidat omne caelum omnisque natura consistat necesse est: this, the reading of the MSS, has given rise to many attempts at emendation. Plato has *ἢ πάντα τε οὐρανὸν πᾶσάν τε γένεσιν συμπεσοῦσαν στῆναι καὶ μήποτε αὖθις ἔχειν ὅθεν κινηθέντα γενήσεται.* TS. and Hei. retain the MS reading. The meaning then is 'or else the whole universe must inevitably sink in ruin and all creation (=created things) come to a standstill.' This gives very good sense although it is slightly different from the words of Plato, who makes the whole universe and all creation both sink in ruin and come to a standstill. For *caelum* in this sense cf. N.D. ii 39, 101 'ultimus et a domiciliis nostris altissimus caeli complexus, qui idem aether uocatur, extrema ora et determinatio mundi, in quo cum admirabilitate maxima igneae formae cursus ordinatos definiunt.' See also N.D. ii 36, 91; ii 45, 117, and L. and Sc. s.v. *οὐρανός* I 4. Some editors have stumbled over *uel.* If we had here a disjunctive proposition co-ordinated with a preceding negative proposition we should expect *aut* and not *uel.* But the clause, just as the *ἤ* clause in the corresponding Greek, is loosely tacked on (cf. Madv. *Gk Synt.* R. I App. § 283.) For *aut* and *uel* see Draeger II §§ 343, 344. The conjecture *terra* for *natura*, approved by Bentley ('recte Lambinus aliique ex Platone ipso *omnisque terra*'), was disposed of when Bekker restored *γένεσιν* in Plato, with the best MSS, for *γῆν*. In order to bring Cic. into more exact correspondence with Plato, Küh. after Or. inserts *ac* between *natura* and *consistat* on Mähly's conjecture. But Reid, on *Ac.* ii 11, 34, has shewn that *ac*, where it occurs in MSS of Cicero before a guttural, is to be viewed with so much suspicion that a conjecture which inserts *ac* before a guttural can scarcely be accepted. Schiche follows Ml. who, relying on the MSS of Rep. vi 25, 27 and Macrobius, inserts *et*. The conjectures of Sff., *ut non* for *uel* and *sit* for *est* (after *necesse*), seem unnecessary if *uel* be taken as above suggested; otherwise the construction given by him is no doubt correct, and the three changes involved are changes which often, separately, occur.

qua a primo: most MSS *qua primo*, but several MSS of Somnium Scipionis (Macrobius) give *a*. Similarly in ii 1, 4 'auxilia a,' iv 21, 47 'auersa a ratione,' v 25, 70 'illa a deo' good MSS omit *a* after final *a*.

a primo = *primitus*, *a principio*. Küh.

cum pateat...tributam neget: *ἀθανάτου δὲ πεφασμένου τοῦ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κινου-*

enim omne, quod pulsu agitatur externo; quod autem est animal, id motu cietur interiore et suo. nam haec est propria natura animi atque uis; quae si est una ex omnibus, quae se ipsa [semper] moueat, neque nata certe est et aeterna est.' **55.** licet concurrant omnes plebeii philosophi (sic enim ii, qui a Platone et Socrate et ab ea familia dissident, appellandi uidentur), non modo nihil umquam tam eleganter explicabunt, sed ne hoc quidem ipsum quam subtiliter conclusum sit, intellegent. sentit

18. est animal R V G B 1–3 W 1 2 M 1 2 *alii.* 19. cietur M 1 2 R6 G2 B3 E48 L6 Π O3–68–12. citetur R V G134 B12 K. cicetur E. citet P E8. citatur S R10 P4 E13 O127. 20. se ipsam R V G B13 P S *alii.* se ipsā K. se ipsa *non inueni.*

§ **55**, 22. omnes plebei R12 V G1–3 S E14 W12 M1 B3 P4 L6 D C Π O2–68–10. ōis plebei B2. omnes plebii P (e) *alio atram. superscr.* omnes plebeii B O17. plebei omnes O11. omnes minuti p̄hi M2. *omittunt* O512 *marg. habent* omnes minuti p̄hi.

μένου, ψυχῆς οὐσίαν τε καὶ λόγον τοῦτον αὐτόν τις λέγων οὐκ αἰσχυνεῖται, Plato, as above. In the latter part (*quis est qui...neget*) Cic. has dealt very freely with his original. *naturam* here = 'capacity,' 'property,' but, three lines lower down, *propria natura atque uis* = *οὐσία τε καὶ λόγος* i.e. 'essential definition,' 'the very essence and inherent character of the soul.' Cf. 27, 66. From Thales downwards the soul was held to be self-moving, cf. Plutarch de Plac. Ph. iv 2 *Θαλῆς ἀπεφήνατο πρῶτος τὴν ψυχὴν φύσιν ἀεικίνητον ἢ αὐτοκίνητον.* Aristotle denied this, see Excursus I.

quae si est una: we should have expected *qui*, as *animus*, not *natura atque uis*, is really the subject. The rel. must have been inaccurately referred to the preceding *haec*.

se ipsa: MSS have *ipsam*; Bentley corrected this to *ipsa*, which is accepted by all editors. See Kühner's very complete note on i 30, 73, where he lays down the rule that 'nominatiuus ipse ponitur ubi subiectum subiecto opponitur (as here *ipsa*)(*uis aliqua externa*)...Vbi autem obiectum obiecto opponitur ipse in eodem quo obiectum casu ponitur': yet, even in this case, sometimes 'nominatiuus *ipse* ponitur, ut subiecti uis grauius efferatur.' In Fin. v 14, 40 Madv. changes *ipsam* of all MSS to *ipsa* before *moueatur*.

semper: to be bracketed, acc. to Wes., as erroneously introduced from § 53. Bai. Hei. TS. Ml. bracket. Sff. ejects. Küh. retains but notes that if it be ejected one may easily see how the false reading se ipsa*m* *m*oveat could arise. *semper* is in good MSS, but not in Rep. vi 26, nor is it represented in Plato, l.c.

neque...et: 4, 7 n.

est...est: the repetition emphasises the contrast. Cf. Küh.

§ **55. plebeii philosophi**: especially the Epicureans, cf. Diu. i 30, 62 'Epicurum igitur audiemus potius?...sentit nihil umquam elegans, nihil decorum. hunc ergo antepones Platoni et Socrati? qui, ut rationem non redderent, auctoritate tamen hos *minutos* philosophos uincerent'; Cato M. 23, 85 'sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam.' For the metaphorical application of the political term Hei. compares 13, 29 'maiorum gentium di.'

familia, 'school,' cf. Fin. iv 18, 49 'Aristoteles, Xenocrates, tota illa familia'; Or. i 10, 42 'tum singulae familiae litem tibi intenderent.'

tam eleganter, 'with such precision,' cf. Fin. ii 9, 27 (Epicurus) 'contemnit disserendi elegantiam; confuse loquitur.' For the Epicurean attitude towards dialectic see Zeller p. 398, and Reid on Ac. i 2, 5 'nihil definiunt, nihil partiuntur, nihil apta interrogatione concludunt, nullam denique artem esse nec dicendi nec disserendi putant.' See also Sandys on Or. 9, 28 'modo id eleganter enucleateque faciat.'

subtiliter: i 41 n. From the original meaning of 'finely woven' we have here, as often, the metaphorical sense of 'refined,' '*accurate*,' the word being nearly synonymous with *eleganter*, cf. Or. ii 7, 28 'cui...etiam Graeci ipsi solent suae linguae subtilitatem elegantiamque concedere.' See also Wilkins on Or. i 5, 17.

igitur animus se moueri; quod cum sentit, illud una sentit, se ui sua, non aliena moueri, nec accidere posse, ut ipse umquam a se deseratur. ex quo efficitur aeternitas, nisi quid habes ad haec.

A. Ego uero facile sum passus ne in mentem quidem mihi aliquid contra uenire; ita isti faueo sententiae.

XXIV. **56.** *M*. Quid? illa tandem num leuiora censes, quae declarant inesse in animis hominum diuina quaedam? quae si cernerem quem ad modum nasci possent, etiam quem ad modum interirent uiderem. nam sanguinem, bilem, pituitam, ossa, neruos, uenas, omnem denique membrorum et totius corporis figuram uideor posse dicere, unde concreta et quo modo facta sint: animum ipsum —, si nihil esset in eo nisi id, ut per

26. illum (*ante* una) R 1 2 G B 2 P 4 E 13. illu (ū *corr.* ꝯ) K *h.e.* illū *in* illud *alio atram. mut.* illum (d *supra*) V B. illū (d *supra*) P E. illū R 10. illud *plerique.* 27. umquam R V G B C. 29. sim (*ante* passus) R 1 2 V G B 1 3 K M 1 2 D C Π O 1–5 12. faciles impassus B 2; *idem habet* E *at fuerat* inpassus. sum W 1 2 R 6 G 2–4 E 4 O 6–9 11. sym (v *supra*) S (*sic*). sim (u *supra*) O 10.
XXIV. § **56**, 7. animum ipsum R V B 1 2 P S W 2 D *plerique.* per animum ipsum M 1 2 R 6 O 5 6. aīum ipm (p *supra*) B 3. animum autem ipsum W 1. ‖ esse et R P E G 3. esse ꝛ V (*at* ꝛ *in litura*). esse et G. ēēꝛ K. e*ſſ*et S *at duae litt. ſſ trium litt. spatium inplent.* esset et Π B 2. est et G 2 P 4. esset D B 3 O 3.

efficitur aeternitas = *ut animus aeternus sit*, or *animum aeternum esse*, cf. 8, 16 n.

nisi quid habes ad haec: for the compression cf. Fin. i 8, 28 'ad haec...habeo quae uelim,' where Madv. compares *paucis te uolo* and similar expressions. Cf. also ii 18, 42 'nisi quid uis ad haec.'

sum passus: the best MSS have *sim passus*. The indic. seems better than the diffident use of the subj. (for which cf. *concesserim*, often), in view of the emphatic tone of the statement *ne in mentem quidem mihi aliquid contra uenire*. *sim* and *sum* are often confused even in the best MSS. Editors since Or. generally read *sum passus*. Küh., in his *Gram.* II 132 *end*, recognises *sim passus*. Earlier A. said that the doctrine tended to slip from him, 11, 24. He may be more dogmatic here because in §§ 26—81 the doctrine that the soul is immortal is assumed as the basis of the discussion: in § 24 this assumption was not made. [Yet there is much to be said for *sim*: it might mark not diffidence but hypothesis = *si id possit fieri*.]

XXIV. § **56**. **quid? illa tandem**: for the line of thought contained in this chapter see Excursus II.

quae si cernerem: *quae* = these divine elements in the *animus*; for the *animus* has other elements, which are also present in the lower animals and in plants.

nam sanguinem: the subj. of the subord. clause is attracted as obj. into the principal clause. Cf. ad Fam. viii 10, 3 'nosti Marcellum quam tardus et parum efficax sit.' Davies on N.D. i 26, 73 cites many similar instances, but the reading of the MSS there as given by Mayor (*nunc istuc quasi corpus et quasi sanguinem quid intellegis?*) is not an instance of this construction.

figuram: the word here seems transferred from the external shape to that which the shape encloses; 'bodily frame,' cf. *regio* (lit. 'a line'), *fines*, etc.

concreta: 18, 42 n.

Things wh. are *concreta* and *facta* are capable of *diuisio* and *dissolutio*: but the soul is *simplex*. Cf. Plato, Phaedo 78 c Αρ' οὖν τῷ μὲν ξυντεθέντι τε καὶ ξυνθέτῳ ὄντι φύσει προσήκει τοῦτο πάσχειν, διαιρεθῆναι ταύτῃ ᾗπερ ξυνετέθη· εἰ δέ τι τυγχάνει ὂν ἀξύνθετον τούτῳ μόνῳ προσήκει μὴ πάσχειν ταῦτα εἴπερ τῳ ἄλλῳ;

For the line of thought cf. Cato M. 21, 78 'cum simplex animi natura esset neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum

eum uiueremus, tam natura putarem hominis uitam sustentari quam uitis, quam arboris; haec enim etiam dicimus uiuere. item si nihil haberet animus hominis, nisi ut adpeteret aut fugeret, id quoque esset ei commune cum bestiis. **57.** habet primum memoriam, et eam infinitam rerum innumerabilium, quam quidem Plato recordationem esse uolt uitae superioris. nam in illo libro, qui inscribitur Μένων, pusionem quendam

8. tam naturam R G 1 3 B 1 2 E P 4. tā naturā K. tam natura V P S R 6 B 3 L 6 J O 1–12. 11. fugeret R V G B 1–3 P E W 1 2 M 1 2 *plerique*. refugeret R 6.

§ 57, 11. habet *post* bestiis R V G 1–3 B 1–3 K P S W 1 2 M 1 2 D XII Oxx. 14. menon R G B P S. me non V B 2. meñ E. phedeon W 1. nωρρινμ M 1.

dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum diuidi, quod si non posset, non posse interire'; Plato, Phaedo 78 c.

animum ipsum: Küh. is undoubtedly right in regarding this acc. as conformed to the preceding acc., *sanguinem*..., by a sort of attraction. He compares (as does Dav.) ii 16, 37 'militiam uero...' and Odyss. i 275 'μητέρα δ'...' the acc. being due to the preceding 'μνηστῆρας μὲν....'

tam natura...quam: Küh. and Hei. say that *tam...quam* are here restrictive (as *tantum* so often is with *quantum*); but I do not know instances of this use, nor is it wanted here; the restriction is in the word *natura*. 'If the soul itself contained nothing beyond the source of our life I should consider the life of man to be supported as completely by a principle of growth as is the life of a vine or of a tree,' i.e. I should consider it to be merely φύσις and not ψυχή.

natura, 'a principle of growth,' Gk φύσις. Cf. *nasci*, Verr. ii 3, 63, 147 'ut frumenta nata sunt ita decumae ueneunt'; Livy xxiii 19, 11 'obnata ripis salicta,' and *ibid.* § 14 'nascantur'; Virg. Ecl. iii 92 'humi nascentia fraga'; Lewis and Short s.v. *enascor*.

quam arboris: in early law at least the vine was a species of which *arbos* was the genus, cf. Gaius iv 11. Here translate 'the vine or any tree.'

haec enim: ταῦτα γάρ...; the neuter because not these alone but other similar things are referred to, cf. ii 26, 62 n. 'qui haec olim...colligebant.'

uiuere: cf. Fin. v 14, 39 'et uiuere uitem et mori dicimus, arboremque et nouellam et uetulam et uigere et senescere.'

ut adpeteret aut fugeret: cf. N.D. ii 12, 34 'bestiis autem sensum et motum dedit et cum quodam appetitu accessum ad res salutares, a pestiferis recessum; hoc homini amplius, quod addidit rationem, qua regerentur animi appetitus, qui tum remitterentur, tum continerentur. [Cic. is thinking of ὁρμή and ἀφορμή, primarily Stoic phrases.]

§ **57. habet primum**: Sff. inserts ex cod. Aug. *sed* before *habet*, but Küh. (as editors generally) rightly follows the rest of the MSS, observing that the antithesis lies in the linking of the two clauses, since *si nihil haberet animus hominis nisi*...implies that man has other faculties which are not possessed by the lower animals.

primum: no *deinde* clause follows; owing to the length of the passage which deals with *memoria* the construction is changed, and the argument carried on in an independent sentence in 25, 61 'quid? illa uis quae tandem est...' cf. 13, 30.

memoriam...quam quidem Plato: here Cic. takes *memoriam* in the sense of ἀνάμνησις, the recollection of things seen in a pre-natal state of existence; in § 59 *ego etiam maiorem...memoriam* he uses *memoriam* in the sense of μνήμη. And as he introduces *memoriam* by *primum*, indicating that other marvellous powers are to be coupled with it (as they are in 25, 61), and only brings in ἀνάμνησις as a subdivision of μνήμη, it is clear that, although he states Plato's view fairly correctly, he does not clearly realise the point of it, but merely regards it as an instance of the marvellous powers which man's mind possesses. For the argument from ἀνάμνησις cf. Plato, Phaedo, 73 a foll.

uolt: cf. 18, 42 n.

inscribitur: for the tense see 18, 42, note on *uolt*.

Μένων: cf. Plato, Meno p. 82 foll. The best MSS here read *Menon*; Mo. reads *Meno* noting that Priscian vi 6 § 29

Socrates interrogat quaedam geometrica de dimensione quadrati. ad ea sic ille respondet, ut puer, et tamen ita faciles interrogationes sunt, ut gradatim respondens eodem perueniat, quo si geometrica didicisset. ex quo effici uolt Socrates, ut discere nihil aliud sit nisi recordari. quem locum multo etiam accuratius explicat in eo sermone, quem habuit eo ipso die, quo excessit e uita. docet enim quemuis, qui omnium rerum rudis esse uideatur, bene interroganti respondentem declarare se non tum illa discere, sed reminiscendo recognoscere, nec uero fieri ullo modo posse, ut a pueris tot rerum atque tantarum insitas et

17. quo si R W 1 B 2 E 8. quasi V *i. e.* o *obscurius in* a *mut.* quosi *in* quasi *alio atram. mut.* K. qua (si superscr.) P *alio atram. superscr. et* o *in* a *mut.* q̃ si G 3 (*plane*) ed. H. q̃i W 2 P 4 E 2 L 6 O 5 7 8 12. quasi B 1 3 S E 1 R 2 6 7 10 17 G 2–4 M 1 2 D C Π J O 2–4 6 9–11. *omittit* O 1. [quo si *non habent* G 2 3 IV Oxx *ut adfirmat Or.*] 22. respondem R G. responden (tē superscr.) K *alio atram.* n *inculcato et* tē *superscripto.* respondens D R 10. respondens (tem superscr.) P *alio atram. superscr.* respondentem V B E. 23. recognoscere R 1 4 6 10 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E 1 5 13 W 1 2 M 1 D C Π J O 1–4 8–12. cognoscere M 2 O 5–7 L 6.

says that Cic. wrote *Meno* not *Menon.* But he thinks that Cic. may have here written Μένων in Greek letters.

et tamen ita faciles...eodem perueniat: Cicero has expressed his meaning very loosely, so that his words taken strictly do not represent the boy to have answered the questions by an exercise of ἀνάμνησις, but merely by reason of their easiness. Strictly he should have written *et tamen—faciles enim interrogationes sunt—...eodem peruenit.*

quo si: *quasi* besides having inferior MS support gives a doubtful Latin construction.

effici...ut: 8, 16 n.

locum, 'topic,' cf. 45, 108; Or. i 13, 56 and often.

in eo sermone quem habuit...sc. the Phaedo p. 73.

reminiscendo recognoscere, '*take knowledge of them afresh* by a process of reminiscence.' This, the primary meaning of the word, is found in Verr. ii 1, 5, 15 'neque enim mihi uidetur haec multitudo, quae ad audiendum conuenit, cognoscere ex me causam uoluisse, *sed ea quae scit mecum recognoscere*; Cat. i 3, 6 'teneris undique, luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia quae iam mecum licet recognoscas'; and *ibid.* § 8 'recognosce... noctem illam superiorem.'

tot rerum atque tantarum insitas et quasi consignatas in animis notiones, quas *ἐννοίας* **uocant**: Cicero here mixes up the Platonic doctrine of ideas with the Stoic doctrine of *κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι.*

With the Stoics sensation is the only source of all our perceptions, cf. Plut. de Plac. Phil. iv 11 quoted in Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 76 (c. 5) '*οἱ Στωικοί φασιν· ὅταν γεννηθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ὥσπερ χάρτης, ἐνεργῶν εἰς ἀπογραφήν. εἰς τοῦτο μίαν ἑκάστην τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἐναπογράφεται· πρῶτος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς τρόπος ὁ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων.*' Perception gives rise to memory, *μνήμη*, repeated acts of memory to experience. *Κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι* are primary conceptions which, from the nature of thought, can be equally formed by all men out of experience. Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 80. These were not innate ideas: when Chrysippus speaks of *ἔμφυτοι προλήψεις* of good and evil he only means that the *capacity* to attain to these *προλήψεις* is implanted by the deity. See Zeller p. 80 and Fin. iii 10, 33 quoted there.

Madvig on Fin. v 21, 59 thinks that Cic. is following Antiochus and that Antiochus mixed the Stoic doctrine above referred to with the Platonic doctrine of ideas and ἀνάμνησις; but against this view see Reid on Ac. ii 10, 30, whose note also bears on the whole of the present passage.

insitas = *ἐμφύτους* in the sense just explained above.

quasi consignatas in animis notiones, quas *ἐννοίας* uocant, haberemus, nisi animus, ante quam in corpus intrauisset, in rerum cognitione uiguisset. **58.** cumque nihil esset, ut omnibus locis a Platone disseritur — nihil enim ille putat esse, quod oriatur et intereat, idque solum esse, quod semper tale sit, quale est; *ἰδέαν* appellat ille, nos speciem, — non potuit animus haec in corpore inclusus adgnoscere, cognita attulit; ex quo tam

§ **58**, 28. ille putat esse V B 1–3 P 1 3 E S W 2 M 1 G 3 4 Π J O 2 5 6 8 10 11. putat esse (*omisso* ille) R G W 1 O 3 4 7. putat ille esse M 2 O 12. esse putat O 1. ipse putat esse O 9. 29. esset (*post* solum) R V G B 1 2 P E. 30. ЄΙΔΕΑΝ (*post* quale) R 1 2 G K S. eΙΔeaN V. ϵιdean B E. eΙΔeaN E 1 3. eydeaN G 3. ydeam J. idean E 2 3. ideam D Π O 3 4 8. *omittunt, spatio relicto*, G 4 B 2 O 1 2 6 10. qualeeΙΔΕΑΗ P (*sic*). qualem *ειδειαμ* W 1. qualem ydeam E 5. qualem[ydea] M 1 *spatio relicto et uerbo postea superscr.* 31. a gnoscere V *litt. erasa.* adnoscere (g superscr.) G *eod. atram. superscr.* adcognoscere G 3.

quasi consignatas: *quasi* marks a translation, = *ἐναπεσφραγισμένας*, cf. Diog. L. vii 45 (Zeno said) '*τὴν δὲ φαντασίαν εἶναι* **τύπωσιν ἐν ψυχῇ**, *τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκείως μετενηνεγμένου ἀπὸ τῶν τύπων τῶν* **ἐν τῷ κηρῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ δακτυλίου** *γινομένων*,' and he proceeds to define the *καταληπτικὴ φαντασία*, using the word *ἐναπεσφραγισμένην* in doing so.

ἐννοίας uocant: this term belonged to the Stoics, not to the Platonists.

§ **58. cumque nihil esset**: *esset* in sense of 'exists,' repeated and explained in *nihil enim putat esse*. Cf. 6, 12. *nihil* also is explained by the parenthetic clause. It means nothing which in the ordinary use of the term is regarded as *aliquid*; i.e. *nihil αἰσθητόν*. Nothing phenomenal exists, existence belongs to the *ἰδέαι* alone.

esset: Küh. says 'imperfectum *esset* sic explicari potest: quamdiu animus in corpore erat, nihil percipiebat quod uere esset,' but the context deals with the time before the soul was in the body and during which the soul is in the body, not with the time *after* it quits the body. The explanation of Küh. therefore cannot be right.

esset follows upon *potuit*, by rule of sequence of tenses. Cic. might have written *potest* but the reflection would only arise at a time when the *animus* has already displayed acquaintance with the *ἰδέαι*.

quod oriatur et intereat: Dav. compares Timaeus p. 526 '*Τί τὸ ὂν μὲν ἀεί, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον; καὶ τί τὸ γιγνόμενον μέν, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε; τὸ μὲν δὴ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περίληπτον ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὄν· τὸ δὲ δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου δοξαστόν, γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν.*'

quod semper tale sit quale est: cf. Ac. i 8, 30 'quia sola (mens) cerneret id quod semper esset simplex et unius modi et tale quale esset,' and Reid's note there and illustrations from Plato, from whom these expressions are copied.

quale est; ἰδέαν: the best MSS quale ЄΙΔΕΑΝ or eΙΔeaN. The reading in the text was discovered in this by the acuteness of Sff. who saw that the initial *e* was due to an abbreviation *ē* (as often) for *est*. Note also the form of the initial *e*, especially in P and V and its position in P. *qualem* in W 1 M 1 E 5 probably arose from *qualē* and this from *quale ē*. Cf. 31, 75 n. *emori*.

haec: the ideas; plur. in view of the fact that the ideas are many; neut. because the Latin antecedent is neut., *id...quod semper tale sit quale est*.

adgnoscere: Küh. says 'h.l. Platonica sententia accipiendum est. *agnoscere* proprie dicimur res, quarum cognitionem uel notionem ante perceptam habemus; *cognoscere* omnino res, in quarum notitiam primum uenimus.' But *adgnoscere* in the sense given to it by Küh. is precisely what the soul can do and does while *in corpore inclusus*. The *animus* of the *pusio* was *in corpore inclusus* when he recognised (*adgnouit* in Kühner's sense) i.e. renewed his acquaintance with the geometrical ideas, as described in the Meno. What Cic. denies is that the soul could make its *first* acquaintance with these realities while confined within the body. In view of the consensus of

multarum rerum cognitionis admiratio tollitur. neque ea plane uidet animus, cum repente in tam insolitum tamque perturbatum domicilium inmigrauit, sed, cum se collegit atque recreauit, tum adgnoscit illa reminiscendo. ita nihil est aliud discere nisi recordari. **59.** ego autem maiore etiam quodam modo memoriam admiror. quid est enim illud, quo meminimus, aut quam habet uim aut unde naturam? non quaero, quanta

34. collegit S D C B 3 O 1 5–8 10 12. *omittit* O 11. colligit R 1 2 10 G 1 3 B 1 2 E J O 3 4 9. co(l)ligit V. 35. adgnoscit K. ad(g)noscit R. ·agnoscit V (*hoc loco sine litura*) B 1–3 S. || illa R V B 1–3 K S E W 2 M 1 2 G 3 C Π J *plerique*. ea W 1 R 6 G 4 O 11. || est aliud R V G B 1–3 K P S D *plerique*. aliud est W 2 R 6 J O 9. aliud (est *omisso*) G 3.

§ 59, 37. quod R 1 2 10 V G 1–3 B 1–3 P 1 4 S E W 1 2 M 2 L 6 C J O 2–7 9 11 12. qđ K. quo M 1 R 6 Π O 1 8 10. 38. naturam R 1 2 6 10 V G B 1 2 K P 1 4 S E 1 5 W 1 M 2 D C J O 1–3 4 6 9 10 ed. H. nãm W 2 M 1 G 4 B 3 L 6 O 5 7 8 11. nat'am E 13. n̄ G 3. nat(ur)ā Π *fortasse alio atram*. natum *non inueni; non est in IV Oxx. ut adfirmat Küh.*

MSS one can scarcely change *adgnoscere* to *cognoscere*. If interpolation were more common in the best MSS one might suspect that the true *cognoscere* had been early altered to *adgnoscere* owing to *adgnoscit* (correctly used) three lines lower down. Reading *adgnoscere* it must be taken as in N.D. i 19, 49 'haec et inuenta sunt acutius et dicta subtilius ab Epicuro, quam ut quiuis ea posset adgnoscere,' where Mayor translates 'to feel their force.'

ex quo tollitur: because the ideas are few as compared with the phenomena of sense.

neque: v 5, 12 'non dubito nec id nunc agitur.' We should say 'and yet... not' but in Lat. the antithesis is left unexpressed; cf. 29, 71 n. on *adhibuitque*.

plane uidet: inserted to meet a possible objection that, if Plato's theory were correct, the soul ought to have all the clearer recollection the shorter the time in which it is enclosed within the body. Cf. Timaeus p. 44. Hei.

adgnoscit: here in the usual sense of the word as explained by Küh. above, cf. 8, 15 'iam adgnosco Graecum,' and often.

§ 59. **ego autem maiore etiam**: having dealt with *ἀνάμνησις* as if it were a department of *memoria* = *μνήμη* Cic. now proceeds to deal with *μνήμη* in the strict sense of the term and introduces it as something more wonderful than *ἀνάμνησις*, thus shewing that he fails to grasp the meaning of Plato's argument from *ἀνάμνησις*. [There is some reason to suspect *maiore etiam quodam modo*. You can say *tali quodam modo*, or *alio q.m.*, because *tali modo* and *alio m.* can stand. But *maiore modo* for *maiorem in modum* is not possible.]

quo meminimus: a necessary corr. for *quod* of the best MSS, cf. 34, 82 and 34, 83 n.

naturam: I retain *naturam* with the MSS, but strongly suspect that *natam* is the true reading and that the word was early mistaken for an abbreviation of *naturam*. When linked together *natura* 'essence' and *uis* 'inherent character' are almost synonyms; and though they may very well be linked together by *atque* (as in 23, 54) they can scarcely be distinguished by *aut*. Cf. Bent. *apud* Dav. In *aut unde natam* the suggestion would be that the soul came from a divine source and so was immortal (on the principle illustrated from Lactantius iii 18 in Exc. II). The same meaning might be obtained from *aut unde naturam*, but not so naturally expressed and not so much in harmony with Stoic or Platonic theory. [The point about *aut* is not quite conclusive. Idioms occur with *aut* where we should naturally expect *et*; e.g. (to take the first example to hand) Plaut. Pseud. 963 'quis hic homo chlamudatus est? aut undest?' where the idea is 'I might ask the one question or the other'; so here 'I might put it this way or that.']

memoria Simonides fuisse dicatur, quanta Theodectes, quanta is, qui a Pyrrho legatus ad senatum est missus, Cineas, quanta nuper Charmadas, quanta, qui modo fuit, Scepsius Metrodorus, quanta noster Hortensius; de communi omnium memoria loquor, et eorum maxime, qui in aliquo maiore studio et arte uersantur; quorum quanta mens sit, difficile est existimare; ita multa meminerunt. //

XXV. **60.** Quorsus igitur haec spectat oratio? quae sit illa uis et unde sit, intellegendum puto. non est certe nec cordis nec sanguinis nec cerebri nec atomorum; animae sit ignisne, nescio, nec me pudet, ut istos, fateri nescire, quod

39. CIMΩNIΔHC V G B. CIMΩNI ΔEC R. CIMΩNIΔEC K. 40. ceineas R V G B E. CEINNEas S *marg.* cyneas. cyneas W 1 2 M 2. cemeas B 2. 42. omnium memoria R 1 9 10 G K E O 1 2 7–9 11 12 ed. H. hominum memoria R 6 O 3–6 10.

XXV. § **60**, 1. quorsus R 1 2 10 V G B 1–3 K P 1 4 E W 2 M 2 C O 1 5 7–9 11 12. quorsū̧ S *h.e.* us *in* um *alio atram. mut.* quorsum W 1 M 1 R 6 O 2–4 6 10. 2. intellegendum R V G B. intelleg(e)undū K *alio atram.* e *superscr. et puncto supposito.* 4. ignisue R 1 2 4 6 10 V Ġ 1 4 Gr B 1–3 K P 1 4 S E W 1 2 M 1 2 L 6 D Π J O 1 3–6 10 12. ignisv(ve)e O 8 (*sic*). ignis nescio O 2. ignisne C V 13 G 2 3 O 7. ignisnec O 11. ignisnecne O 9.

Simonides: of Ceos, the celebrated lyric poet, said to have first taught a system of mnemonics, cf. Or. ii 86, 352–3, Quint. Inst. Orat. xi 2 *init.* See also Reid on Ac. ii 1, 2.

Theodectes of Phaselis taught and wrote upon rhetoric and wrote tragedies, in the time of Philip of Macedon. For his powers of memory cf. Quint. xi 2 *fin.* 'quin semel auditos quamuis multos uersus protinus dicitur reddidisse Theodectes.'

Cineas: cf. Seneca Controu. i prooem. 'Cineas...missus a Pyrrho legatus ad Romanos (after Heraclea 280 B.C.), postero die nouus homo et senatum et omnem urbanam circumfusam plebem nominibus suis persalutauit.' Also Pliny H.N. vii 24, 88.

Charmadas: an Academic philosopher, pupil of Carneades; flourished at Athens about 110 B.C.

Metrodorus of Scepsis, a younger contemporary of Charmadas, along with whom he is frequently mentioned, e.g. Or. 11, 45 (as a fellow-pupil under Carneades); Or. ii 88, 360 (summos homines et diuina prope memoria).

Scepsius: to distinguish him from Metrodorus of Lampsacus, the most distinguished pupil of Epicurus, for whom cf. ii 3, 8.

noster, 'our countryman.'

Hortensius: the rival of Cicero at the bar. For his memory cf. Or. iii. 61, 229 (Wilkins' note); Brutus 88, 301; Ac. ii 1, 2; Sen. Controu. i prooem. 19 Quint. xi 2.

existimare: in the primary sense 'to decide,' lit. 'to appraise'; *ex-* intensive, and *aestimo.*

XXV. § **60**. **quorsus**: Cic. prefers *quorsus*, but also writes *quorsum*. Similarly *rursus* and *rursum*. Cf. Cato M. 12, 42 'quorsus haec,' but Lael. 12, 42 'quorsum.'

haec: see Madv. on Fin. i 6, 19.

intellegendum puto: i.e. from what has already been stated.

animae: the MSS have *anima sit ignisue*; Bentley corrected to *animae*. For *animae* cf. 10, 19 n. 'animum autem alii animam.'

ignisne: I think Sff. is right in reading *-ne* for *-ue*, followed by Hei. and TS. *animae sit ignisue nescio*, read by Küh., seems hardly possible Latin. Bentley's *an animae sit ignisue nescio* is more likely, but it is not so close to the MSS as Sff.'s reading. Bent., of course, does not use *an...ue* as = *utrum...an* (as I suspect that Sff. takes him to do when he pronounces his proposed reading *uitiosissimam*), but he means 'as to whether it is either air or fire, I cannot say'; Bentley himself says 'nostra (lectio significabit) *Vnumne ex duobus sit.*' The meaning

nesciam: illud, si ulla alia de re obscura adfirmare possem, siue anima siue ignis sit animus, eum iurarem esse diuinum. quid enim? obsecro te, terrane tibi hoc nebuloso et caliginoso caelo aut sata aut concreta uidetur tanta uis memoriae? si, quid sit hoc, non uides, at, quale sit, uides; si ne id quidem, at,

7. hoc (*post* tibi) R V G Gr B K E C *plerique*. deest ẽ hoc V (*sic*). hoc S *marg.* tibi uel hoc. et hoc M 1 V 2 B 3 L 6 O 5 6 10. ex hoc O 3 4. *omittit* W 1. uel ne hoc tibi II.

wanted however is that of Sff., i.e. 'which of the two it is I do not know,' for he goes on to say lower down 'but whether it is air or whether it is fire I would swear that it is divine.'

ut istos: i.e. all those who, like the Stoics, held positive doctrines about the composition of the soul.

nec me pudet...fateri nescire: for the omission of *me* before *nescire* cf. Madv. § 401; Roby § 1346. A personal pronoun as subject acc. is sometimes omitted before an infin., if unemphatic, especially when it has been expressed with the verb upon which the infin. depends, and that verb is a verb of saying or thinking. Cf. Or. iii 46, 147 'uel me licet existimes desperare ista posse perdiscere'; N.D. i 39, 109 'puderet me dicere non intellegere.'

quod nesciam, 'anything that I do not know'; for the subj. see Madv. § 364 obs. 1; cf. Ac. ii 25, 81 'at ille nescio qui, qui in scholis nominari solet, mille et octoginta stadia quod abesset uidebat,' where Reid notes 'subjunctive due to the class-notion.'

illud does not go with *adfirmare* but, somewhat loosely, with *iurarem*. The word is required for emphasis.

adfirmare, 'to make a positive assertion'; this Cic., as a follower of the New Academy, could not do, cf. Ac. ii 3, 8 'nos (Academici) probabilia multa habemus, quae sequi facile, adfirmare uix possumus.' See also T.D. ii 2, 5. *possem* of the MSS is therefore right.

siue ignis sit: for the tense, for which, coming as it does between *possem* and *iurarem* and being subordinate to *iurarem*, we might have expected the imperfect by attraction, cf. Fin. i 7, 25 'nam si *concederetur*, etiam si ad corpus nihil *referatur*, ista sua sponte et per se esse iucunda, per se *esset* et uirtus et cognitio rerum, quod minime ille uolt, expetenda,' where see Madv. who adds 'Videtur ipsam rem controuersam uniuersius eloqui uelle.' Cf. also Diu. ii 59, 122 'atqui, ne si nauigare quidem uelim, ita gubernarem, ut somniauerim.' See also Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* I[1] § 151 h, *ad finem*. Except in the case of indirect questions dependent upon a non-fulfilled protasis or apodosis, the principle (of attraction) is subject to numerous exceptions. Sff. re-wrote this passage as follows: 'illud, si ulla alia de re obscura, adfirmare *possum*, siue anima siue ignis sit animus, *eam* iurare me esse diuinam.' But *possum adfirmare iurare me* is a strange mode of expression, and no correction is necessary. Cic. has been speaking of *memoria*, it is true, but *animus* includes *memoria*, and he therefore makes his assertion with regard to *animus*. Moreover the argument along here is that the *animus*, since it contains such marvellous faculties, memory *and others* (cf. § 61 note on 'quid illa uis'), must be immortal.

quid enim introduces, as often, a *reductio ad absurdum*. So *quid igitur* (§ 61) and *quid ergo*, often. The expression is equivalent to *neque enim terra...concreta tibi uidebitur tanta uis memoriae*. Küh.

terrane tibi hoc: Or. with *vulg.* read *tibi aut hoc*, which seems to have no MS authority. The insertion of *aut* arose from a desire to find a separate mention of the fourth element, *aqua*. But Cic. in this sentence *summarily* rejects the two elements *of downward tendency* (cf. § 42), and the *dense lower air* as well, leaving only pure *anima* and *ignis* as the possible components of the soul. [Probably *e terrane* should be read here. Cf. *ex hacine terrena natura concreta* and § 66.]

terra)(*diuino quodam principio*.

hoc nebuloso et caliginoso caelo, 'with this watery and misty atmosphere.' The constr. is abl. abs. giving the attendant circumstances (comitative use of abl.), cf. 5, 10 n. on 'maxima corona'; Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* I[2] § 225, 2; Küh. on iii 16, 34 'aduersis casibus.'

caelo: for this meaning cf. 19, 44 n. on 'caelum hoc.'

si quid sit hoc non uides..., 'if you

quantum sit, profecto uides. **61.** quid igitur? utrum capacitatem aliquam in animo putamus esse, quo tamquam in aliquod uas ea, quae meminimus, infundantur? absurdum id quidem. qui enim fundus aut quae talis animi figura intellegi potest aut quae tanta omnino capacitas? an inprimi quasi ceram animum putamus, et esse memoriam signatarum rerum in mente uestigia? quae possunt uerborum, quae rerum ipsarum esse uestigia, quae porro tam inmensa magnitudo, quae illa tam multa possit effingere?

Quid? illa uis quae tandem est, quae inuestigat occulta, quae inuentio atque excogitatio dicitur? **62.** ex hacine tibi terrena mortalique natura et caduca concreta ea uidetur, aut qui primus, quod summae sapientiae Pythagorae uisum est, omnibus rebus

§ **61,** 13. intellegi V B. intelligi R G E. 14. inprimi R V G B 1 2 E. imprimi (m *ex* n *mut.*) P. 15. esse memoriam R V G B 1–3 P S *plerique.* memoriam esse O 11.

§ **62,** 21. qui (*post* aut) R V G B 1 2 K E W 1 2 P 2 Π J O 2–4 7–9 11 12. quis S *marg.* qui. qui *ex* quis *mut.* O 10. *omittit* P, *alio atram.* quis *superscr. habet* P. quis M 1 2 B 3 P 4 O 5 6. quid R 10 O 1.

don't see this argument you see the nature of it; if you don't even see that, you surely see its importance at all events.'

§ **61. capacitatem,** 'roomy space.'

inprimi animum: 'construitur hoc loco inprimi ut saepius inscribi u. c. in Verr. ii 2, 69, 167 "statuas, quas tu inscribi iussisti." sed ipsum nostrum uerbum semel ita positum reperitur Fam. v 20, 5 "quae cum uiderem tot uestigiis inpressa."' Mo. Phil. ii 24, 58 'horum flagitiorum uestigiis municipia...inpressit.' Küh. The more usual constr. is *in animo inprimere*; *animo* (dative) *inprimere* also occurs.

inprimi quasi ceram: 24, 57 n. on 'quasi consignatas.'

magnitudo = *capacitas.*

effingere = *efficta continere*, Ochsner. Cf. Diu. ii 45, 94 'quis enim non uidet et formas et mores et plerosque status ac motus effingere a parentibus liberos?' It is more graphic to make the tablet present the objects in relief than to speak of them as presented in relief upon the tablet. Küh.

quid? illa uis: see 24, 57 n. on 'primum.' Cic. now takes up in succession other members of the series of wonderful powers of the mind.

quae inuestigat occulta, quae inuentio...dicitur: Küh. gives instances of *qui...qui* instead of *qui...quique*, ii 3, 7 'quorum...quos'; Cato M. 17, 59 'in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur'; Off. ii 23, 82 'eos quos...quorum'; and others. In such cases one of the two rel. clauses is usually parenthetic or explanatory or otherwise less important.

§ **62. natura,** 'substance,' i.e. element, cf. 27, 66 'his enim in naturis nihil inest.' See also 19, 43 'naturamque sui similem.'

[Madv. on Fin. i § 34 rightly (I think) treated *hacne* for *hacine* as un-Ciceronian.]

aut qui primus: '*aut*...caue neglegas.... nam singularis quidam usus est particularum aut et uel (ut uoculae ἤ). requirunt enim interdum ut quod proxime antecesserit reuocetur (cf. 23, 54 uel),' Rath (quoted in Mo.). The expression is compressed; to the clauses *aut qui... aut qui...aut qui...aut qui...notauit* we carry on *ex hacine tibi terrena mortalique natura et caduca concreta eorum uis* (the *uis* in question being *uis animi*) *uidetur?*

quod summae sapientiae Pythagorae uisum est: for the authorities for this statement see Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 506 n. [Heraeus in *Archiv f. Lat. Lexicographie* VI p. 274.]

omnibus rebus inposuit nomina: with this is connected the discussion as to whether the connection between *nomina* and *res* is based upon an inherent fitness of the name to represent the thing (φύσει) or upon arbitrary convention (θέσει). The

inposuit nomina, aut qui dissipatos homines congregauit et ad societatem uitae conuocauit, aut qui sonos uocis, qui infiniti uidebantur, paucis litterarum notis terminauit, aut qui errantium stellarum cursus, praegressiones, institiones notauit? omnes magni, etiam superiores, qui fruges, qui uestitum, qui tecta, qui cultum uitae, qui praesidia contra feras inuenerunt, a quibus mansuefacti et exculti a necessariis artificiis ad elegantiora defluximus. nam et auribus oblectatio magna parta est inuenta et temperata uarietate et natura sonorum, et astra suspeximus cum ea, quae sunt infixa certis locis, tum illa non re, sed

26. praegressiones R 1 2 10 V G B 1 2 E 1 1 3 W 2 P 4. p̄gressiones K. p̄ *in* ꝑ *alio atram. mut.* P. progressiones S W 1 M 1 2 R 6 9 17 V 4 8 12 G 2–4 B 3 P 2 E 2 3 5 L 6 D C Π J O 1–12. || institutiones R 1 2 6 10 V 1 4 8 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P 1 2 S E 1–3 5 W 1 2 M 1 2 L 6 D C Π J O 1–12 ed. H. ed. P. -que *addunt* W 1 M 2 R 6 G 2 4 E 3 O 3 4 6 9 10 ed. P. institiones *non inueni. non est in 'G II' aut in 'aliquot Oxx.' ut putat Küh.* 32. cum ea O 8. cum ea V *at* c *in litura.* tum ea O 3 *at infra* cum illa. tum ea R G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D Π J O 1–7 9–12. tamen ea G 4.

Pythagorean P. Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Cic., maintained the former view, acc. to Aulus Gellius, N. A. 4. Simplicius makes the same assertion about the Pythagoreans, but see Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* as above. Plato in the Cratylus makes Soc. maintain the same view; see Grote's Plato II c. 29, pp. 540 sqq.; for Aristotle cf. De Interpret. 2; for the Stoic view cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, c. v, p. 73 n. 4; for the Epicureans *ib.* c. xvi, p. 404 n. 1, and see Sext. Emp. adu. Math. viii 11—13 for the attitude of the Stoics and Epicureans. Cf. also the Realism, Conceptualism and Nominalism of modern writers upon Mental Philosophy; Grote's Plato II c. xxix p. 502; and Lucr. v 1028 sqq.; and for *qui primus...rebus inposuit nomina* see *ib.* ii 1041 sqq. The true theory seems to be that names often have a remarkable fitness for expressing the meaning attached to them because, owing to a process of natural selection, the most suitable and expressive have survived.

dissipatos homines: for this theory cf. v 2, 5 and see Wilkins on Or. i 8, 33 'quae uis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare aut a fera agrestique uita ad hunc humanum cultum ciuilemque deducere?'

notis, 'symbols.'

praegressiones, 'their passings one of another,' cf. 'tum antecedunt'...and 'quarum ex disparibus motionibus' N.D. ii 20, 51, where see Mayor's notes for this and for *institiones*, and his quotations from Herschel, *Astron.* c. ix § 457 foll.

institiones: all MSS seem to have *institutiones*: *institiones* (Manutius' correction) occurs only here, but cf. N.D. ii 20, 51 'tum omnino ne mouentur quidem, sed ad quoddam tempus *insistunt*.' Also N.D. ii 40, 103. [*institiones* is remarkable; no MS vouches for it; no other author uses it nor does any similar noun go with any other compound of *sisto*; we have no *restitio* nor *perstitio* nor *constitio*. Perhaps *inter se motiones* may be the right correction, cf. N.D. ii § 51.]

omnes magni: Schiche punctuates thus *notauit omnes? Magni etiam....* But I have marked no reading *omnis* here, and if the word were an accus., some of the best MSS would present that form.

etiam superiores: i.e. men earlier still....

defluximus, 'we have gradually passed on to': the word is more often used of 'drifting' from the better to the worse, but the meaning which it bears here is the only meaning inherent in it.

inuenta refers to **natura** and **temperata** to **uarietate**. For the chiasmus, cf. 3, 5 n.; for the non-distribution of predicative or qualifying words—common in Latin—cf. 1, 2 n.; 34, 84.

Küh. *Gr.* II 655 thinks this an instance of hendiadys, taking *natura et uarietas* to be used because the adj. *naturalis* is not used metaphorically. Hand, *Turs.* I 364 takes the same view.

non re sed uocabulo errantia: cf. N.D. ii 20, 51 'nihil enim errat quod...'

uocabulo errantia; quorum conuersiones omnesque motus qui animo uidit, is docuit similem animum suum eius esse, qui ea fabricatus esset in caelo. **63.** nam cum Archimedes lunae, solis, quinque errantium motus in sphaeram inligauit, effecit idem, quod ille, qui in Timaeo mundum aedificauit, Platonis deus, ut tarditate et celeritate dissimillimos motus una regeret conuersio. quod si in hoc mundo fieri sine deo non potest, ne

33. omnisque R V G P W 2 B 3 O 3–5 12. omīsq. K. 34. animo (*ante* uidit) R 4 V 5 9 O 7 ed. H. animus R 1–3 5–17 V 1–4 6–8 10–13 G 1–4 Gr B 1–3 P 1–4 S E 1–9 11–15 W 1 2 M 1 2 L 2–6 D C Π J O 1–6 8–12 ed. P. anim⁹ K.

§ 63, 36. inligauit R V G B P. inlegauit E.

and Plato Leg. vii p. 821 (quoted there by Mayor).

animo: *animus* of nearly all MSS cannot be right; that this *animus* within the space of six words should receive an *animus* of its own seems impossible. Mo. and Or. bracket; Tr. ejects. Bouhier conj. *qui primus uidit*, from the beginning of the §. Kl. retained *animus* comparing Off. i 23, 80, but that passage has little similarity (see Küh.). *animo* may have been early misread as *anim⁹*, a usual compendium for *animus*. The correction, introduced by Manutius from a MS used by Maffeius, is found in some late MSS and in ed. H., and is accepted by Dav. Sff. TS. Hei. Küh. Ml. and others. The expression *animo uidere* often occurs, e.g. 16, 37; Ac. ii 40, 125; Diu. ii 43, 91 (in a similar context); so 'animo cernere' Ac. ii 7, 22 where Reid also refers to Fam. v 12, 2; Fin. i 19, 64. Moreover *animo*, if genuine, bears a natural emphasis and adds to the lucidity of the argument.

fabricatus esset: *fabricatus est*, the emendation of E. Goebel (*Philol.* LVIII p. 148), who holds that *eius...qui...fabricatus est in caelo* is an objective expression = *dei*, not a thought of the man *qui animo uidit*, seems at first sight necessary. The Creator might be expected to be referred to as an objective reality, but the character or *quality* of the Creator is in point and accounts for the subjunctive.

§ **63. quinque errantium**: Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. Uranus was discovered in A.D. 1781 by Herschel; Neptune in 1846 by Adams and Le Verrier, independently.

sphaeram: this celebrated orrery is often referred to. In Rep. i 14 we read that Marcellus captured this *sphaera* at the taking of Syracuse and had it alone of all the booty placed in his own house, and that he also captured another, which was solid, and placed it in the temple of Virtus.

Cf. Ovid, Fasti vi 277 'arte Syracosia suspensus in aere clauso | stat globus inmensi parua figura poli'; Claudian, Epigr. xviii:—

'Iuppiter in paruo cum cerneret aethera uitro,
  risit, et ad Superos talia dicta dedit:
hucine mortalis progressa potentia curae?
  iam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.
iura poli, rerumque fidem, legesque deorum,
  ecce Syracosius transtulit arte senex.
inclusus uariis famulatur spiritus astris,
  et uiuum certis motibus urget opus.
percurrit proprium mentitus Signifer annum,
  et simulata nouo Cynthia mense redit.
iamque suum uoluens audax industria mundum,
  gaudet, et humana sidera mente regit.
quid falso insontem tonitru Salmonea miror?
  aemula naturae parua reperta manus';

N.D. ii 34, 88 'hi...Archimeden arbitrantur plus ualuisse in imitandis sphaerae conuersionibus quam naturam in efficiendis,' and Mayor's n. For his tomb cf. v 23, 64.

inligauit, 'secured within an orrery'; because it was necessary that each orb should move truly in its own orbit, cf. Or. 27, 96 of placing graces of style, and Or. 63, 215 rhythms, in their proper setting.

in Timaeo: as set forth in the Timaeus; pp. 39 foll.

tarditate et celeritate, 'by means of varying rates of speed.'

in sphaera quidem eosdem motus Archimedes sine diuino ingenio potuisset imitari.

XXVI. **64.** Mihi uero ne haec quidem notiora et inlustriora carere ui diuina uidentur, ut ego aut poetam graue plenumque carmen sine caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu putem fundere, aut eloquentiam sine maiore quadam ui fluere abundantem sonantibus uerbis uberibusque sententiis. philosophia uero, omnium mater artium, quid est aliud nisi, ut Plato, donum, ut ego,

XXVI. § **64**, 1. inlustriora V G. 4. sine maiore quadam ui R 1 2 V G B 1 2 P S E W 2 M 2 C Π J O 1 2 7–9 11 12. sine maiore ui quadam W 1. quandam sine maiore ui O 3. quandam maiore sine influere O 4. sine maiore ui O 10. quadam sine ui B 3 O 5 6. 6. ut Plato donum R 1 2 9 10 V G 1–4 B 1–3 P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D C O 1 5–10. ut Plato (*omisso* donum) O 3 4. ut ait Plato O 11. ut Plato sapienter dicit donum O 2. ut Plato uoluit donum O 12.

sine diuino ingenio = *nisi diuinum ingenium habuisset*, cf. 'sine magna spe inmortalitatis,' 15, 32 n.; iv 19, 44 'numquam...tantos progressus sine flagranti cupiditate facere potuissent.' Our passage however differs from the examples just cited since both the conditional clause implied in *sine diuino ingenio* and its apodosis *ne in sphaera quidem...Archimedes potuisset* together form the apodosis to the preceding conditional clause *quod si in hoc mundo fieri sine deo non potest.* The theory of the construction is this:—The conditional clause *along with its apodosis* constitutes a positive assertion. The two together can therefore be the apodosis to a protasis with *si* wh. has its verb in the indicative.

imitari, 'reproduce,' *imitando consequi*, cf. ii 1, 3 'reperiebantur nonnulli qui nihil laudarent nisi quod se imitari posse confiderent'; v 25, 70 'ipsa enim cogitatio de ui et natura deorum studium incendit illius aeternitatem imitandi.'

XXVI. § 64. **mihi uero ne haec quidem...fluere**: the expression is based upon an ellipse *nam si ita esset fieret ut ego*....

The expression is also somewhat loose; the negative applies not only to the theory which is denied, but also to the result that would follow if that theory were true. Cf. ii 19, 45 'numquam terminat nec magnitudinis nec diuturnitatis modum ut sciam quid summum dicat in dolore...' = *quod si faceret fieret ut scirem*... The principle is the same as in 17, 41 'ne tam uegeta mens...' There a theory is asserted and the result which would follow if that theory were not true is denied. See note there and ref. to Madv.

The inaccuracy is of very frequent occurrence, cf. such expressions as Or. 20, 67 'quidquid est enim quod sub aurium mensuram aliquam cadat, etiam si abest a uersu—nam id quidem (sc. *non abesse a uersu*) orationis est uitium—numerus uocatur.'

haec: poetry and oratory.

inlustriora, 'more famous.'

graue plenumque carmen: cf. Or. iii 37, 150 'quibus (uerbis) plenum quiddam et sonans inesse uideatur'; Hor. Odes ii 13, 26 'et te sonantem plenius aureo, Alcaee, plectro.'

poetam...fundere: cf. Or. ii 46, 194 'saepe enim audiui poetam bonum neminem—id quod a Democrito et Platone in scriptis relictum esse dicunt—sine inflammatione animorum exsistere posse et sine quodam adflatu quasi furoris'; Diu. i 37, 80; Arch. 8, 18; Plato, Phaedrus 245 a '*ὃς δ' ἂν ἄνευ μανίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκηται, πεισθεὶς ὡς ἄρα ἐκ τέχνης ἱκανὸς ποιητὴς ἐσόμενος, ἀτελὴς αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ ποίησις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μαινομένων ἡ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος ἠφανίσθη*'; Hor. A.P. 296 'excludit sanos Helicone poetas Democritus.'

fundere: often of verses, cf. 44, 107 'cum tam bonos septenarios fundat ad tibiam.'

aut eloquentiam...fluere, 'or the tide of eloquence...to rush forward.'

maiore quadam ui: for *quadam* cf. 17, 27 n.

uberibusque sententiis, 'and with wealth of reflexions.' For the close connection between poetry and oratory cf. Or. 20, 66 foll. and the frequent application of *eloquentia* to poetry (e.g. in Tac. Dialogus de Oratoribus) as well as to oratory.

ut Plato: *ait* is often omitted, as here

inuentum deorum? haec nos primum ad illorum cultum, deinde ad ius hominum, quod situm est in generis humani societate, tum ad modestiam magnitudinemque animi erudiuit, eademque ab animo tamquam ab oculis caliginem dispulit, ut omnia supera infera, prima ultima media uideremus. **65.** prorsus haec diuina mihi uidetur uis, quae tot res efficiat et tantas. quid est enim memoria rerum et uerborum? quid porro inuentio? profecto id, quo ne in deo quidem quicquam maius intellegi potest. non enim ambrosia deos aut nectare aut Iuuentate pocula ministrante laetari arbitror, nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymeden ab dis

§ 65, 14. ne in deo quidem quicquam D C. nec in deo quidem quicquam W 1. nec uideo q. (quidē *superscr.*) quicquam O 2. ne in deo quicquam V. ne in deo quicquam R 1 2 10 G 1 3 K E W 2 B 2 O 5. né in deo quicquam B. nec in deo quicquid (q̃ *superscr.*) P *alio atram. superscr. et* nec *ex* ne *mut.* nec in deo quicquam R 6 9 B 3 O 3 4 8 9 12. nec a deo quidquam O 10. nec ideo quicquam M 1. ne uideo quicquam S O 7 (*marg.* in deo S). nec uideo quicquam M 2 G 2 O 1 6 11. ‖ magis (iu *superscr.*) V. ‖ intellegi V B. 15. iuuentate (u *superscr.*) V *alio atram. superscr.* iuuentute P. 16. laetare (i *superscr.*) R V. laetare G. ‖ ganymeden R V B 2. ganimeden B E D O 7. ganimedē S W 1 2 O 3. ganymedem M 1 B 3 O 2 12. ganimedem P R 6 E 2 II O 4–6 8 10 11. ghanimedem O 1. ‖ ab R 1 2 V G 1 3 B P S E W 2 M 2 D C O 1 7. ad B 2. a W 1 M 1 R 6 G 4 B 3 E 2 II O 2–6 8–12. ‖ dis V G E R 2 B 2 D C O 6. dis R *at* d *mut. est.* diis B P S W 1 2 M 1 2 G 3 4 O 1–5 7–12.

in almost all MSS. For the statement cf. Tim. p. 47 a '*φιλοσοφίας γένος, οὗ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν οὔτ' ἦλθεν οὔθ' ἥξει ποτὲ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δωρηθὲν ἐκ θεῶν.*'

ius hominum: as opposed to *ius ciuile*; principles of justice generally recognised. We have here, as often, the four cardinal virtues (cf. Plato, Rep. iv 441 c foll.) *δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη* (*modestiam*), *ἀνδρεία* (*magnitudinem animi*), *σοφία* (*ab animo... caliginem dispulit*).

ab animo tamquam ab oculis, 'from the eye of the mind.'

supera infera, prima ultima media: 'asyndeton is common in contrasts which embrace a whole class of subjects,' Madv. § 434.

§ 65. **quae...efficiat**: causal subj. 6, 12 n.

ne in deo quidem quicquam: *quidem* is absent from most MSS but is found in W 1 D C and *manu secunda* in V. *ne* is found in the best MSS; others have *nec*. Madv. in Exc. III to Fin. pp. 802 foll. has shewn that *nec* is never = *ne...quidem* in Cicero. *quidem* easily fell out in our passage before *quicquam* as in Ac. ii 17, 52 before *quae*. The later copyists had a great tendency to substitute *nec* for *ne... quidem*; in 29, 71 inferior MSS have *nec interire igitur*, but G R and also B 1 and B 2 have *ne interire igitur* instead of *ne interire quidem igitur*, the position of *igitur* in the fourth place, though of pretty frequent occurrence, having possibly led to confusion, as it has done elsewhere. In 36, 88 all the best MSS except V have *nec carere quidem*. In a great number of the instances of *ne... quidem* in T.D. *nec...quidem* or *nec* is found as a variant in one or more MSS.

Iuuentas = Ἥβη, in wh. sense this form of the word alone is used. For her functions cf. Iliad iv 1–3.

ministrante: specially used of waiting or serving at table, cf. v 21, 61 'ministrare'; *ibid.* § 62 'ministratores.'

Ganymeden: Küh. remarks that Cic. uses both the form in *-em* and the form in *-en*, but the latter very rarely, and that the MSS must decide. As Sff. prints the form in *-em* and notes no variant, that is no doubt the reading of G. but R V B 1 2 E have the form in *-en* and this form is usually found in some at least of the best MSS in Gk nouns of this class. [I hold

raptum ait propter formam, ut Ioui bibere ministraret; non iusta causa, cur Laomedonti tanta fieret iniuria. fingebat haec Homerus et humana ad deos transferebat; diuina mallem ad nos. quae autem diuina? uigere, sapere, inuenire, meminisse. ergo animus qui, ut ego dico, diuinus est, ut Euripides dicere

18. fierit R G E. 21. qui (*post* animus) R 1 2 V G 1–3 B 1–3 P 1 4 S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D Π J O 1–12. q: (ui superscr.) K *alio atram. superscr.* (*non omittunt tres Oxx. ut adfirmat Küh.*) ‖ diuinus est V G 1 3 B 1 2 K P E W 1 2 M 2 R 2 P 4 D O 1–4 6–12. diuinus ut M 1 *et infra* deus. quidem si deus M 1. est diuinus G 2. diuinus ut B 3 O 5 *et infra* deus et quidem B 3 O 5. ‖ dicere audet R 1 2 V G 1–3 B 1–3 P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 Π J O 5 8 9 12 *alii*.

that probability points to the *-en* form having been solely used by Cicero.]

ab dis raptum: for this and what follows cf. Il. xx 231

'*Τρωὸς δ' αὖ τρεῖς παῖδες ἀμύμονες ἐξεγένοντο,*
Ἶλός τ' Ἀσσάρακός τε καὶ ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης·
ὃς δὴ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
τὸν καὶ ἀνηρείψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεύειν
κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη.
Ἶλος δ' αὖ τέκεθ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονα Λαομέδοντα.'

bibere ministraret: *dare bibere* is common in colloquial Latin, e.g. in Plautus, and also found in good prose—Livy xl 47, 5 'nihil prius petierunt a praetore quam ut bibere sibi iuberet dari.' The infin. is equivalent to a subst. (*potum ministraret*), cf. Plaut. Poen. i 2, 100 'AG. At ego amo hanc. MI. At ego *esse et bibere*.' [*bibere*: there is no strict parallel *in Cic.* to this infin. and I have always regarded it as suspicious. Cf. Fin. 2, 23 *formosi pueri qui ministrent.* The analogy of *dare bibere* in Plautus is not strong enough.]

non iusta causa cur...: short clauses which contain a reflexion upon the matter of the preceding clause are sometimes subjoined in the nom. with ellipse of *est* or *erat*. Cf. Diu. ii 37, 79 'fugit e proelio cum Pompeio. graue tempus. discessit ab eo. luctuosa res'; ii 7, 19 'quamquam dicebas omnia, quae fierent futuraue essent, fato contineri. anile sane et plenum superstitionis fati nomen ipsum'; Off. i 26, 90 'itaque alter semper magnus, alter saepe turpissimus'; T.D. i 35, 86 'ineptum sane negotium.' Probably also 44, 107 'magna culpa Pelopis,' though Sff. and TS. think that to be abl. Passages like 43, 102 'rem non difficilem,' where a transitive idea is carried on to govern the accus., are dissimilar.

Laomedonti: in Homer, Il. xx 231 foll. quoted above, Laomedon is the nephew of Ganymede, but there were other versions of the genealogy (see Davies' n.). Cf. Eur. Troades 822

'*Λαομεδόντιε παῖ, Ζανὸς ἔχεις κυλίκων πλήρωμα.*'

fingebat...diuina mallem ad nos: Dav. quotes Longinus *Περὶ Ὕψους*, § 9 '"*Ὅμηρος γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, παραδιδοὺς τραύματα θεῶν, στάσεις, τιμωρίας, δάκρυα, δεσμά, πάθη πάμφυρτα, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἀνθρώπους, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει, θεοὺς πεποιηκέναι, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους.*' Dav. further notes that Xenophanes made the same complaint, cf. Diog. L. ix 18.

ergo animus qui: many editors (Or. Hei. etc.) omit *qui*, but there seems to be no satisfactory theory to account for its presence except the view of Sff. (adopted by Schiche) who holds that *qui* arose out of *quidem*, the *animus quidem* or *ipse animus* being finished with here and the question of its *sedes* and *forma* being taken up in § 67. The choice seems to lie between this and the view of Küh. who retains *qui*, observing 'Ipsi Ciceroni uitium orationis tribuendum puto; uidetur enim primum orationem sic conformaturus fuisse: ergo animus, qui, ut ego dico, diuinus est, ut Euripides dicere audet, deus, si deus aut anima aut ignis est, idem est (h.e. aut anima aut ignis est); deinde autem inchoatam structuram mutauit, quo maiore ui animum hominis efferret.'

For the sentiment cf. Rep. vi 24 'mens cuiusque is est quisque...si quidem deus est qui uiget, qui sentit, qui meminit, qui prouidet, qui tam regit et moderatur et mouet id corpus, cui praepositus est, quam hunc mundum ille princeps deus'; also Off. iii 10, 44 'deum...id est, ut ego arbitror, mentem suam, qua nihil homini dedit deus ipse diuinius.'

ut Euripides: cf. Dindorf, *Poet. Scen. Graec.* frag. 1007 and extracts there

audet, deus, et quidem, si deus aut anima aut ignis est, idem est animus hominis. nam ut illa natura caelestis et terra uacat et umore, sic utriusque harum rerum humanus animus est expers. sin autem est quinta quaedam natura, ab Aristotele inducta primum, haec et deorum est et animorum. hanc nos sententiam secuti his ipsis uerbis in Consolatione [hoc] expressimus:

XXVII. **66.** 'Animorum nulla in terris origo inueniri potest. nihil enim est in animis mixtum atque concretum, aut quod ex terra natum atque fictum esse uideatur, nihil ne aut umidum quidem aut flabile aut igneum. his enim in naturis nihil inest, quod uim memoriae, mentis, cogitationis habeat, quod et praeterita teneat et futura prouideat et complecti possit praesentia. quae sola diuina sunt, nec inuenietur umquam, unde ad hominem

22. et quidem G B 1–3 P 14 E 12 W 12 J O 3–5 12 *alii.* e^{x}quidem V *fortasse ead. manu* equidem D C M 2. 24. humore R 12 V G B 1–3 K P S W 12 M 12 C Π O 1–12. 27. ipsis (*ante* uerbis) R V G B 1–3 K P S E W 12 M 1 D C Π O 1 3–8 10 *plerique.* *omittunt* M 2 R 6 O 2 9 11 12 *at marg. habet* O 12. || hoc (*post* consolatione) R 1 2 9 10 V G 1 2 B 1 2 P E M 2 Π O 3 4 7 11. hoc S *marg.* hęc. h^{oc} K *alio atram. superscr.* hec M 1 R 6 B 3 O 5 8 9. haec O 2. hęc O 10. h' W 2 G 3 P 4 J O 12. hęc (*ante* in cons.) W 1. hec G 4. *omittunt* hoc *uel* haec D C O 1 6.

XXVII. § **66**, 3. umidum R K. ^{h}umidum V. humidum G. 7. umquam R V G C. || ^{u}inde R G B. unde V *at uid. fuisse* inde. unde E (*fuerat* inde). inde B 2. unde K.

given. The line seems to have run thus: 'ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐν ἑκάστῳ θεός.' Iamblichus (quoted in Dind.) is uncertain whether it was Hermotimus or Anaxagoras who said 'ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός.' Cf. also Eurip. Troad. 886 'Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν.'

terra uacat et umore: because the *terrena* and *umida suopte nutu...in terram et in mare feruntur*, cf. 17, 40 and note on 18, 42 'nihil habent proni.'

quinta...natura: for this and for the assertion that it was first brought in by Aristotle, cf. 10, 22 n.

hanc nos sententiam: sc. that the soul is of divine nature.

his ipsis uerbis, 'exactly in the following words.' *ipsis* is somewhat odd. Mo. would have liked to omit it. Sff. proposes *huius* (*hu'*) *ipsius* (i.e. *Aristotelis*) *uerbis* and *sic* instead of *hoc* before *expressimus*. But Aristotle could not have written the words here quoted. See n. on 'praedita motu sempiterno' § 66 and Excursus I.

in Consolatione: Cicero drew materials for his Consolatio (a work now lost, written to mitigate his grief for the loss of his daughter Tullia, who died Feb. 45 B.C.) from Crantor's work Περὶ Πένθους, cf. 48, 115.

expressimus, 'have reproduced,' 'formulated.' Cf. 'nec tamen exprimi uerbum e uerbo necesse erit' Fin. iii 4, 15, and often. *hoc* though read by the best MSS is with reason cut out by Küh. Hei. TS. etc., after Wesenberg, and suspected by Mo., since *exprimere* in Cicero is never equivalent to *dicere*.

XXVII. § 66. **nihil enim est**: the more usual order in Cicero is *nihil est enim*. Cf. Madv. on Fin. i 13, 43 and Küh. here. So the best MSS in 6, 11; 36, 87; 39, 94.

flabile = *spirabile*, cf. 18, 42 n.

naturis, 'elements,' 'substances,' cf. 19, 43.

mentis, cogitationis, 'intellect, imagination.'

quae sola diuina sunt: if the clause is sound *sola* goes with the predicate *diuina*, not with the subject *quae*; in this case the adverb is usual, hence Sff. adopts Ernesti's conj. *tota*. Hei. sees negligence

uenire possint nisi a deo. singularis est igitur quaedam natura atque uis animi seiuncta ab his usitatis notisque naturis. ita, quidquid est illud, quod sentit, quod sapit, quod uiuit, quod uiget, caeleste et diuinum ob eamque rem aeternum sit necesse est. nec uero deus ipse, qui intellegitur a nobis, alio modo intellegi potest nisi mens soluta quaedam et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et mouens ipsaque praedita motu sempiterno. hoc e genere atque eadem e natura est humana mens.'

67. Vbi igitur aut qualis est ista mens?—ubi tua aut qualis? potesne dicere? an, si omnia ad intellegendum non habeo, quae habere uellem, ne iis quidem, quae habeo, mihi

11. diuinum ob R 1–3 10 V G 1–3 Gr B 1–3 E W 2 M 1 2 D C J O 1–6 8–12 ed. P. diuinum est ob W 1 R 6 O 7. 12. intellegitur R V G B. 13. intellegi B. intelligi R V G. 15. predita R. prędi ta V *litt. erasa*: *fuerat, ut uid.*, prędicta.

§ **67**, 18. intellegendum R V G B. 19. neis R V. ne is G. neis R 2 B 2. ne his P *at* h *in litura*. ne^i^s K *alio atram. superscr.* ne his S O 1 6 7 11. ne eis M 2 O 2.

and thinks the expression wanting in clearness. Küh. compares v 15, 45 'ex bonis quae sola honesta sunt.' [*quae sola*: surely if *sola* is right it must go with *quae* 'which things and no others.' But the clause *quae.. sunt* has much the appearance of a marginal comment. *tota* is feeble, 'which things are (not partially but) wholly divine.']

singularis...quaedam: *quaedam* here, as often, adds a vagueness to *singularis*, which really intensifies it; see n. on 12, 27, and Reid on p. Sulla 19, 53, and on Ac. ii 1, 2.

natura atque uis: 23, 54 n.

quod sentit ... sapit ... uiuit ... uiget: 'wh. has feeling, wisdom, life, activity.' *uiuere* and *uigere* are often joined together, cf. N.D. ii 33, 83 'quod si ea quae a terra stirpibus continentur arte naturae uiuunt et uigent....' Often of the growing power of plants.

ob eamque rem: usually *is* follows the preposition, but 'hanc ob rem, quam ob rem,' is the Latin order. Cf. Küh. on v 1, 1.

qui intellegitur a nobis: i.e. who is perceived by our intellect, not by our senses.

ab omni concretione mortali, 'from all that is material and transient.'

praedita motu sempiterno: Cic. could not have found this in Aristotle, as Sff.'s emendation in § 65, l. 27 '*huius ipsius uerbis*' would represent. Cf. Excursus I.

hoc e genere...mens: I think Schiche is right in taking these words as part of the extract from the Consolatio, which most editors end at *sempiterno*.

§ 67. **ubi igitur**: Cic. anticipates a possible objection; cf. Camerarius 'intellexit Cic. magnifice quidem haec dici uerbis, esse deum mentem sempiternam, solutam, omnia agitantem: sed requiri statim ubi igitur illa, aut cuiusmodi, cuiusque constitutionis sit. haec alia obiectione eludit, in qua est bella similitudo oculi, cernentis alia omnia praeter se.'

uellem: not *uelim*, as Ern. suspected. It is implied that from the nature of the case he cannot have all that he could wish.

ne iis quidem: from the reading *ne is* of some of the best MSS (*prima manu*) Sff. infers that *ne eis* not *ne iis* is the true reading, *e* falling out after *e*. But why not *ne iis*, *i* falling out before *i*? See my observation in Introd. § 5, where my reason for printing *iis* in the text is given. In my notes, as in my usual practice, I write *eis*, believing that to have been Cic.'s form. [The evidence for *eis iis* is of course complicated; but on the whole favours *eis* in Cic. as against *iis*.]

per te uti licebit? — non ualet tantum animus, ut se ipsum ipse uideat. — at ut oculus, sic animus se non uidens alia cernit. non uidet autem, quod minimum est, formam suam; quamquam fortasse id quoque; sed relinquamus; uim certe, sagacitatem, memoriam, motum, celeritatem uidet. haec magna, haec diuina, haec sempiterna sunt; qua facie quidem sit aut ubi habitet, ne quaerendum quidem est.

XXVIII. **68.** Vt cum uidemus speciem primum candoremque caeli, dein conuersionis celeritatem tantam, quantam cogitare non possumus, tum uicissitudines dierum ac noctium commutationesque temporum quadrupertitas ad maturitatem frugum et ad temperationem corporum aptas eorumque omnium

20. certe V (*pro* per te). ‖ seipsum ipse R 1 2 G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E W 2 M 2 Π J O 1–7 9–12. seipsum ipse V. ipse *omittit* W 1. seipsum se M 1. sese ipse R 6. se seipsum ipse O 6. 22. quamq̃ã id quoque V (v *et* forte) *manu antiqua superscr.*

XXVIII. § **68**, 2. dein R V 1 12 G 1 3 B 1 2 K P E M 2. deiñ (=deinde) W 2 R 9 10 V 6 E 2 8 J. deinde S D C Π O 1–4 6 8–12. dein O 5 *at fuerat, ut uid.*, deinde. dehinc O 7. 4. quadrupertitas R G Gr; *idem at* u *in* i *mut.* P. quadruptitas V B 1 2 K S E 1 2 W 2 J. quadriptitas R 2 8 10 17 V 3 6 8 10 12 G 2 4 B 3 P 4 E 13 L 2 4 M 1 2 D C O 7 11. quadripartitas W 1 R 3–6 9 14 V 5 11 13 P 2 3 E 3–5 L 3 6 O 2 5 6 8–10 12 ed. H. ed. P. quatripartitas O 1 3 4.

se ipsum ipse: so Küh. and Sff. with the best MSS. Bent. conj. 'ut se ipse' wh. Tr. Hei. TS. Bai. Ml. adopt and Wes. approves; but Sff. thinks that Cic. added *ipsum* to indicate more clearly the mind itself as distinct from its powers. *se ipse* is read by V[2].

quamquam fortasse id quoque: supply *uidet*. With most editors I follow Wolf in transposing and reading *quamquam fortasse*.... Or. followed by Küh. keeps the MS order, 'fortasse! quamquam id quoque,' explaining thus—'fortasse sc. formam suam non uidet; quamquam id quoque fieri potest sc. ut animi forma aliqua mente comprehendatur,' since statues and paintings of Psyche were made by Greek and Etruscan artists. This is the reference with either reading, but *fieri potest* cannot be supplied. With *sed relinquamus* Cicero hastily drops an inconclusive argument. Cf. for the form of expression Off. iii 9, 39 'negant id fieri posse. quamquam potest id quidem; sed quaero....'

motum, 'activity.' Bentley, followed by Dav., proposed *motus celeritatem*, comparing 28, 70, but the MS reading gives equally good sense. **motum** expresses general activity, **celeritatem** rapidity in particular instances.

facie quidem: *quidem* like γε throws an emphasis upon the word which it follows. Hence, where a contrasted word has preceded, *quidem* seems to have an adversative force which is not inherent in it. Cf. Küh. on ii 17, 41.

XXVIII. § 68. The argument is 'just as, when we behold the beauty and perfection of the heavens, we cannot doubt that there is a God who directs them, so from the perfection of the powers of the mind we see that it is divine'; but owing to the length of the *ut*-clause, an anacolouthon results; the thread of the argument is drawn together in § 70 by *igitur* (cf. 13, 30), and we have *possumusne dubitare* instead of *non possumus dubitare*, and the *sic*-clause, which should correspond to the *ut*-clause, follows in a separate sentence—*sic mentem hominis*....

maturitatem, 'ripening,' lit. 'ripeness.'

ad temperationem corporum, 'for the regulation of our bodies.' *corp. temp.* is defined in iv 13, 30, quoted on 10, 21 n., wh. see.

moderatorem et ducem solem lunamque accretione et deminutione luminis quasi fastorum notantem et significantem dies, tum in eodem orbe in duodecim partis distributo quinque stellas ferri eosdem cursus constantissime seruantis disparibus inter se motibus, nocturnamque caeli formam undique sideribus ornatam, tum globum terrae eminentem e mari, fixum in medio mundi uniuersi loco, duabus oris distantibus habitabilem et cultum, quarum altera, quam nos incolimus,

Sub áxe pósita ad stéllas séptem, unde hórrifer
Aquilónis strídor gélidas molitúr niues,

altera australis, ignota nobis, quam uocant Graeci *ἀντίχθονα*,

6. adcretione K. || deminutione R 1 2 10 G Gr P B 2 E 13. deminutionē V. dėminutione K. diminutione B 1 2 E 1–3 5 R 6 9 V 6 8 11 13 G 3 P 4 D C Π J O 1–6 8–12. diminutionē G 2. diminutionem R 7 V 4 O 9. addiminutionem O 7. 7. significantem R V G B 1–3 K P S E *plerique*. signantem W 1 *marg.* significantem *ead. fort. manu.* 9. seruantis R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P E W 2 M 1 2 *alii.* 10. nocturnaque R G B 2 a *in* ā *alia manu mut.* P. noctnāque K. nocturnamquė V B 1 3 E R 10 G 3 Π *alii.* 14. unde R V G B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 *ceteri.* *Nonius* p. 346 *s.u.* ubi. 16. antixoona R V G 1 3 B 1 3 S E. artixoona W 2. *αρτιχῶρα* W 1. antiaxona M 1.

lunamque..., 'and the moon by its waxings and wanings, serving as a calendar-maker.' *quasi*, as often, marks a translation, ? *ἐφημερίδα ποιοῦσαν*. Hence *quasi* goes with the whole expression.

fastorum n. et s. dies: arranging the days i.e. the details of a calendar. Editors who think that *quasi* can go only with *fastorum* emend: Sff. would read either *fastorum quasi notantem*...or *quasi fastorum notatione significantem dies* and he inserts in his text the latter conjecture. Ern. conjectured and Or. adopted *quasi fastorum notis signantem dies*.

orbe in duodecim partis distributo: cf. Diu. ii 42, 89 'signifero in orbe, qui Graece ζωδιακὸς dicitur.'

quinque stellas: cf. 25, 63 n. on 'quinque errantium.'

disparibus inter se motibus: cf. 25, 63 'dissimillimos motus.'

globum terrae: the Pythagoreans held the earth to be spherical, cf. Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 454 and note; so also Aristotle, Zeller, *Ph. der Gr.* II[2] p. 448 n. 1; and the Stoics, cf. Diog. L. vii 140 '*ἕνα τὸν κόσμον εἶναι...σχῆμα ἔχοντα σφαιροειδές*.' also for Plato, cf. Tim. 33.

fixum: cf. 17, 40 n.

duabus oris: for the abl. of place without prep. see Madv. § 273 a, b; Roby § 1170.

The division of the earth into five zones has been attributed to Parmenides, cf. Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 600 n. 2. For the view that the two temperate zones alone are habitable see 20, 45 n.

sub axe posita...: from Accius' Philocteta quoted in Nonius (s.v. *moliri* p. 346) who gives this extract from *ubi horrifer* onward. Bentley first saw that the quotation begins with *sub axe*. The metre, iambic trimeter, requires *unde* of the MSS not *ubi* wh. Nonius gives.

unde ... molitur, 'from whence the bleak north wind's blast masses the cold snows.'

ἀντίχθονα: here = the antipodes, a word which Cicero uses as Latin in Ac. ii 39, 123. See Reid's note there. The Pythagoreans used *ἀντίχθων* in a different sense. They placed in the centre of the universe the central fire; around this ten heavenly bodies moved in their orbits from west to east; farthest off the heaven of fixed stars; next the five planets; then the sun, moon, and earth; and lastly the counter-earth (*ἀντίχθων*) invented to complete the sacred number ten. Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* I p. 444. Cf. Arist. de Caelo ii 13 '*ἔτι δὲ ἐναντίαν ἄλλην ταύτῃ κατασκευάζουσι γῆν, ἣν ἀντίχθονα ὄνομα καλοῦσιν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ζητοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρός τινας δόξας καὶ λόγους αὐτῶν τὰ φαινόμενα προσέλκοντες, καὶ πειρώμενοι συγκοσμεῖν*.' Hicetas abandoned the doctrine of the central fire and the *ἀντίχθων*.

69. ceteras partis incultas, quod aut frigore rigeant aut urantur calore: hic autem, ubi habitamus, non intermittit suo tempore

Caelúm nitéscere, árbores frondéscere,
Vités laetificae pámpinis pubéscere,
Ramí bacarum ubértate incuruéscere,
Segetés largiri frúges, florere ómnia,
Fontés scatere, herbis práta conuestírier:

tum multitudinem pecudum partim ad uescendum, partim ad cultus agrorum, partim ad uehendum, partim ad corpora uestienda, hominemque ipsum quasi contemplatorem caeli ac deorum cultorem, atque hominis utilitati agros omnis et maria

§ **69**, 17. partis R V G P M 2 V 11 B 2. 21. bacarum R 1 10 V G B 1–3 K P E W 1 M 2 D C O 2. ba(e)carum *alio atram. superscr.* S Π. baccarum W 2 M 1 V 11 G 3 O 5. baccharum O 3 4 12. ‖ incuruescere R V G B 1 2 S E W 1 2 C Π *alii.* incuruascere M 2 B 3 O 3 4 10 12. 27. eorum (*ante* cultorem) R G W 2 J. eorum(q;) cultorem V 1 13 K P. eorumque B 1–3 S E W 1 R 2 10 V 4 5 G 2–4 P 4 D C Π O 1–10. ipsorum M 1 O 11. *omittunt* M 2 O 12.

§ 69. **incultas**: 20, 45 n.

hic autem...non intermittit...: this clause is parenthetically interposed; the preceding clauses and the following clauses (*tum multitudinem* etc.) depend upon *uidemus* of § 68.

caelum nitescere: the source of these lines is uncertain. Herm. *Opusc.* iii p. 128 followed by TS. and Hei. thought them taken from Ennius' Eumenides, but the resemblance to Aesch. Eum. 904 foll. seems very slight.

nitescere...frondescere...: for the delight of old Latin poetry in assonance, homoeoteleuton, etc. see Munro on Lucr. Introd. to notes II p. 311. Cf. T.D. i 35, 85; 44, 105.

laetificae=*laetae*, cf. 'regifico luxu' Aen. vi 605 (=*regio* or *regali*) and Conington there. Cf. also 'laetificos... fetus,' Lucr. i 193.

scatēre: Cl. Lat. *scatĕre*: so in Plautus and in O.L. generally by-forms are abundant, e.g. *feruĕre stridĕre tergĕre*.

conuestirier: for the form see 44, 105 n. on 'raptarier.'

ad uescendum: for the gerund cf. 23, 53 n.

[**uehendum**: connected with the (practical) deponent *uehor*.]

For the theory of adaptation of means to ends here involved, cf. Aristotle's view as stated by Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II^2 p. 565 n. 6 and Arist. Pol. i 8, 1256 b 15 there quoted, and the view of the Stoics in Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* c. vii pp. 176–7.

contemplatorem caeli ac deorum cultorem: cf. N.D. ii 56, 140 'qui (dei) primum eos (homines) humo excitatos celsos et erectos constituerunt *ut deorum cognitionem caelum intuentes capere possent*; and Lactantius, Inst. ii 3; iii 9 (quoted there by Mayor) 'solus sapientia instructus est (homo) ut religionem solus intellegat.' For the readings *deorum eorum* or *eorumque* and *ipsorum* or *ipsorumque* cf. Kūh. 'at et *eorumque* et *ipsorumque* absurdum est; nam quomodo homo deos contemplari dici potest? scriptura *ipsorumque* etiam Latinitati aduersatur.' *deorum cultorem* appears very strangely in the course of a proof of the existence of a God. Hence many emendations have been put forward. Bentley proposed *terrarum cultorem*, but those words would scarcely help forward Cicero's argument and the idea would be almost repeated in *hominis utilitati agros...parentia*. Sff. would read (after H. Muther) *contemp. caeli ac siderum eorumque cultorem*. 'Nam sideribus diuinitatem tributam esse a Stoicis satis constat cum aliunde tum ex Cic. N.D. 31, 80 sqq.' But reference to worship of the stars does not seem natural or to the point here. It is better with Kūh. to suppose that Cicero has expressed himself loosely owing to haste, and to suppose *eorum* of the best MSS to be due to dittography after *deorum*. The thought, though inaccurately expressed, is nearly the same as in N.D. ii 56, 140 quoted

parentia —: **70.** haec igitur et alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin iis praesit aliquis uel effector, si haec nata sunt, ut Platoni uidetur, uel, si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet, moderator tanti operis et muneris? sic mentem hominis, quamuis eam non uideas, ut deum non uides, tamen, ut deum adgnoscis ex operibus eius, sic ex memoria rerum et inuentione et celeritate motus omnique pulchritudine uirtutis uim diuinam mentis adgnoscito.

XXIX. In quo igitur loco est?—credo equidem in capite et, cur credam, adferre possum. sed alias, ubi sit animus; certe

28. parentia R V G B 1–3 P M 1 2 *alii.* parientia W 2 J. patentia W 1. parentia S *marg.* patentia.

§ **70,** 29. his R V G B E W 1 2 M 1 *alii.* iis M 2 O 3 4. 30. sunt *post* nata R V G B P S E *plerique.* sint (u superscr.) K *fort. eod. atram. superscr.* || fuerunt R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1 2 S E W 1 2 M 1 2 C J O 1 2 7 8 11 12. fueŕ K. fuerint P Π B 3 O 3–6 9 10. 33. a gnoscis V *litt. erasa.* agnoscis (d superscr.) G *manu ead. superscr.* 34. omniaque R G E B 2. omni que V (*litt. erasa*). om̄ iq; B *in litura.* omāq. K *alio atram. superscr.* (?τ=*tolle*). omnique S B 3 J O 1 3 *alii.* || diuinam R (*plane*) V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P 1 4 E 1 2 D C Π J O 1–6 8–12 ed. P. ed. H. diuinām S *h. e.* m *alio atram. addito.* diuinae W 1 R 6 O 7. 35. a gnoscito V (*litt. erasa*). XXIX. 2. adferre R V G P E. || sed alias (*ante* ubi) R 1 2 5 10 V G 1–3 B 1 2 K E 1 2 8 W 1 M 2 V 4 D C J O 1 7 8 11 12. sed alias S Π, de hoc *marg.* S, *alio atram. superscr.* Π. sed alias, ubi sit V *marg.* nūc *alio atramento.* sed alias. nunc W 2. sed de hoc alias G 4 O 3 4 9 10. sed de hoc alias. nunc M 1 R 6 B 3 L 6 O 2 5 6.

above, and it is a slight step from *deorum cognitio* of that passage to *deorum cultus.* The erect attitude, perhaps peculiar to man or at least habitual to man alone among mammals, enables him to contemplate the sky, and (as it is suggested) he may thence infer the existence of the gods.

§ 70. **possumusne dubitare**: for the constr. cf. § 68, first note.

ut Platoni: cf. Ac. ii 37, 118 'Plato ex materia in se omnia recipiente mundum esse factum censet a deo sempiternum,' and Reid's n.

fuerunt of all the best MSS except P is alone right: *fuerint* cannot come under any recognised use of the subjunctive.

ut Aristoteli: cf. Ac. ii 37, 119 'Aristoteles...neque...ortum esse umquam mundum'; Arist. de Caelo i 10; ii 1; Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II[2] p. 432.

muneris: *munus* from meaning 'a spectacle,' especially a gladiatorial spectacle, provided by the aediles, came to mean a public building connected with spectacles or shows. Cf. N.D. i 9, 22 where the comparison with the aedile is expressly made, 'quid autem erat quod concupisceret deus mundum signis et luminibus tamquam aedilis exornare?' and for the practice of adorning and illuminating public buildings cf. Mayor's note there.

mentem...uim diuinam mentis: the acc. *mentem* was put forward by parallelism to *haec et alia* of the preceding sentence; and then owing to the length of the intervening clauses the noun was practically repeated in *uim mentis,* though the adj. *diuinam* would have sufficed.

XXIX. **in capite**: the older Stoics placed the ἡγεμονικὸν in the heart, cf. Diog. L. vii 159 quoted in R. and P. § 410. Some of the later Stoics approximated towards the views of Plato and Aristotle on this as on many other points.

adferre: here used absolutely; supply *rationem* (cf. Fin. v 10, 27). In other places e.g. iii 23, 55 'tantum modo adfert nihil euenisse quod non opinandum fuisset'; Diu. i 30, 64 'illo exemplo...quo adfert Rhodium quendam morientem sex aequalis nominasse'; Diu. ii 16, 36 'sed adfers in tauri opimi extis...cor non fuisse'; an acc. and infin. clause serves as object. Exactly like our present instance is Lucr. iii 354 'quid sit enim corpus sentire quis adferet umquam.'

sed alias ubi sit animus: sc. *exponam.*

quidem in te est. quae est ei natura? propria, puto, et sua. sed fac igneam, fac spirabilem: nihil ad id, de quo agimus. illud modo uideto, ut deum noris, etsi eius ignores et locum et faciem, sic animum tibi tuum notum esse oportere, etiam si ignores et locum et formam. **71.** in animi autem cognitione dubitare non possumus, nisi plane in physicis plumbei sumus, quin nihil sit animis admixtum, nihil concretum, nihil copulatum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex. quod cum ita sit, certe nec secerni nec diuidi nec discerpi nec distrahi potest, ne interire quidem igitur. est enim interitus quasi discessus et secretio ac diremptus earum partium, quae ante interitum iunctione aliqua tenebantur.

His et talibus rationibus adductus Socrates nec patronum quaesiuit ad iudicium capitis nec iudicibus supplex fuit adhibuit-

3. est et (*ante* natura) R 1 2 10 G 1–4 Gr B 1 2 P 1 4 S E 1 4 13 W 2 M 2 Π J O 1–6 8–10 12. est e M 1. est eî V (*at in litura*). est D O 7. ē nã dei O 11.

§ **71**, 11. ne interire igitur R V G B 1 2. neç interire igitur K *puncto alio atram. supposito.* nec interire igitur P 1 4 S E 1 13 W 1 2 M 1 2 R 2 G 3 B 3 C J O 1–6 9–11. nec interire *omisso* igitur O 7. nec igitur interire Π O 8. 12. direptus R 1 6 G K S M 1 2 B 2 3 C Π O 3 4. dirēptus V *alio atram. superscr.* diremptus B E J O 2. 14. a^d^uctus R V. aductus G B 2.

Many old edd. and Or. in his 1st edn. read *sed alias; nunc ubiubi sit animus*: but *ubiubi* is not found elsewhere in Cic., and it would require the indicative as Küh. points out. Cf. i 46, 100 n. on 'quoquo modo hoc accipietur.'

natura, 'substance,' cf. 19, 43 n.; 25, 61 n.

propria)(*communis*; **sua**)(*aliena*, 'a special and appropriate one.' [In an interesting art. on imperative forms in *Rev. de Phil.* IV 115 Thurot remarks on *fac* followed by *uideto*, but his argument is upset by *adgnoscito* above.]

spirabilem: 17, 40 n.

noris: potential; 'as you may know God.'

§ 71. **plumbei**)(*acuti*. The metaphor is from a sword or dagger without point or cutting edge. Cf. Fin. iv 18, 48 where a weak argument is called a *plumbeus pugio*, and Att. i 16, 2 where 'cum illum plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret' = *cum illum a iudicibus uel corruptissimis damnatum iri tamen diceret.*

nihil admixtum...**concretum**, 'nothing blended or compounded'; **nihil copulatum**..., 'nothing bound up with them or fastened upon them.' The expressions fall into two pairs, the effect of which is summed up in *nihil duplex* 'in fact nothing twofold'; to these two pairs the following pairs *secerni diuidi*, *discerni distrahi* correspond, and the inference follows in *ne interire quidem igitur*. Cf. Heine's n.

coagmentatum: the metaphor is from dove-tailing, joining, or glueing as a carpenter might, cf. *distrahi*.

ne interire quidem: for the reading of the MSS here and for the position of *igitur* see note on 26, 65.

diremptus: an intensification of *secretio*, introduced by *ac*, 'and even'; the two form a single idea, that of 'violent separation,' which is coupled with *discessus* by *et*. Cf. Heine's n.

iunctione: this word perhaps only occurs in Cic. here and in Or. iii 49, 191 where see Wilkins' n. Many editors adopt Madv.'s conj. *coniunctione*.

nec patronum: cf. Or. i 54, 231; it is said that Lysias wrote out and gave to Socrates a speech to be delivered by him in his own defence, but that Socrates refused to make use of it.

adhibuitque: we should say 'but displayed...'; so often *-que* after negatives. Here, just as in the co-ordination of contrasted clauses, the Latins leave the contrast to be inferred by the reader or hearer. See 2, 4 n. 'iacentque.'

que liberam contumaciam a magnitudine animi ductam, non a superbia, et supremo uitae die de hoc ipso multa disseruit et paucis ante diebus, cum facile posset educi e custodia, noluit et tum paene in manu iam mortiferum illud tenens poculum locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem trudi, uerum in caelum uideretur escendere.

XXX. **72**. Ita enim censebat itaque disseruit, duas esse uias duplicesque cursus animorum e corpore excedentium. nam qui se humanis uitiis contaminauissent et se totos libidinibus dedissent, quibus caecati uel domesticis uitiis atque flagitiis se

19. et tum R G P 4. et tū S *marg*. quom. ettum V (*at alterum* t *mut. est*). et cum B 1 3 K P E 1 3 8 W 1 M 1 2 R 6 7 9 17 G 3 4 D Π O 1–6 8–12 ed. P. et ^ (*ante* pene) W 2 *marg*. cum. et (*ante* pene) R 2 4 10 14 16 E 1 3 J O 7 ed. H. ‖ tenens R 1 2 16 V G 1 3 4 B 1 2 K E 1 13 P 4 D C J O 1 7 ed. H. tenens S *marg*. teneret. teneret (tenens *superscr.*) O 5. tenet P *at alterum* t *in litura et* ˥ *alio atram. superscr.* teneret W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 7 9 17 E 3 Π O 2–4 6 8 10–12 ed. P. tenetur O 9. 21. escendere R G. æscendere V (æ *ex* e *mut.*). descendere B 2. ascendere B 1 3 K P 1 4 S E 1 13 R 4 6 9 10 G 2–4 D C Π J O 1–6 8–12. adscendere O 7.
XXX. § **72**, 4. dedissent R V G B 1 2 P S E *plerique*. dedidissent R 6. ‖ uelut R G B E W 1 2 M 1 2 Π *plerique*. uelud B 2. uel ut V. ueluti S.

liberam contumaciam, 'outspoken resolution.' *contumax* and *contumacia* are sometimes used as here of resolution in a good cause, cf. Tac. Hist. i 3 'contumax etiam aduersus tormenta seruorum fides'; Quintil. ii 4 'maxima est innocentiae contumacia.'

de hoc ipso: i.e. *de inmortalitate animi*; in the Phaedo.

paucis ante diebus: cf. Plato's Crito, passim.

cum...posset: for the subj. cf. 17, 39 n. on 'cum adduxeris.'

tum...tenens: *tum* serves more clearly to mark the occasion, which is defined by the participial clause; cf. Lael. 15, 53 'quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt, tum exsulantem se intellexisse quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos.' Similarly by a prepositional clause, Lael. 7, 21 'an tum in tanto imperio tantaque potestate non dicis me fuisse regem, nunc priuatum regnare dicis?'

escendere: this is read by Mo. Hei. Sff. TS. and Ml. *escendere* mostly implies effort; *adscendere, adscensus in caelum* are the usual expressions, cf. examples in Küh., but there are usually variants in the MSS and there are passages which make it doubtful whether a distinction exists. Mo. thinks that *ad mortem trudi* serves to justify *escendere*. This seems doubtful and, though the best MSS have *escendere*, many good ones have *ascendere* and O7, a MS which, though only second-rate, is often right among few, has *adscendere*. I have followed the best editors but think it very possible that *adscendere* may be the true reading.

XXX. § 72. For the views put forward here compare especially Plato's Phaedo pp. 80 foll.

censebat...disseruit: 2, 4 n. on *floruerunt, discebant*.

itaque = *et ita*, as often.

animorum...corpore: for the change of number cf. 17, 40 n.

humanis uitiis: cf. Phaedo 81 a 'κακῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων,' where instances are given: and 84 b 'τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κακῶν.'

We should rather, with Bentley, have expected *humana uitia* to mean '*quae in quemuis hominem cadunt, quae naturae humanae imbecillitas a se defendere et depellere non potest.*' Hence Bentley's corr. *immanibus* is plausible, but perhaps *humanis* may be justified, as Dav. thinks, by the contrast with *deorum uitam*.

dedissent is read by nearly all MSS including the best and being good Latin seems rightly preferred by Mo. Küh. Hei. TS. Sff. So in v 39, 115 the best MSS have 'huic...diuinae delectationi... se ... dedissent.' *dedidissent* 'had surrendered themselves,' 'given themselves wholly up,' would have been more forcible.

uel domesticis uitiis: *uel*, substituted by Bentley for *uelut* of MSS, is generally

inquinauissent uel re publica uiolanda fraudes inexpiabiles concepissent, iis deuium quoddam iter esse, seclusum a concilio deorum; qui autem se integros castosque seruauissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio seseque ab iis semper seuocauissent essentque in corporibus humanis uitam imitati deorum, iis ad illos, a quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere. **73.** itaque commemorat, ut cygni, qui non

5. uel re publica uiolanda R G B P E *plerique*. uel ī r. p. uiolanda S *at* ī r. *in litura esse uidentur*. uel^in re p. uiolanda O 3 *alio atram. superscr.* uel in re p. uiolanda O 4. uel re^i publicæ V *at fuerat* republica. uiolandæ V. || concoepissent R G. 8. ab his R V G B 1–3 P W 1 2 M 1 *alii*. 9. seuocauissent *et supra* contaminauissent inquinauissent seruauissent V G B 1 2 K P E *plerique*. seuocassent S M 1 B 3 O 3 4 6 10. *supra* seruassent S W 1 *alii*. 10. his ad R V G P W 1 2 M 1 *alii*. ijs ad S *at fuerat* hijs.

§ **73**, 11. ut cygni R V G 1 3 B W 1 2 M 1 O 1 2 10. ut cigni K E R 10 B 2 3 D C Π J O 3 4 6 8 11.

accepted, and is supported by the early corrector of V.

domesticis)(**re publica uiolanda**. The contrast throws the emphasis rather on *domesticis* and may serve to account for the somewhat weak repetition of *uitiis*, for which Bentley wished to read *stupris*, while Sff. conjectured *uel uelut domesticis spurcitiis*. *uelut* however seems never to be used like *quasi* to soften a metaphor.

re publica uiolanda: this is one of those (fairly numerous) instances in which the gerundive serves instead of the wanting present participle passive, cf. Off. i 2, 5 'quis est enim qui nullis officii praeceptis tradendis philosophum se audeat dicere?' Att. iv 1, 6 'meo nomine recitando'; Mur. 8, 17 'qui his recentibus (uiris)...commemorandis iacebant'; Planc. 19, 46 'noli mirari te id... repudiandis gratiosorum amicitiis non esse adsecutum'; Planc. 34, 84 'sed fit uestra diligentia qui causis ponderandis omnes fere repudiatis, ut ad nos pleraeque confluant.' So best take Mur. 11, 25 'singulis diebus ediscendis.' The gerundive, according to Corssen, is in origin an adjective formation with termination *-ondus*, which termination is compounded of the suffix *-on* which forms verbal nouns (e.g. *edo*, *edonis*, 'eater'; *erro*, *-onis*, 'vagabond') and *-dus* which may be connected with *dare* (= 'do'). Its ground idea then was active, but as the pres. part. already supplied an active form, the form in *-undus* came to represent, at times, the wanting pres. part. passive. The gerund is merely the neuter of the adjectival form used as a substantive. This verbal substantive retained its active force throughout. Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* II 594 pp. 790–1.

fraudes inexpiabiles concepissent: 'had given way to unpardonable guilt,' lit. 'taken into themselves,' cf. Off. i 34, 123 'ipsa senectus dedecus concipit'; p. Sulla 5, 16 'quod flagitium non concepit?' Leg. iii 14, 32 'non solum uitia concipiunt ipsi sed ea infundunt in ciuitatem.' *fraus*, from meaning crime, comes to denote the resulting guilt. Cf. Diu. i 4, 7 'est enim periculum ne aut neglectis eis inpia fraude aut susceptis anili superstitione obligemur.'

concilio deorum: the assembly or society of the gods. Different is *consilium deorum*, a *deliberative* council of the greater gods: cf. Orelli on Hor. Odes iii 25, 6 'aeternum meditans decus stellis inserere et consilio Iouis'; and Conington on Virg. Geo. i 24 'quem mox quae sint habitura deorum concilia incertum est,' where the idea is 'which *group* of gods you will join.'

seseque ab iis = *quique sese*..., cf. ii 25, 61 n. 'quem et ipse saepe uidi et id dicam....' The expression is somewhat loose.

seuocauissent: 16, 38 n.

in corp. hum. uitam imitati deorum: Küh. calls attention to the collocation of words by means of which due emphasis and contrast are secured for *humanis* and *deorum*. Cf. 6, 11 note on 'pleni libri... disserentium philosophorum.'

iis ad illos...: for the thought, cf. Lael. 4, 13.

§ 73. **ut cygni—Apollini dicati**...

sine causa Apollini dicati sint, sed quod ab eo diuinationem habere uideantur, qua prouidentes quid in morte boni sit cum cantu et uoluptate moriantur, sic omnibus bonis et doctis esse faciendum. nec uero de hoc quisquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod iis saepe usu uenit, qui, cum acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur,

12. sint (*post* dicati) R 1 10 G B 1 2 K E W 2 Π. sint[v] V S. sunt P M 1 2 B 3 D C O 1–12. dedicati sint G 3. dedicati sunt W 1. ‖ sed quod V G E M 1 O 3 4 *alii.* scilicet quod M 2 G 3 O 8. 13. qua (*ante* prouidentes) R 1 2 7 8 10 V G B 1–3 K P S E W 1 M 1 2 Π O 1–9. quia W 2 D C J O 11 12. quia O 10 *at* ia *mut. uid.* 15. facie[v]ndum K *alio atram. superscr.* 16. quo (*ante* his) R G 1 3 K P E B 1 2 O 7. quđ V. quo[d] B *alio atram. superscr.* quod S *marg.* ijs. quod W 1 2 J O 1 2 9 11 12. quod[quo] *ante* hiis D. quod Π O 8. quod *ante* iis M 1 2 B 3 O 3–6 10. 17. quicum R V P J. qui cum G 1 3 B 1–3 K E 1 5 W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1–11. S qui cum *in* qui quom *mut.* cum *omittit* O 12.

cum cantu moriantur: cf. Plato, Phaedo 84 e, 85 b '*καί, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν κύκνων δοκῶ φαυλότερος ὑμῖν εἶναι τὴν μαντικήν, οἳ ἐπειδὰν αἴσθωνται ὅτι δεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, ᾄδοντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, τότε δὴ πλεῖστα καὶ μάλιστα ᾄδουσι, γεγηθότες ὅτι μέλλουσι παρὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιέναι οὗπερ εἰσὶ θεράποντες ...... τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντες μαντικοί τέ εἰσι καὶ προειδότες τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου ἀγαθὰ ᾄδουσι καὶ τέρπονται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν διαφερόντως ἢ τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ.*' The opinion widely prevalent among the ancients, that the dying swan sings, is denied by Pliny, H. N. x 23 'olorum in morte narratur flebilis cantio: falso, ut arbitror aliquot experimentis.' See also Sir T. Browne, *Vulgar Errors* III 27. The theory, with numerous connected points, is well discussed by Geddes in an excursus to Phaedo, as above, note O.

ut cygni...: we have here an anacolouthon, the interposition of the explanatory clauses *sed quod...boni sit* having caused the thread of the construction to be lost as in 17, 40 'num igitur dubitamus...terram'; 36, 88 'confirmato illo,' where see notes. *cygni* is nom. to *moriantur* and instead of *qua prouidentes* we should strictly have had *qua prouideant*. Davies' conj. *quasi* for *qua* is impossible, since *prouidentes* does not involve a metaphor requiring modification or apology. Moreover there is not any similar qualification in the Greek, quoted above. Reiske and others supply *faciunt* (*faciant*) to *cygni* from the following *faciendum*.

usu uenit: *uenit* is here perfect, otherwise we should have *amittant* not *amitterent*. Or. holds that the expression *usu uenit* arose from *usus uenit*, common in old Latin, and that, the final *s* being almost silent in pronunciation, *usu'* came to be regarded as an abl., *usu uenit* being = *casu accidit*; Otto on the other hand thinks *usu* was in origin the contracted dative *usui* and that *usu uenit* = *usui se offert* (*obtulit*).

qui cum acriter...intuerentur, ut...: if we read as in the text with almost all MSS including the best, we have an anacolouthon, as we should strictly have had *quod eis saepe usu uenit qui acriter... intuiti sunt, ut aspectum omnino amitterent*, or *quod eis saepe usu uenit qui cum...intuerentur, aspectum omnino amiserunt*. The subj. *intuerentur* follows *cum* temporal because the order of succession in time is also in this case an order of cause and effect, cf. Madv. § 358. Schiche substitutes *uel* for *ut*. If *uel* were read or *ut* were absent before *aspectum* we should have no anacolouthon. *ut* is said to be absent from two inferior MSS and might be thought to have come in by dittography after *-ur*, but we should expect *amiserunt* not *amitterent* if *ut* were absent, and Mo. is probably right in supposing that the omission is due to a corrector.

cum before *acriter* is absent from at least one inferior MS and omitted from several early editions. *cum* is bracketed by Bai. and TS. and by Klotz, following Madv. Wes. Hei. If this were accepted it would seem impossible to explain the subj. *intuerentur* except as iterative. But,

ut aspectum omnino amitterent; sic mentis acies se ipsa intuens non numquam hebescit, ob eamque causam contemplandi diligentiam amittimus. itaque dubitans, circumspectans, haesitans, multa aduersa reuerens tamquam ratis in mari inmenso nostra

18. aspectum (ut *superscr.*) O 10. || se ipsa (*ante* intuens) R G B K E. se ipa B 2. se ipsā P *alio atram. superscr.* se ipsā V S. se ipām W 1 2 B 3 D J O 12. se ipsam M 1 2 G 3 Π O 1–11. 21. uerens D L 2 O 8. uertus C. reuerens (t *superscr.*) E 2 *alio, ut uid., atram. superscr.* reuetens (r *superscr.*) R 13. reuertens R 1 2 4–7 9–12 14 15 17 V G 1 3 4 B 1–3 P S E 1 1 3 L 3–6 J O 1–7 9 11 ed. P. reutens K W 2 R 16 V 2 G 2 E 8 O 12. reuoluens O 10 *marg.* reuertens. || in rate R 1–4 8 10–14 16 17 G 1–4 Gr B 1–3 K P 14 S E 12 13 W 1 2 M 1 L 2–6 J O 1–8 ed. P. inrate (*s superscr.*) V *manu et atram. antiquo superscr.* ratis O 9 10. rates R 5 D C. rate R 6. || tanquam in mari M 1 R 7 15 O 11 12 (*marg.* in rate O 12). || inmenso V G 1 3 K E R 15. inmensa M 1.

apart from certain *cum*-clauses, for which see Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* II § 498 p. 544, 1 a, and certain other *cum*-clauses treated of by Dr. in sub-sections b and c, which seem to admit of another explanation, there seems no proof that Cic. used the iterative subj., and we are not justified in thrusting the use upon him by emendation. The same objection applies to Deiter's conjecture *qui tam acriter* in *Philologus* XLVI p. 176.

This passage is taken pretty closely from Phaedo p. 99 d '*μὴ πάθοιμι ὅπερ οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλείποντα θεωροῦντες καὶ σκοπούμενοι· διαφθείρονται γάρ που ἔνιοι τὰ ὄμματα, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν ὕδατι ἤ τινι τοιούτῳ σκοπῶνται τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ.*'

[The *ut*-clause has all the appearance of being genuine, and an explanation of *quod. quicumque* may be the right reading.]

aspectum: cf. v 38, 111 'etiam si non adhibeatur aspectus'; v 39, 114 'inpediri...animi aciem aspectu oculorum.'

se ipsa intuens: see 23, 54 n. We should have expected *ipsam* here, as the contrast is to *solem intuens*, but the MS authority is more in favour of *ipsa*, and the nom. is more emphatic. So often, cf. p. Sulla 13, 39 'de se ipse confessus esset.'

circumspectans: this word often implies anxiety, cf. Tac. Agr. 32 'mare et siluas, ignota omnia circumspectantes.'

multa aduersa reuerens: *reuerens* seems a necessary corr. for *reuertens* of most MSS. *reuerens* is rare in Cic. in the sense of 'dreading,' but cf. Or. ii 28, 122 'dicam enim non reuerens adsentandi suspicionem.'

tamquam ratis in mari inmenso nostra uehitur oratio: Cic. has evidently before his mind the passage in Phaedo 85 d '*δεῖν γὰρ περὶ αὐτὰ...ἤ... ἢ εἰ ταῦτα ἀδύνατον τὸν γοῦν βέλτιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων λόγων λαβόντα καὶ δυσεξελεγκτότατον, ἐπὶ τούτου ὀχούμενον, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σχεδίας κινδυνεύοντα διαπλεῦσαι τὸν βίον.*'

MSS here have *oratio*. Many editors have altered this to *ratio* to represent λόγος, but λόγος denotes not only *ratio* but *oratio*. Küh. therefore follows Mo. in taking Cic. to have understood λόγος as = *oratio* personified.

I have adopted Sff.'s reading *tamquam ratis*, a reading found in V^2 and O$_{9,10}$, for which there is much to be said, whether we alter to *ratio* with him or retain *oratio* as explained by Mo. and Küh.; 'our utterance is borne along like some skiff upon a boundless sea.' There seems no fitness in our 'utterance' or our 'theory' being *in* a skiff and (a point not put forward by Sff.) it is not so in the Platonic passage, but *we ourselves* are embarked upon the λόγος as upon a raft. Sff. explains the *in* of the best MSS by dittography after the *m* of *tamquam* and *rate* as corrupted from *rati'* = *ratis*. It is a point in favour of *ratio* that we could embark on a *plan* better than on an *oratio*.

As *oratio* can be explained it may be retained, but Sff. remarks 'Oratio et ratio inter se permixta sunt in G et R praeter hunc locum i 112, 116, iii 76, v 47,' and Küh. gives other instances. Strongly in favour of the readings *ratis* and *oratio* here are iv 5, 9 'utrum panderem uela orationis' and iv 14, 33 'quoniam tamquam ex scrupulosis cotibus enauigauit oratio,' in which passages the *oratio* sails like a *ratis*.

uehitur oratio. **74.** sed haec et uetera et a Graecis. Cato autem sic abiit e uita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. uetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare; cum uero causam iustam deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, saepe multis, ne ille me dius fidius uir sapiens laetus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit, nec tamen illa uincla carceris ruperit—leges enim uetant—sed tamquam a magistratu aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a deo euocatus atque emissus exierit. tota enim philosophorum uita, ut ait idem, commentatio mortis est.

22. oratio R 1 2 6 10 V G 1 3 4 B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 1–12. § **74**, 26. neille R V P. ne ille G B 1–3 K M 1 2 O 1–4 6 8 9 11. nec ille S *marg.* nę. nę ille W 1 O 5 10. nec ille E W 2 J O 7. certe O 12 *marg.* nae.

§ 74. **a Graecis**: sc. *ducta*, cf. Or. ii 70, 285 'ab hoc uero Crasso nihil facetius,' sc. *dictum*. T.D. ii 3, 7 'qui sunt ab ea disciplina,' also quoted by Küh., is not a close parallel.

Cato: M. Porcius Cato of Utica who committed suicide in 46 B.C. after the battle of Thapsus. On the night on which he slew himself he read through Plato's Phaedo.

uetat enim...: for the Stoic view with regard to suicide cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, *etc.*, c. xii pp. 316 foll. Cicero says that Pythagoras forbade suicide, cf. Cato M. 20, 73 'uetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione uitae decedere,' and Plato, Phaedo 61 e, represents Kebes as saying that he heard Philolaus say '*ὡς οὐ δέοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν.*' Cf. also Phaedo 62 b '*ἔν τινι φρουρᾷ ἐσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν.*' Also Athenaeus iv p. 157, cited by Dav. '*Εὐξίθεος ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς...ἔλεγεν ἐνδεδέσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ δεῦρο βίῳ τὰς ἁπάντων ψυχὰς τιμωρίας χάριν, καὶ διειῖπασθαι τὸν θεόν, ὡς εἰ μὴ μενοῦσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἕως ἂν ἑκὼν αὐτοὺς λύσῃ, πλέοσι καὶ μείζοσιν ἐμπεσοῦνται τότε λύμαις.*'

iniussu, 'without permission,' but lit. 'without orders,' cf. Cato M. quoted above; p. Balbo 15, 34 'populus Romanus (a sovereign people) iniussu suo nullo pacto potest religione obligari.'

causam iustam, 'valid,' 'adequate.'

saepe multis: strictly *multis*, *aliis alio tempore*. In this, as in many other instances, the Romans did not distribute. Cf. 1, 2 n. on 'lautius.'

ne: this affirmative *ne* is always, in writers of the best period, immediately followed by a pronoun, demonstrative or personal. *ne* not *nae* is the spelling of the best MSS here and elsewhere.

me dius fidius: a popular exclamation compressed from *ita me dius fidius adiuuet* 'so help me the god of good faith.' *dius fidius = Semo Sancus*, a demigod worshipped by Sabines, Umbrians, and Romans. Cf. Preller p. 633. *dius*, √ in *diuus*, *deus*, 'bright one.'

excesserit: see n. on *sustuleris* 13, 30. It is true that the fut. perf. here denotes, as explained by Küh., action contemporaneous with the action expressed in the protasis, but it should be noted that the idiom arises from an exaggerated mode of speaking; if the deity gives the order the wise man will have departed, i.e. will instantly depart, 'no sooner said than done.' And from this comes the notion of *assurance*, which I take to be the idea here, and often. The idiom is much found in the comic dramatists. See references to Roby in 13, 30 n.

uincla carceris: a compressed expression, cf. Rep. vi 14 'qui ex corporum uinclis, tamquam e carcere, euolauerunt.' Bent. unnecessarily conjectured *uincla corporis*, an expression which occurs in Lael. 4, 14; Diu. i 49, 110.

ruperit: not *rumpet*, owing to the influence of the preceding *excesserit*.

leges: sc. *diuinae*, *νόμοι ἄγραφοι*. TS. brackets and Schiche ejects *leges enim uetant* as a gloss.

potestate: abstract for concrete, 'authority' in the sense of 'person in authority,' cf. Leg. iii 3, 9 'imperia potestates legationes, cum senatus creuerit populusue iusserit, ex urbe exeunto,' and see Mayor on Juv. x 100.

ut ait idem: Cic. has in view Phaedo

XXXI. **75.** Nam quid aliud agimus, cum a uoluptate, id est a corpore, cum a re familiari, quae est ministra et famula corporis, cum a re publica, cum a negotio omni seuocamus animum, quid, inquam, tum agimus, nisi animum ad se ipsum aduocamus, secum esse cogimus maximeque a corpore abducimus? secernere autem a corpore animum, nec quicquam aliud, est mori discere. quare hoc commentemur, mihi crede, disiunga-

XXXI. § 75, 3. seuocamus V B 1 3 K P S E R 10 O 2–7 9 11 12. seuocauimus O 10. euocamus B 2 O 8. reuocamus O 1. 5. auocamus *post* se ipsum R 1 10 V G Gr B P E. a(d)uocamus S. aduocamus B 3 Π O 2–8 11. aduocauimus O 10. euocamus B 2 O 1 9. ^uocamus O 12 *marg.* ^ad. (a)uocamus K *alio atram. superscr.* ‖ max(v)imeque K *alio atram. superscr.* 6. nec quicquam aliud emori discere G B 1 2 E W 2 J R 9. *idem prima manu* R *et* E 3 *at* ē/(q)mori R *manu antiqua sed pallidiore atram. superscr.* (q)emori E 3. ne(c)quicquamaliudēmori discere K c *alio atram. superscr.* ne quicquam aliud emori discere P. nec quidquam aliud Gr R 12 16 L 6 Π. nec quicquam aliud W 1 R 2 3 5 10 17 G 2 E 2 8 13 L 4–6 D C O 7–9 11 12. ne quicquam aliud M 1 2 R 4 6 G 4 B 3 P 4 E 3 5 L 3 O 2–6 ed. P. non est quidquam aliud O 10. nec quicquam est aliud E 4 O 1 9. ne quicquam est aliud R 11 13. quicquam est aliud R 14. 7. quam emori (*ante* discere) R 12 B 3 P 4 L 4 6 D O 2 5 6 10. nisi emori R 17. est quam emori M 1 2 R 4–6 C O 3 4 7 12 ed. P. est quam emori se R 3 7. est quam mori S R 2 10 16 E 2 13 Π. est nisi emori G 4 L 2 5 O 8. est nisi emori ~~se~~ W 1. est nisi emori se G 2 E 5. est nisi mori O 11. est quam nisi emori E 8. ^emori discere (*post* aliud) V *marg. alio atram.* nisi. nisi emori (*ante* discere) Ô 1 9. nisi emori se R 11. quam emori R 13 14 E 4. quidquam emori discere R 15. ‖ cred(e)i R 1 2. credi V K. crede P i *in* e *mutato.* crede E (*uidetur* e *ex* i *mut. esse*). credidis iungamusque G.

67 d '*τὸ μελέτημα αὐτὸ τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν φιλοσόφων, λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος.*'

XXXI. § 75. **cum a uoluptate, id est, a corpore**: cf. Fin. i 10, 33 'mollitia animi, id est, laborum et dolorum fuga' where Madvig notes 'praeponitur...noua notio appellatioque, sequitur quod notum erat et ante dictum ut *id est* sit fere: *id est enim*...Fit id aliquotiens apud Ciceronem, ut...Tusc. i 75 a uoluptate, id est, a corpore (de corpore agitur), Lael. 97 in scaena, id est, in contione (contionem et orationem Laelii commemorarat).'

seuocamus: 16, 38 n.

secum esse: cf. Cato M. 14, 49.

secernere autem a corpore animum...: the best MSS have *nec quicquam aliud emori discere*; R has *quam* written by *compendium* above the line after *aliud*; V has *nisi* written in the margin to follow *aliud*. Bentley perceived *emori* to be corrupted from *ē mori*, i.e. *est mori*, and conjectured *nec quicquam aliud est mori discere*, which Or. adopted, comparing Lactant. Epit. Inst. 41 'nam deum uerum colere, id est, nec aliud quicquam, sapientia.'

Sff. conjectured *ecquidnam aliud est mori discere*, comparing Phil. ii 4, 7 and Pis. 20, 47, but these passages are not parallel; see Mayor on Phil. ii 4, 7 and Madvig on Fin. v 11, 31.

Hei. reads 'ecquidnam aliud est nisi mori discere,' comparing Plat. Phaedo 80 e, and *ni* could easily fall out before the *m* in *mori*.

I have followed Bentley and Or., as their reading gives good sense and good Latin without involving any material departure from the best MSS.

mihi crede: a confirmatory expression, *ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ*, cf. Cat. i 3, 6 'muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede.' Hor. Sat. ii 6, 93 'carpe uiam, mihi crede, comes.' Cicero regularly uses this order *mihi crede*. *crede mihi* seems only found in the Letters; see Wilkins on Or. ii 17, 72.

hoc = *commentatio mortis*, cf. *hoc commentemur*, above. To emphasise *hoc* the first *et* is trajected and placed after

musque nos a corporibus, id est consuescamus mori. hoc, et dum erimus in terris, erit illi caelesti uitae simile, et cum illuc ex his uinclis emissi feremur, minus tardabitur cursus animorum; nam qui in compedibus corporis semper fuerunt, etiam cum soluti sunt, tardius ingrediuntur, ut ii, qui ferro uincti multos annos fuerunt. quo cum uenerimus, tum denique uiuemus. nam haec quidem uita mors est, quam lamentari possem, si liberet.

76. *A.* Satis tu quidem in Consolatione es lamentatus; quam cum lego, nihil malo quam has res relinquere, his uero modo auditis multo magis.

M. Veniet tempus, et quidem celeriter et siue retractabis siue properabis; uolat enim aetas. tantum autem abest ab eo, ut malum mors sit, quod tibi dudum uidebatur, ut uerear, ne homini nihil sit non malum aliud certius, nihil bonum aliud potius, si quidem uel di ipsi uel 'cum dis futuri sumus.

12. ut hi R V G K P M 1 B 2 3 O 3 4 12.
§ **76**, 18. retractabis R 1 2 10 V G Gr B 1 2 K S E W 1 2 M 2 P 4 D C J O 1 2 7–9 ed. P. retracta bis M 1. retratabis E 4. retrectabis Π O 6. retractabis P (te tardabis) *alia manu superscr.* te tardabis O 11. retardabis B 3 *marg.* retractabis. retardabis R 6 14 G 2 3 O 3–5 10 12. 21. certe sed (*post* aliud *et ante* nihil) R 1 2 6 10 G 1–3 B 1–3 P S E 1 5 W 1 2 M 1 2 Π J O 1 2 5–8 10–12 ed. H. certe sed V. certe ſ9 K. certe sed nihil (*post* malum) O 3 4. illud certe sed O 9. aliud sed certe potius nichil aliud bonum D C. 22. di R V B 1 2 *et manu prima* P. dij *in* di *mut.* S. dii W 1 2 M 1 2 B 3 O 3. cum dis V P.

the pronoun; we have also a slight anacolouthon as *minus tardabit cursum* (*minus tardum reddet*) should have followed.

quo cum uenerimus: *quo = illuc* above, i.e. *ad uitam caelestem.* For the sentiment cf. Rep. vi 14 'immo uero, inquit, ei uiuunt, qui e corporum uinculis tamquam e carcere euolauerunt, uestra uero, quae dicitur, uita mors est'; also Euripides frag. 639 (Dindorf)

'*τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν*
τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται;'

Dr Reid also reminds me of the idea *σῶμα σῆμα*, old among Greek philosophers.

quam lamentari possem: *quam* is to be referred not to *mors* but to *uita*, 'quippe in quo uis sententiae posita sit.' Küh.

§ 76. **in Consolatione**: 26, 65 n.

has res: deictic, 'all here,' i.e. *uitam humanam*, *τὰ ἐνθάδε*.

retractabis, 'shrink from it.' *retractare* seems primarily used of a refractory horse or ox, cf. Columella ii 2, 26, then generally in the sense of *cunctari*, cf. v 29, 82 'sine retractatione'; Livy iii 49, 2 'Appius nunc uocari Icilium nunc retractantem arripi...iubet'; iii 52, 43 'nullo qui per aetatem ire posset retractante.'

properabis: often used of mental eagerness, as here, cf. Prou. Cons. 14, 35 'si in patriam, si ad deos penates...redire properaret'; Or. i 36, 166 'eos quos multas horas exspectauit, cum in campum properaret, et ridens et stomachans Scaeuola.'

ab eo ut: cf. Livy xxv 6, 11 'tantum abfuit ab eo, ut ulla ignominia eis exercitibus quaereretur, ut etiam...'; Caesar B. G. v 2, 2 'neque multum abesse ab eo quin paucis diebus deduci possint.'

dudum, 'a while ago,' cf. 5, 9.

ut uerear...potius: I follow Küh. who adopts the conj. of Jeep, *Progr. Guelpherb.* 1865 p. 6 reading *certius* for *certe sed* of the MSS. This passage then corresponds very closely to 11, 23 'efficiet enim ratio ut quaecumque uera sit earum sententiarum quas exposui

A. Quid refert?

M. Adsunt enim, qui haec non probent. ego autem numquam ita te in hoc sermone dimittam, ulla uti ratione mors tibi uideri malum possit.

77. *A*. Qui potest, cum ista cognouerim?

M. Qui possit, rogas? cateruae ueniunt contra dicentium, nec solum Epicureorum, quos equidem non despicio, sed nescio quo modo doctissimus quisque [contemnit], acerrime autem

25. ulla uti ratione ut R 1 2 6 10 G 1 3 B 1–3 K P 1 4 E 1 5 W 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 1–8 10–12. ut ratione V *at rasura cum spatio ante* mors *et rasura, ut uid.*, *post* ut. ulla ~~uti~~ ratione O 9. ut ulla rōne W 1. uti *perperam intellecto* ut *inculcatum uidetur*.

§ 77, 30. contemnit R V W 1 O 1 2 6 7 10–12. contemnim' B. contempnit G P E W 2 B 3 C Π J O 3–5 8 9. čtēpnit K. contem⁄nit S (*cum litura*). || accerume R V G E B 2. acerrume C. a cerrume B (*litt. erasa*). accerrume K. a⁄cerrime P *duobus spatiis relictis*. acerrime S W 2 M 1 2 B 3 O 3 4.

mors aut malum non sit aut sit bonum potius.' Wesenberg and Sff. changed *sed* to *sit* reading *ut uerear ne homini nihil sit non malum aliud, certe sit nihil bonum aliud potius*, which is the reading of Hei. TS. Ml. Schiche; but the expression seems somewhat awkward and the statement of this paradox, though possible to Plato, and therefore to Cicero, does not directly concern Cicero's present purpose.

uel di ipsi: cf. 26, 65 n.

quid refert: the distribution between A. and M. adopted in the text is that of F. A. W. Or. Küh. TS. Hei. Ml. Sff., after Lamb. Bent. Dav., would give all from *ueniet tempus* down to *uideri malum possit* to M.; but Tischer rightly objects that we should in that case require *quamquam* before *quid refert*. Tischer, holding with Kayser that something must have fallen out before *adsunt enim*, inserts *certe refert* before *adsunt enim*; but Küh. holds that the text is sound, as *enim*, after the interrogation, has a confirmatory force like Gk γάρ, the meaning being therefore equivalent to *A. Quid refert? M. Refert; adsunt enim*...: cf. Hand, *Tursell.* II 384. Küh. takes *quid refert* to mean 'What does it matter whether we are gods or to be with the gods?' But this does not seem to suit the context *adsunt enim qui haec non probent*, since this must refer to people who deny the immortality of the soul (*haec* = *hanc inmortalitatem*, below). *quid refert* seems rather to mean What difference does it make whether it is less an evil than anything else is, or whether it is more a good than anything else is? It does make a difference, for we must shew that even if the *animus* is *mortalis*, death, though not a positive good, is less an evil than anything else is.

ulla uti ratione mors: nearly all MSS read *ulla uti ratione ut mors*: most editors reject *ut*, following Manutius, whose argument Bent. thus compresses 'ambigua dictio *uti*...librariis fraudi fuit.' Sff. reads *ulla ullius ratione ut*.

§ 77. **qui potest**: 11, 23 n.

quos equidem non despicio: Cic. speaks ironically, as often, in referring to the Epicureans, cf. ii 3, 7 'quorum dicuntur esse Latini sane multi libri quos non contemno equidem quippe quos numquam legerim.'

nescio quo modo: 11, 24 n.

doctissimus quisque [contemnit]: *contemnit* was absent from a MS used by Manutius, and, he thought, rightly absent. All other MSS have it. It is rejected by F. A. W. Sch. Or. Bai. TS. Hei. Mo. and Ml. bracket and Wes. *Em.* II p. 21 thought that it should be ejected. Dav. saw no reason to reject it in face of the MSS. Küh. and Schiche retain *contemnit*: Küh. thinks we have an anacolouthon, but does not shew how the anacolouthon arose. It seems to me that we have here an interpolation in the archetype due to some glossator who supplied *contemnit*, i. e. *despicit*, to *doctissimus quisque* instead of making those words the subject to *disseruit*. The *nec solum* clause requires a *sed* clause (*sed etiam*, *uerum etiam*...) to correspond to it; it cannot be carried on by an *autem* clause.

The assertion that *doctissimus quisque*

deliciae meae Dicaearchus contra hanc inmortalitatem disseruit. is enim tris libros scripsit, qui Lesbiaci uocantur, quod Mytilenis sermo habetur, in quibus uolt efficere animos esse mortalis. Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur tamquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant.

XXXII. Num non uis igitur audire, cur, etiam si ita sit, mors tamen non sit in malis?

A. Vt uidetur; sed me nemo de inmortalitate depellet.

78. *M*. Laudo id quidem, etsi nihil nimis oportet confidere. mouemur enim saepe aliquo acute concluso, labamus muta-

31. inmortalitatem K. 32. tris R 1 2 V G B 1 3 P E W 2 M 1 C O 3 5. tres S B 2 O 2. 33. uolt V G. 34. mortalis R V G B E O 2 3. ‖ tamquam V G. XXXII. 1. num non uis R E W 1 B 2 J O 1 11. num nō uis D. nū non uis P *at* ū *in rasura et alio atram. scriptum est.* num ñ uis G *at* ñ *in rasura.* num ñ uis W 2. nū ñ uis K S R 2 G 3 C. num ñ^{æ} uis B *i.e.* num ñ uis *manu prima scriptum quod postea librarius alter in* num nae uis *mutare conatus est.* num neuis V *at* e *cet. litt. nigrius est et haud scio an fuerit linea supra* n (*ante* e). num ne uis O 12. non uis (*abest* num) R 10 O 10. ñn uis O 6 *at* ñn *mut. est.* num uis M 1 2 R 6 B 3 Π O 2–5 8 9. numquid (*abest* uis) O 7. ‖ ista sit (*ante* mors) R V G B 1 2 K P W 2 J O 11 12. ista (sit *omisso*) E R 10 G 3 D C O 7. ista‸ S *marg. ut uid.* ita si. ita sit M 1 2 R 6 O 2–6 8–10. ista mors sit W 1 O 1.

§ **78**, 4. animis R 1 2 4 10–12 V G 1–4 Gr B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 L 3 4 6 D C Π J O 1–12. aīm9 L 2. nimis *non inueni.*

contra hanc inmortalitatem disseruit may seem startling, but cf. Lactant. Diu. Inst. vii 7, where it is asserted that Plato's pupils were unable to defend Plato's doctrine of the immortality of the soul against the attacks of other philosophers.

Dicaearchus: 10, 21 n.

efficere: 8, 16 n.

usuram: cf. 39, 93 'at ea quidem dedit usuram uitae tamquam pecuniae nulla praestituta die.' For the comparison of life to a loan of money or to a lease of property, cf. Lucr. iii 971 'uitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu,' and Munro's n.

For the view of the Stoics as to the fate of the soul after death and their reasons for their view, see 18, 42 note on *siue permanent*.

largiuntur, 'they bestow upon us a *long* lease.'

tamquam cornicibus: cf. Hor. Odes iii 17, 13 'annosa cornix'; Pliny N.H. vii 48, 153 'Hesiodus cornici nouem nostras attribuit aetates, quadruplum eius ceruis, id triplicatum coruis.' Hes. frag. 106 (Göttling) '*ἐννέα τοι ζώει γενεὰς λακέρυζα κορώνη ἀνδρῶν ἡβώντων.*'

XXXII. **num non uis**: Dav. adopted Bentley's view, reading *numne uis* found in '*Schioppii codex* on the testimony of Andreas Schottus' (found in O 12, and in V, but possibly there by corr.) and Or. accepted the same reading. But Küh. seems right in contending that *numne uis* is quite different from *uisne*, and differs from *num* only in emphasis of expression, being related to it as *μῶν μή* to *μῶν*. *num non* occurs in iii 9, 19 and *num non uis* is a probable reading in Or. iii 38, 154.

de inmortalitate depellet: compressed for *de opinione inmortalitatis depellet*. Cf. ii 5, 14 n. 'de sententia esse deiectum.'

§ 78. **nihil nimis**: *nimis*, said to be found in Rehd. and in several early editions, is a necessary emendation for *animis* of MSS. *nihil = nulla in re.*

concluso: here a substantive, but in Fin. iii 8, 27 'satisne hoc conclusum uidetur,' a participle. (Correct Lewis and Short.) Elsewhere Cic. uses *conclusio* in this sense, cf. Fin. i 9, 30 'conclusionemque rationis,' and Madv. there, for the meaning of the term. Compare also *pronuntiatum* here in 7, 14, for which Cic. in de Fato regularly has *pronuntiatio*, as pointed out by Reid on

musque sententiam clarioribus etiam in rebus; in his est enim aliqua obscuritas. id igitur si acciderit, simus armati.

A. Sane quidem, sed ne accidat, prouidebo.

M. Num quid igitur est causae, quin amicos nostros Stoicos dimittamus? eos dico, qui aiunt manere animos, cum e corpore excesserint, sed non semper.

A. Istos uero, qui, quod tota in hac causa difficillimum est, suscipiant, posse animum manere corpore uacantem, illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum est, sed eo concesso, quod uolunt, consequens, id uero non dant, ut, cum diu permanserit, ne intereat.

7. simmus R. siminus V. siminus (sim⁹ superscr.) P *alio atram. superscr.* sim' B. siminus G. 10. animos manere O 11. manere animos *ceteri.* 15. idcirco (*post* consequens) R 1 10 G 1 2 Gr K P E 1 5 8 13 B 2 3 L 2 D C Π J O 1 3–6 8–12 ed. H. id circo V R 9 E 3 4 L 6 O 2 idrro S. idrro P 4. iccirco B W 1 M 1 2 R 2 E 2 ed. P. idcco W 2. iccco G 3. et idcirco O 7. id certe R 6.

Ac. ii 29, 95 in note on *effatum*, for which Cic. in de Fato regularly has *enuntiatio*.

in his est enim: for the position of *enim* cf. 27, 66 n. For the sense we must supply in thought *quare nihil mirum si in his labamus; est enim in eis aliqua obscuritas*.

num quid igitur est causae quin: *quin* as usual after a preventing cause denied, the words being equivalent to *num quid igitur inpedit quin*, and *num quid* implying a negative answer. Cf. de L. Agr. iii 1, 3 'num quid est causae quin illa criminatione uestram diligentiam...despexerit?' Madv. § 375 c.

manere: cf. 31, 77 'diu mansuros.'

istos uero: sc. *dimittamus*.

suscipiant: editors generally understand *defendendum* to be supplied in thought, and compare Diu. ii 40, 84 'quae si suscipiamus pedis offensio nobis...et sternutamenta erunt obseruanda.' May not the meaning, there and here, be 'adopt (lit. take up) this view,' as in 'in populi Romani ciuitatem susceptus est' Leg. ii 2, 5? [Cf. Tusc. v. 28; Acad. i 34, ii 18 and 29.] For the subjunctive with the rel. giving a reason (*qui* = *cum is*), cf. 6, 12 n. on 'qui...dimiserit'; Madv. § 366; Draeger II² § 491 p. 507. We should have expected *dent* below, not *dant*, but the indic. was possible instead of *suscipiant*, and Cic. may have slightly shifted his point of view in the second clause. Hence though *dent* and *dant* are apt to be confused in the best MSS (cf. 9, 18 n.) it is not necessary, with Sff., to alter to *dent*.

consequens, id uero: nearly all MSS including the best read *consequens idcirco*, and this, thus punctuated, Bent. approved and Dav. and Mo. received. But it would be difficult to find a parallel to this use of *idcirco*. Or. read *consequens, id certe*. He also conjectured *id cur non dant?* The conj. of Madv. approved by Wes. *consequens id non concedant* was adopted by Tr. Kl. Ml. Schiche and Hei. Another conj. of Madv. *consequens id circumcidant* was adopted by Bai. and TS., but Sff. rightly objects that *circumcido* denotes the removal of redundancies and is not used of simply doing away with anything by denial. *circumcidere et amputare* often occur together in Cicero. Küh. follows Sff. in reading *id uero non dant*, after Kl. (Add. p. 39), and Sff. well points out the correspondence between *suscipere*, i.e. *ultro sumere* and *dare*, i.e. *alteri sumenti concedere*. In *id uero*, *id* repeats the preceding *illud* for greater clearness.

illud ..non dant ut...ne intereat: for the subjunctive cf. Ac. i 6, 24 'dabitis enim profecto ut...utamur uerbis interdum inauditis'; Livy xli 8, 9 'lex sociis dabat ut ciues Romani fierent.' Madv. 372 a. The construction *ut...ne* is difficult. In a consecutive clause we expect

M. Bene reprehendis, et se isto modo res habet. **79**. credamus igitur Panaetio a Platone suo dissentienti? quem enim omnibus locis diuinum, quem sapientissimum, quem sanctissimum, quem Homerum philosophorum appellat, huius hanc unam sententiam de inmortalitate animorum non probat. uolt enim, quod nemo negat, quidquid natum sit interire; nasci autem animos, quod declaret eorum similitudo qui procreentur, quae etiam in ingeniis, non solum in corporibus appareat. alteram autem adfert rationem, nihil esse quod doleat, quin id

§ **79**, 23. declaret R 1 2 V G 1–3 B 1 2 P S E W 2 M 2 D C J O 1 3 4 7. declar& K. declarat W 1 M 1 B 3 E 3 13 L 4 6 Π O 2 5 6 8–12. ‖ procreentur R V G 1–3 Gr B 1–3 K P S E 1 3 13 W 1 2 L 4 6 J O 2–8 10 11. procreantur R 2 D C Π O 1. q. quae procreatur O 12. 25. affert (*h. l.*) R V G B 1 2.

ut non not *ut ne*. Of the two instances cited by Hei. neither is parallel, for in iii 33, 81 *ut* is *final*, and v 13, 39 is a case of a precaution indicated, with *ita* preceding (cf. Madv. § 456 obs. 4). We must take *non dant* as = *non uolunt.* Cf. Verr. ii 60, 148 'postulant enim non uti ne cogantur statuere: quid igitur? ut ipsis ne liceat.' For the difficulties connected with *ut...ne* see an excellent note by Dr Reid on p. Sulla 9, 27. [I know it is commonly stated that *ut ne* is not consecutive; but how else can one explain *ita ut ne* as e.g. De Orat. 3, §§ 171–2; Ad Herenn. 3, § 24; Varro R. R. 2, 10, 3; 3, 16, §§ 16, 27, 34; Cato De Agr. i 1 *sic uti ne*...? In these cases *ne* seems a survival from the time when it was a pure negative.]

bene reprehendis, 'your criticism is just.'

§ 79. **Panaetio**: 18, 42 n. For his attitude towards the Stoic doctrines and towards Plato, cf. Fin. iv 28, 79 'quam illorum (sc. Stoicorum) tristitiam atque asperitatem fugiens Panaetius nec acerbitatem sententiarum nec disserendi spinas probauit, fuitque in altero genere mitior, in altero inlustrior, semperque habuit in ore Platonem, Aristotelen, Xenocraten, Theophrastum, Dicaearchum, ut ipsius scripta declarant.' But Zeller wrongly supposes (*Ph. d. Gr.* III p. 344) that Cicero intends in our passage to contrast the views of Panaetius with those of other leading Stoics (see Küh. here).

a Platone suo dissentienti: the following epigram in the Anthologia, entitled *εἰς τὸν Φαίδωνα διάλογον Πλάτωνος νοθευόμενον ὑπὸ Παναιτίου*, quoted by Dav., seems to shew that Panaetius held the Phaedo not to be a genuine work of Plato:—

εἴ με Πλάτων οὐ γράψε, δύω ἐγένοντο Πλάτωνε·
Σωκρατικῶν ὀάρων ἄνθεα πάντα φέρω·
ἀλλὰ νόθον μ' ἐτέλεσσε Παναίτιος· ὃς ῥ' ἐτάλασσε
καὶ ψυχὴν θνητὴν κἀμὲ νόθον τελέσαι.

See Grote, *Plato* I p. 157 with notes, and especially his quotation from Asklepius on Aristotle's Metaphysics p. 991, Scholia, ed. Brandis, p. 576, a 38.

huius hanc: we should rather have expected *eius hanc*. *huius* is more graphic; see Küh. on 3, 5. TS. may also be right in supposing that Cic. was influenced by a tendency to bring together two inflected forms of the same pronoun; but his instances (*eius eum librum* 11, 24; *eaque ei demum* 19, 43) do not prove this, since we should not have expected *huius* or *hac* in those passages. Cicero also brings together inflected forms of *different* pronouns, e.g. 16, 36 'quam eorum opinionem'; 43, 102 'cuius hoc dicto,' and often.

uolt, 'maintains.'

declaret: or. obl.

eorum similitudo qui procreentur: sc. *eis qui procreauerunt.*

alteram autem adfert rationem: against the argument here stated Mo. cites Beroaldus 'contra hanc rationem Augustinus in xxi de Ciu. Dei: quod animus dolorem pati potest, mori non potest: nec consequens esse ut mortem faciat quod dolorem facit. Platonici asserentes immortalitatem animorum dicunt animos non ex sua natura dolere sed ex corporum contagione pollutos: quod et Virgilius sensit in VI Aeneid. scribens

aegrum esse quoque possit; quod autem in morbum cadat, id etiam interiturum; dolere autem animos, ergo etiam interire.

XXXIII. **80.** Haec refelli possunt; sunt enim ignorantis, cum de aeternitate animorum dicatur, de mente dici, quae omni turbido motu semper uacet, non de partibus iis, in quibus aegritudines, irae libidinesque uersentur, quas is, contra quem haec dicuntur, semotas a mente et disclusas putat. iam similitudo magis apparet in bestiis, quarum animi sunt rationis expertes; hominum autem similitudo in corporum figura magis exstat, et ipsi animi magni refert quali in corpore locati sint. multa enim e corpore exsistunt, quae acuant mentem, multa, quae obtundant. Aristoteles quidem ait omnis ingeniosos melancholicos esse, ut ego me tardiorem esse non moleste

27. dolore autem E.

XXXIII. § **80**, 2. dicantur (*post* animorum) R V G P E M 1 B 2 3 C O 1 3–6 9 10 12. dicantur B (n *ex parte eraso*). dicatur M 2 R 6 10 O 2 7 8 11. 3. his in R V G B 1–3 E M 1. iis in S *at litt.*, *ut uid.*, *ante* ii *erasa*. 4. quas his R G B 1 2. quas is S R 6 B 3 O 3. 5. dicantur (*post* haec) R 1 2 6 10 B 1 2 K P E 1 3 8 W 1 M 2 D C O 1–4 7 9 12. dicātur G 3. dicantur V. dicatur O 11. dicuntur M 1 B 3 Π O 5 6 10. dicantur haec W 2 E 5 J O 8. 6. sunt rationes R O 3. sunt rationes V *alio atram. superscr.* 8. exstat R V G. existat S *marg.* extat. existat E R 2 B 2. exsistat Gr. existit C Π. extat B 1 3 K P O 2 4 5. ‖ sınt (*post* locati) V *fuerat* sunt. sunt S *marg.* sint. sunt B W 1 M 1 Π O 8. sint M 2 B 3 C O 5. 10. omnis R V B E.

"Hinc (id est ex terrenis corporibus moribundisque membris) metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque." '

id aegrum esse quoque: not *aegrum quoque esse* because *aegrum esse* forms a single idea (*aegrotare*), Kl.

XXXIII. § 80. **sunt enim ignorantis**: Cic. deals with Panaetius' two arguments in chiastic order.

dicatur = *cum enim de ae. a. dicitur de mente dicitur, quod illi ignorant.* The present (and perfect) subj. are used when the verb upon which the oratio obliqua depends is in the present, Roby 1785; Kühner, *Gram.* II § 239. Cf. ii 7, 17 'adfirmat...si uratur sapiens'; Cato M. 20, 73 'Ennius non censet lugendam esse mortem quam inmortalitas consequatur'; p. Sulla 7, 21 'hic ego de testimoniis meis hoc respondeo: si falsum dixerim, te in eosdem dixisse.'

uacet...uersentur: or. obliqua.

aegritudines are the *genus* (Mo.) of which **irae** and **libidines** are *species*; we have therefore two nouns linked together by *-que*, not three. For the plurals cf. 16, 36 n. Mo. compares the Platonic *ὀργαί*.

is, contra quem: Plato placed these feelings apart from the seat of reason (cf. 10, 20 n. on 'Plato triplicem finxit animum'), but Panaetius, as a Stoic, does not argue from Plato's point of view. The Stoics derived even feeling and desire from the *ἡγεμονικόν*. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* pp. 202–3.

iam similitudo: Cic. now takes up the former of Panaetius' arguments of § 79.

exstat = *eminet*, *apparet*, cf. Or. i 16, 72 'apparet atque exstat'; iii 26, 101 'exstare atque eminere uideatur,' cited by Mo.

Aristoteles quidem, 'indeed A. says.' Cf. Arist. Problem. xxx 1. The point is that genius, which belongs to the *animus*, was, according to Aristotle, dependent upon the bile, which belongs to the *corpus*. For *quidem* introducing a confirmatory instance cf. 'et quidem,' 34, 83.

melancholicos, 'atrabilious.'

ut ego me tardiorem...feram, 'so that I am not sorry that I am somewhat slow-witted,' i.e. since I escape the madness from which the *ingeniosi* suffer. Cicero speaks ironically.

feram. enumerat multos, idque quasi constet, rationem cur ita fiat adfert. quod si tanta uis est ad habitum mentis in iis, quae gignuntur in corpore (ea sunt autem, quaecumque sunt, quae similitudinem faciant), nihil necessitatis adfert, cur nascantur animi, similitudo. **81.** omitto dissimilitudines. uellem adesse posset Panaetius—uixit cum Africano—: quaererem ex eo, cuius suorum similis fuisset Africani fratris nepos, facie uel patris, uita omnium perditorum ita similis, ut esset facile deterrimus; cuius etiam similis P. Crassi, et sapientis et eloquentis

13. adfert R V P E. affert K. 15. faciunt W 2 D C J. faciant R V G 1 4 Gr B 1–3 K P S E W 1 Π O 1–6 8–12. faciat O 7. || nascatur R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1–6 9–12. nascantur O 7. affert animi O 8 *ceteris omissis*.

§ **81**, 16. diſ similitudines V *manu antiqua superscr*. *ceteri* similitudines. 17. a fricano V f *eraso*. affricano E. 18. africani V *nulla in rasura*.

quasi constet = *ut adferat si constet*: for the tense cf. 22, 50 n. on 'quasi uero intellegant.'

rationem: cf. Problem. xxx 1.

quaecumque sunt: semi-parenthetic, sc. *quaecumque ea sunt quae gignuntur in corpore*.

faciant: Küh. TS. Sff. Or. F.A.W. Kl. *prob*. *Wes*. after Lambinus' conj. read *faciunt*, and this would be good Latin, but Dav. Mo. Hei. read *faciant* with all the best MSS, a reading which Ml. supports in a convincing critical note. The subjunctive is a class-subjunctive. 'It is *these* that produce resemblance.' Ml. compares Ac. ii 33, 107 'habuerint'; Fin. iii 22, 73 'uicturus sit'; v 24, 72 'fateantur'; v 30, 91 'quae...sint'; T.D. v 14, 40 'compleatur'; 30, 85 'qui dicant.'

nascantur: *nascatur* is read by almost all MSS. Lamb. followed by most modern edd. corr. to *nascantur*, pointing out the punctuation, the ref. being to § 79 'nasci autem animos, quod declaret eorum similitudo, qui procreentur.' Dav. thought that the MS reading could be defended by punctuating thus *cur nascatur animi similitudo*. This involves supplying *animus* to *nascatur* as subject from *an. sim.*, and Mo. objects that Cic. argues not that *animi sim.* affords no proof that the soul has birth, but that no *similitudo* affords a proof of this (cf. *eorum similitudo* above).

§ 81. **dissimilitudines**: the MSS read *similitudines*, but V *manu secunda* has *dissimilitudinès*, wh. has been adopted, as a conj. of Bentley, by most recent editors except Küh. The corruption is due to *similitudinem* above. The argument is 'Even where it exists *similitudo* results from circumstances of the body (these being similar in the child to those of the parent), and I need not dwell on the numerous instances in which there is no *similitudo* but the very reverse. I give only two striking instances, for my object is not to prove the immortality of the soul, but to prove that there is no evil in death, whether the soul be mortal or not.'

uixit cum, 'lived on intimate terms with.'

Africani fratris nepos: sc. *Africani minoris*. Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, son of Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, who was the brother of P. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (the son of L. Aemilius Paullus, victor at Pydna 168 B.C.). The grandson referred to was placed by law under *curatela* on account of his profligacy. Val. Max. iii 5, 2.

facie uel patris: supply *simillimus* from *ita similis*, below; but the conj. of Hermann, quoted by Küh., is very probable. 'Acuta est C. F. Hermanni (*Rhein. Mus. Neue Folge* IV p. 318) coniectura facie *aui* uel patris; nam antecedens *nepos* requirere uidetur uocabulum *aui*,' Küh.

patris: 15, 34 n. on 'sui similem.'

P. Crassi: P. Licinius M. F. P. N. Crassus Diues, consul 97 B.C., father of the Triumvir and of the father of the *nepos* here mentioned, this *nepos* being P. Licinius Crassus Diues, who squandered vast wealth and became known as *Decoctor*. Val. Max. vi 9, 12.

et primi hominis, nepos multorumque aliorum clarorum uirorum, quos nihil attinet nominare, nepotes et filii. sed quid agimus? oblitine sumus hoc nunc nobis esse propositum, cum satis de aeternitate dixissemus, ne si interirent quidem animi, quicquam mali esse in morte?

A. Ego uero memineram, sed te de aeternitate dicentem aberrare a proposito facile patiebar.

XXXIV. **82.** *M.* Video te alte spectare et uelle in caelum migrare. spero fore ut contingat id nobis. sed fac, ut isti uolunt, animos non remanere post mortem: uideo nos, si ita sit, priuari spe beatioris uitae, mali uero quid adfert ista sententia? fac enim sic animum interire, ut corpus; num igitur aliquis dolor aut omnino post mortem sensus in corpore est? nemo id quidem dicit, etsi Democritum insimulat Epicurus, Democritei negant.

21. clarorum uirorum R 1 10 V G B 1 2 P S E W 1 2 M 2 J O 1 3 4 6–8 11 *et marg. ead. manu* O 12. uirorum clarorum R 6 B 3 O 5 9 10. *abest* clarorum O 2. 22. [&]nepotes et filii V *manu antiqua superscr.* 24. quiquam V (c) *manu antiqua superscr.*

XXXIV. § **82**, 2. sed fac[ut] isti V *manu antiqua superscr.* 3. uidenos (o) K *alio atram. superscr.* 4. adfert R V P E. 5. aliquis *omnes.* 7. democritici R 16 V G B 1 2 K P S E 1 13 D II O 1–3 5 8–10. democriti W 1 M 1 2 G 2–4 B 3 E 5 C O 6 7 11. democretici J O 4. d'mocrotici W 2. democtici (i) O 12.

primi = *primarii.* Cf. p. Sestio 53, 114; Topica § 26; Verr. iii 71, 168 'primorum hominum atque honestissimorum'; iv 23, 50; iv 17, 37 'a Lysone...primo homine.'

hoc nobis esse propositum: sc. 'ut probaremus.'

aeternitate: 23, 55 n.

XXXIV. § 82. **alte spectare**: cf. Rep. vi 23 'alte spectare si uoles atque hanc sedem et aeternam domum contueri.' 'I see that you have a high ambition': a pun.

in caelum migrare: i.e. 'a morte remigrare ad caeleste domicilium, unde ortus est et origo animarum.' Beroaldus, in Mo.

sed fac...ista sententia: the clause *sed fac*...is equivalent to a conditional clause with two apodoses *uideo nos*... and *mali uero*..., and the first apodosis is concessive to the second. 'But even granting that the soul does not continue after death we should in that case, I admit, be deprived of the hope of a happier life, but what evil does that view involve?' The clause *uideo nos...uitae* is not parenthetic, as Küh. holds, for *uero* implies a reference to that clause, otherwise it would be *mali quidem.* The last clause contains the main point...*si animi non remanent spe quidem priuamur, mali uero nihil adfert ista sententia.*

aliquis dolor: we might have expected *aliqui*, but see 11, 23 n. *num aliquis* as distinguished from *num quis* = 'any definite,' 'any appreciable.'

Democritum insimulat Epicurus: Democritus held that the body is animated in all its parts because there are soul-atoms in all its parts: he even goes so far as to say that there is a soul-atom between every pair of body-atoms (cf. Lucr. iii 370); these atoms do not all escape instantaneously at death; cf. Plut. Plac. Ph. iv 4, 4 'ὁ δὲ Δημόκριτος πάντα μετέχειν φησὶ ψυχῆς ποιᾶς καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν σωμάτων· διότι ἀεὶ διαφανῶς τινος θερμοῦ καὶ αἰσθητικοῦ μετέχει, τοῦ πλείονος διαπνεομένου.' See Zeller *Pre-Soc. Ph.* II pp. 256 sqq. For Epicurus' view see 9, 18 n. on 'statim dissipari.'

Democritei: a few MSS have *Democriti*, the rest including the best *Democritici*. Modern editors follow Bentley 'repone,

ne in animo quidem igitur sensus remanet; ipse enim nusquam est. ubi igitur malum est, quoniam nihil tertium est? an quod ipse animi discessus a corpore non fit sine dolore? ut credam ita esse, quam est id exiguum! sed falsum esse arbitror, et fit plerumque sine sensu, non numquam etiam cum uoluptate, totumque hoc leue est, qualecumque est; fit enim ad punctum temporis. **83.** illud angit uel potius excruciat, discessus ab omnibus iis, quae sunt bona in uita. uide ne a malis dici uerius possit. quid ego nunc lugeam uitam hominum? uere et iure possum; sed quid necesse est, cum id agam, ne post mortem miseros nos putemus fore, etiam uitam efficere deplorando miseriorem? fecimus hoc in eo libro, in quo nosmet ipsos, quantum potuimus, consolati sumus. a malis igitur mors abducit, non a bonis, uerum si quaerimus. et quidem hoc a

9. an quoniam R 1 6 G B 1–3 P 1 4 S E W 1 2 M 1 Π J O 1 3 4 6 8 9 12. anquaniam V. anqm̄ K O 2 5 10 11. qm̄ (an *omisso*) O 7. 11. est id (*ante* exiguum) R 1 10 V G B 1 2 K S E M 1 C O 10–12. est id ad B 3 O 2–6 8 9. est id ad P O 10 *alia manu superscr.* id est W 1. id sit M 2. id (quam *omisso*) O 1. est exiguum id O 7.

§ **83**, 15. his quae R V G B 1–3 P. ijs O *at fuerat* hijs. 21. & quidem E 1 8. et quidem B 2 D C. ecquidem V (*at uix dixeris utrum* c *sit an* t). ecquidem R 1 10 G B. hecquidem S *at* h *alio atram. extra lineam scripto.* ec quid ē O 8. ecquid est L 5. ecquid hoc R 9. equidem R 4 G 3 O 7. ec quidem K qdē K *alio atram. superscr.* hoc quidem M 1 2 R 6 12 G 2 4 B 3 E 4 5 L 2 O 3 5 6 9–12. hoc quidem P *at* o *in litura.* hęc hoc quidem E 3. hec quidem R 2 13 15 E 2 L 3 4 Π J O 1 2 4. hęc quidem W 1. hc quid' W 2. haec quidem R 14.

ut alibi Cicero, Democritei vel Democritii, Graece Δημοκρίτειοι.' Elsewhere MSS vary between *e* and *i* in the spelling of this termination, cf. Madv. Fin. v 6, 16. I believe that *-ici* arose out of *ei* and that we should read here *Democritei*.

ne in animo quidem, 'not...either.' 6, 12 n.

nihil tertium: sc. besides *corpus* and *animus*.

an quod: the MSS read *quoniam*. Sff., followed by Küh. and Schiche, holds that *quoniam* (*qm̄* or *quō* by *compendium*) arose out of *quod*. So in § 83 editors read *quod* though the best MSS have *quo*. Most recent editors here bracket or eject. *quod* is probably the true reading, the corruption being occasioned by the preceding *quoniam*.

sed falsum: MSS *et falsum*, which Küh. retains. Wesenberg's emendation *sed* is adopted by Sff. TS. Hei. Bai. Ml. Schiche. Or. after Bouhier reads *at*. *sed* (*set*) may have been changed by the influence of *et* in the co-ordinate clause.

non numquam etiam cum uoluptate: cf. Cat. M. 19, 71 'quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est'; Plato, Timaeus 81 e 'ὁ δὲ μετὰ γήρως ἰὼν ἐπὶ τέλος κατὰ φύσιν ἀπονώτατος τῶν θανάτων καὶ μᾶλλον μεθ' ἡδονῆς γιγνόμενος ἢ λύπης.'

totumque hoc: *-que* sums up, 'and in short.' Cf. 43, 104 'totaque de ratione,' and Küh. on 26, 64 'eademque ab animo.'

leue, 'unimportant.'

§ 83. **id agam**, 'when my object is to prevent us from thinking that we shall be unhappy after death,' cf. 20, 46.

fecimus hoc: sc. *lugere uitam hominum*.

in eo libro: i.e. in the Consolatio; cf. 31, 75–6.

et quidem: cf. 'Callimachi quidem' § 84 and note on 'Aristoteles quidem' 33, 81.

Cyrenaico Hegesia sic copiose disputatur, ut is a rege Ptolomaeo prohibitus esse dicatur illa in scholis dicere, quod multi iis auditis mortem sibi ipsi consciscerent. **84.** Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleombrotum est, quem ait, cum ei nihil accidisset aduersi, e muro se in mare abiecisse lecto Platonis libro. eius autem, quem dixi, Hegesiae liber est Ἀποκαρτερῶν, <in> quo a uita quidam per inediam discedens reuocatur ab amicis, quibus respondens uitae humanae enumerat incommoda.

22. ptolomæo R. ptholomeo V B E 2 C O 3. tholomęo S. tholomeo E. ptolomeo K M 1 B 3. prolomeo B 2. 23. scolis V G. ‖ quo (*ante* multi) R 1 6 9 10 G 1–3 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 5 13 W 2 M 1 2 J O 1 2 5–10 12 ed. H. quđ V *i.e.* quo *in* quod *mut.* quo[d] Π. quod W 1 D C O 3 4. q̄m O 11.
§ **84**, 25. theombrotom R V S. cleobrotū *marg.* S. theobrotū B 3. theombrotum G B 1 2 K E M 1 2. teombrotum W 2. 26. accedisset V G. 27. helesiæ R M 2 O 3. helesię K. helesiae G. helesie B 2 O 4. heiesie M 1 B 3. helgesię V g *manu antiqua inculcato.* helgesie O 7. elesie E W 2 O 8. elisię B. elisie S *litt. ad init. erasa: fuisse uid.* selisie. helisie C O 11. elysie O 1. heresie O 5 6. herexie O 9. hegesiae O 2. hegesię W 1 O 10 12. Ɛgesie G 2. ‖ AITOKAPTEPON R K W 1. αποkaρτεροN B S. IT *in* Π *rasura mut.* V. AIOKAPTEPON *in* AITOKAPTEPON *mut.* G. 28. quod a uita G 1 3 P S W 1 2 Π O 2–4 6. quodauita B 2 *at* od *mut. uid.* quod auita V B 1 3 E. qđ a uita K. ꝗ a uita O 6–8. q' auita O 9 11. quo a uita D C. auita O 5 10 *lacuna antecedente.*

a Cyrenaico Hegesia: 'Plutarchus περὶ Φιλοστ. 497 d Ἡγησίας διαλεγόμενος πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀποκαρτερῆσαι τῶν ἀκροωμένων. Valerius Maximus viii 9, 3 ext. *Hegesias Cyrenaicus sic mala uitae repraesentabat, ut eorum miseranda imagine audientium pectoribus inserta multis uoluntariae mortis oppetendae cupiditatem ingeneraret. ideoque a rege Ptolemaeo ulterius hac de re disserere prohibitus est.* Hinc πεισιθάνατος est dictus uti docent Laertius ii 86 et Suidas in 'Ἀρίστιππος.' Dav.

disputatur: cf. 18, 42 note on 'uolt.'

a rege Ptolomaeo: the date of Hegesias is discussed by Bouhier (quoted by Mo.), who decides that he probably lived into the last years of Ptolemy I, Soter, or into the reign of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus. For the spelling *Ptolomaeo* see Brambach, *Neugestaltung der Lat. Orthog.* p. 105.

dicatur: pres. tense for the same reason as *disputatur*: the statement was extant.

in scholis, 'dissertations,' cf. 4, 7.

quod: here the best MSS read *quo*, cf. note on 'quod ipse animi discessus' § 82, and 24, 59 n. on 'quo meminimus.'

§ 84. **Callimachi...epigramma**: no. 24, which runs thus—

'εἴπας, Ἥλιε χαῖρε, Κλεόμβροτος Ὡμβρακιώτης
ἥλατ' ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ τείχεος εἰς Ἀΐδην,
ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἰδὼν θανάτου κακόν, ἀλλὰ Πλάτωνος
ἓν τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενος.'

But Davies notes that Plato only referred to a philosophic death, to the σώματος ἐπιθυμίαι, as perceived also by Augustine C. D. i 22.

cum...accidisset: *cum* concessive, 'although,' takes the subjunctive in Cl. Lat. The subj. would therefore remain subj. even though this statement were made in or. recta.

Platonis libro: i.e. the Phaedo.

Ἀποκαρτερῶν = 'killing himself by abstinence from food.'

in quo: so Dav. Mo. TS. Bai. (Wes. also approving) after Bentley's conj. for *quod* of the best MSS, which Or. Tr. Küh. retain, though Küh. well remarks 'antecedens ν facile absorbere potuit *in* (especially as the Greek word was much mutilated in MSS), quo facto quo mutatum est in quod.' *quod* would not be good Latin: *ita quidem nominatus quod* would be required; and, if it were sound Latin, the thought would be clumsily expressed, for the main idea would be that a book by H. called Ἀποκαρτερῶν survives, whereas the main idea, with the reading *in quo*, is that H. has left a work in which the ills of life are dwelt upon. Sff.

possem idem facere, etsi minus quam ille, qui omnino uiuere expedire nemini putat. mitto alios: etiamne nobis expedit? qui et domesticis et forensibus solaciis ornamentisque priuati certe si ante occidissemus, mors nos a malis, non a bonis abstraxisset.

XXXV. 85. Sit igitur aliquis, qui nihil mali habeat, nullum

32. solaciis R V S E 1 2 W 1 Π O 3 4. solatiis G B 1–3 K P O 2.
33. obissemus (*post* ante) M 1.

Ml. and Hei. read *quo* (without *in*): the book may be said to restore the man when it represents him as restored: but surely no one would prefer *quo* to *in quo* here, unless on the ground of greater closeness to the MS reading; and if the theory given above accounts for *in*, this ground falls away.

possem: *possum* would be as appropriate here as in § 83 'uere et iure possum,' and the indicative construction is the usual one. Or. followed by Mo. and Küh. thinks both constructions equally correct, explaining *possum* i.e. *si uoluero*; *possem* i.e. *si uellem*, but *possum si uellem* is the usual idiom, 'I have the power if I chose to exercise it.' In Sall. Cat. 7, 7 *possem* may be supposed due to the attraction of *traheret* which is expressed in the context, but *possum*, as quoted by Servius, may be the true reading there. In Or. i 9, 38 *si uelim...possim* the subj. is due to attraction. Fleckeisen in *Philol.* IV 325 (O.S.) would read *possum* here, and in Nepos Epam. 4, 6 *possumus* for *possemus*: Gud. has *possimus* which often interchanges with *possumus*.

qui et domesticis.....abstraxisset: The rel. *qui* is attracted out of the *abstraxisset* clause into the *si* clause, a well-known construction, as Küh. observes, comparing 43, 102 '*cui* cum Lysimachus...minaretur (pro *qui*, cum...)'; N.D. iii 14, 35 '*qui* quoniam quid diceret intellegi noluit, omittamus'; p. Flacco 36, 90 'ergo is, *qui* si aram tenens iuraret, crederet nemo, per epistolam quod uolet iniuratus probabit.' But all irregularity would not be removed from the sentence, as Küh. seems to suppose, if *certe* had stood before *mors*; for we should still have a redundancy in *nos* which would only be paralleled if we had '*hunc* omittamus' in N.D. above, or '*ei* crederet' in p. Flacco above; and *domesticis et forensibus solaciis ornamentisque priuati si ante occidissemus* would be most inaccurately expressed, for the meaning of *ante* is *ante quam ita priuaremur*. Strictly Cic. should have written *qui, si ante quam d. et f. s. ornamentisque priuaremur, occidissemus, morte a malis, certe non a bonis abstracti essemus.* But Cic. has preferred the more vigorous use of the active voice and personification of *mors*, his meaning being equally clear. I therefore agree with Mo. against Küh. that we have an anacolouthon here.

domesticis et forensibus solaciis ornamentisque: *solaciis* refers specially to *domesticis*, the reference being to the loss of his daughter Tullia (26, 65 n.); while *ornamentis* refers to *forensibus*, the distinctions of public life open to him before Caesar gained autocratic power, cf. 25, 62 n. Küh. compares Fam. v 15 'quod enim mihi poterat esse perfugium spoliato et domesticis et forensibus ornamentis atque solaciis?'

XXXV. § 85. **habeat...acceperit**: subjunctives of quality or class, cf. 6, 12 n. The argument, somewhat obscure here, is well stated by TS., who finds implied as apodosis *num eum morte a bonis abstrahi putabimus?* The argument is somewhat as follows: The rule *mors a malis non a bonis abstrahit* is absolute, whether we take the case of a man like Metellus whose fortune was uniformly good throughout his career, or that of men like Priam or Pompey, who outlived their good fortune. For all were equally exposed to misfortune so long as they lived (cf. *in utroque*...), and death removes every one from possible if not from actual evil, cf. 36, 86 'haec morte ...quia possunt euenire.' Had Priam died before Fortune turned, his case would have seemed to furnish a greater instance of good fortune than that of Metellus (cf. *at quinquaginta Priamus*). Cic. is not troubled by the fact that no calamity, in which Metellus would probably have shared had he lived longer, befell the family of Metellus after his death.

a fortuna uolnus acceperit: Metellus ille honoratis quattuor filiis; at quinquaginta Priamus, e quibus septemdecim iusta uxore natis. in utroque eandem habuit fortuna potestatem, sed usa in altero est. Metellum enim multi filii filiae, nepotes neptes in rogum inposuerunt, Priamum tanta progenie orbatum, cum in aram confugisset, hostilis manus interemit. hic si uiuis filiis incolumi regno occidisset

> ...astante ope bárbarica
> Tectís caelatis, láqueatis,

utrum tandem a bonis an a malis discessisset? tum profecto uideretur a bonis. at certe ei melius euenisset, nec tam flebiliter illa canerentur:

> Haec ómnia uidi inflámmari,
> Priamó ui uitam euítari,
> Iouis áram sanguine túrpari.

XXXV. § 85, 2. uolnus V K. || honorat^{i}us V *indistincte superscr.* honorate O 7. honorat^{9} K. honoratus *ceteri* (*inter quos et* G 3 *et* D, *pace Or. et Küh.*). 3. septemdecim R V B K G 3 C Π O 7 S. decem et septem W 1 *et marg.* S. decem septem O 11. septemdecem M 1 2 B 2 3 O 1–6 9 10 12. XVII W 2 J O 8. 4. natis R 1 10 V G 1 3 4 B 1–3 K P E 1 8 W 2 M 1 2 L 6 D C Π J O 1–3 5–12. natus O 4. nati W 1. nati S *at littera post* i *erasa.* 5. sedusa E. sedusa R K Π *at fuerat* seclusa. seclusa V W 2 M 1 2 E 5 J. 9. astante R V G B K P S E *plerique.* adstante O 3 4.

Metellus ille: Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, who conquered Andriscus 148 B.C. and held the consulship in 143 B.C., cf. Fin. v 27, 82 'Q. Metellus, qui tres filios consules uidit, e quibus unum etiam censorem et triumphantem, quartum autem praetorem, eosque saluos reliquit et tres filias nuptas, cum ipse consul, censor, augur fuisset et triumphasset.'

honoratis: *honoratus* read by MSS is rejected by editors in favour of *honoratis*, the conj. of Bentley (now found in V *manu secunda*) who compares Val. Max. vii 1, 1 'quattuor filios sustulit...omnes superstites et honoratissimos.' Mo. well points out that Metellus' distinctions did not depend upon his sons and that *honorari filiis* is not Latin while *honoratus* = *honoribus functus* is correct.

honoratis filiis: abl. of accompanying circumstances. Cf. 25, 60.

at: explained above.

quinquaginta: sc. *filiis erat.* Cf. Homer, Il. vi 244; Virg. Aen. ii 503.

septemdecim: but cf. Homer Il. xxiv 496 ἐννεακαίδεκα μέν μοι ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν. Theocritus, however (15, 139), differs from Homer, making the number 20.

natis: so most MSS, including the best. Older editors and early editions, with slight MS support, read *nati*, which Or. and Mo. accept.

in utroque, 'in the case of each.'

usa: Küh. compares Livy v 11, 16 'minime conuenire, quibus iratos quisque deos precatus sit, *in eis* sua potestate, cum liceat et oporteat, non *uti*.'

in aram: of Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος. Cf. Aen. ii 513, and Conington on ii 550.

astante: these lines (from Ennius' Andromacha Aechmalotis) occur again, with more of their context, in iii 19, 44, where the lines *haec omnia* etc. also follow. Cf. Ribbeck, *Fragmenta* I pp. 25–6. The metre is anapaestic dimeter.

barbarica: 'Phrygia, quia πᾶς μὴ Ἕλλην βάρβαρος,' Dav., who compares Aen. ii 504 '*barbarico* postes auro etc.' Hor. Epp. i 2, 7 'Graecia *barbariae* lento conlisa duello.' Mr R. M. Henry reminds me that Hecuba herself uses τὸ βάρβαρον in speaking of the Trojans, Eur. Hec. 1200.

tectis caelatis laqueatis, 'adorned with raised and fretted work.' Cf. 'laqueata...tecta,' Hor. Odes ii 16, 11 and *lacunar* ii 18, 2.

euitari = *uitam eripi.* The word seems

quasi uero ista ui quicquam tum potuerit ei melius acciderel quod si ante occidisset, talem euentum omnino amisisset; hoc autem tempore sensum amisit malorum. **86**. Pompeio, nostro familiari, cum grauiter aegrotaret Neapoli, melius est factum.

17. uel (*post* ista) R G P S O 1 2 6–9 11 12. uƲ (=uel) B 1 2 E R 2 10 L 6 J O 5 *multi alii.* ⅟ (=uel) K. ụ̈i M 2 (*sic*). uel V u *et* l *plane scripta sunt at* e *alio atram. scriptum uid. et litura esse uid.* uero O 3 4. ‖ tum pot erat V (*rasura ante* e). 18. accidisset R G B 1 2 K P S E W 2 D C J O 3 4. occidisset V *at* o *in litura.* occidisset W 1 M 1 B 3. ‖ tamen (*ante* euentum) R V G B 1–3 K P S E 2 D C O 3 4 8 9. tam̄ E W 2 R 2. tñ M 1 G 3 II O 5 11. tñ O 6 *at mut. uid.* tā O 7. tum R 6 J O 1 2 10 12. tantum M 2 E 8.

§ **86**, 20. ęg°tarete S *marg.* eg°tasset. *ceteri* egrotaret *uel* aegrotaret.

only found here and in Apuleius, Metamorph. iii p. 187 b (ed. Oudendorp), 'nec enim ueri simile est hominem solitarium tris tam ualidos euitasse iuuenes,' quoted by Bouhier: a bold formation characteristic of earlier Latin. [Cf. Plautus' *domi domitus* Men. 105.]

ui uitam euitari...turpari: for the παρήχησις and ὁμοιοτέλευτον cf. 28, 69 n.

turpari, 'to be stained.'

ista ui: *ui*, the emendation of Petrus Crassus, has been accepted by Man. Lamb. Stephanus, Mo. Or. Hei. Sff. TS. and most editors for *uel* of most MSS. Cf. '*ui* uitam euitari.' Schütz and Klotz retain *uel*, but fail to elicit a satisfactory sense from the passage.

potuerit: for the tense see 22, 50 n. on 'quasi uero intellegant.'

occidisset, talem: most MSS read *accidisset tamen*..., a few inferior MSS read *tum*. *accidisset*, retained by Tr. and Sff., would have for its subject *ista uis*, which would be absurd since *ista uis* would then be subject to *amisisset* and to *amisit* and it is part of the *mala* which it would thus be said to have escaped. *Priamus* is understood as nom. to *amisisset* and to *amisit*. Even if we supplied from the context not *ista uis* but *mors* as nom. to *accidisset*, this loosely supplied nom. would, with further looseness of construction, be nom. to *amisisset* and to *amisit*. *occidisset*, accepted by most editors, involves the changing of a single letter. The corruption was no doubt due to the preceding *accidere*. Bentley says that 'priscae editiones' have *occidisset*. *tamen* is retained by Or. Sff. Kl. but this involves taking *euentum* with *malorum* in the sense of 'the occurrence of evils' as contrasted with the *sensus malorum*, and *euentus* in this sense would be hard to parallel, though *mala euenerunt* is common, cf. § 86 'haec mala...etiam si non euenerunt.' *tum* is open to the same objections as *tamen*. *talem*, conj. by Steph. and Bentley and adopted by Mo. Bai. Hei. TS. Ml. and Schiche, gives excellent sense = *tam tristem euentum*.

amisisset has been greatly suspected. If sound it can only be taken as Billerbeck took it, as *improprie quidem sed iocose dictum*, a view also adopted by Küh. Schütz proposed to cut out *amisisset* as a marginal gloss, and thought the construction a case of zeugma; but Mo. (Exc. Vol. II p. 364) objects that it is not usual in zeugma for a verb to be omitted which must be supplied in a different mood and different tense.

Sall. Iug. 14, 23 'non enim regnum, sed fugam, exsilium, egestatem et... aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti,' quoted by Hei. and earlier by Olivet, is not parallel to our passage; for, as Mo. observes, in *aerumnas amittere* only one word is used *minus proprie* and the use is explained by the use of another word *sensu proprio*, but here we have *a double* κατάχρησις, *euentum amittere* and *sensum amittere malorum*. I am therefore not satisfied that the reading which I have followed is what Cicero actually wrote, and I think the emendation of Hottinger, adopted by Mo., *talem euentum omnino non habuisset* very probable. Hottinger supposed *non* (*nō*) to have fallen out after *-no* in *omnino* and then *habuisset*, become meaningless, to have been altered into *amisisset*. He compares Diu. ii 9, 22 'quae enim uita fuisset Priamo, si ab adulescentia scisset quos *euentus* senectutis esset *habiturus*.' For the whole passage cf. Juv. x 283 foll. [*amisisset* is certainly wrong and *omisisset*, wh. I have seen proposed, is no better; *dimisisset* (i § 12) is possible.]

§ 86. **cum...aegrotaret**: Pompey's

coronati Neapolitani fuerunt, nimirum etiam Puteolani, uolgo ex oppidis publice gratulabantur, ineptum sane negotium et Graeculum, sed tamen fortunatum. utrum igitur, si tum esset exstinctus, a bonis rebus an a malis discessisset? certe a miseris. non enim cum socero bellum gessisset, non inparatus arma sumpsisset, non domum reliquisset, non ex Italia fugisset, non exercitu amisso nudus in seruorum ferrum et manus incidisset [non liberi defleti, non fortunae omnes a uictoribus pos-

24. animalis R (*sic*). an(a)malis V *litt. ut uid. post* n *erasa.* anamalis K P E. an amalis B G 3 J. 25. inparatus V G B P E J. imparatus K. 26. relinquisset R (*sic*). relinquisset G B 2 C. reliquisset K E. 28. defleti R G B K E W 1 2. deflecti B 2. de leti V *una litt. erasa.* deleti O 3. *uerba* non liberi defleti . . . occidisset *in loco proprio non habet* P; *subscripta habet ad calcem paginae, eadem, ut uidetur, manu.* ‖ auctoribus R G P 4 Π O 7 11. a(i)uctoribus V K E. a uictoribus S.

illness occurred in 50 B.C. Cf. also Att. viii 2, 3 'quotannis periculose aegrotantis.' For the imperfect some recent editors have substituted *aegrotasset*, but F. A. Wolf well observes 'aegrotantes conualescere solent inter aegrotandum.' Cf. also 2, 4 note on 'cum...recusaret.'

melius est factum: i.e. *conualuit*.

nimirum etiam Puteolani, 'you may be sure the P. followed suit.' Cicero derides the eagerness of the inhabitants of the smaller town to imitate those of the larger one. For *nimirum* cf. 22, 52 n.

uolgo: cf. 46, 111 n., 'generally,' i.e. from nearly all the country towns.

publice, 'in a representative capacity,' i.e. chosen deputations came.

fuerunt...gratulabantur: for the tenses cf. 2, 4 note on 'floruerunt, discebant.'

Graeculum, 'thoroughly Greek'; both this word and *ineptum* are disparaging, cf. Or. i 51, 221 'aut illum ineptum et Graeculum putent'; and for the supposed proneness of the Greeks to fall into *ineptiae* Or. ii 4, 18. Cicero saw no ineptitude in the case of similar rejoicings with regard to himself on his return from exile, cf. in Pison. 22, 51 'meus quidem reditus is fuit ut a Brundusio usque Romam agmen perpetuum totius Italiae uiderem. neque enim regio fuit ulla...ex qua non publice ad me uenerint gratulatum.'

For the constr. **ineptum...negotium** see 26, 65 n. 'non iusta causa.' [Cf. Fin. ii § 1 'audax negotium,' and for the expression Sen. Ep. 82 § 8 'ineptias Graecas' of Stoic paradoxes.]

fortunatum, 'a piece of luck'; an instance of good fortune for Pompey, cf. 'miserum,' 5, 9.

cum socero: Pompey married, in 59 B.C., Iulia daughter of Iulius Caesar. She died in 54 B.C.

nudus, 'unarmed,' 'defenceless'; cf. ii 14, 33. So γυμνός often.

defleti: F.A.W. Sch. Bill. Or. Mo. read *deleti*. Hei., followed by TS. Ml. and Küh., brackets and Schiche cuts out all from *non liberi* to *possiderentur*, on the ground that both the thought and the rhythm mark the death of Pompey as the end of the period; that *qui si obisset* naturally follows upon *in ferrum et manus incidisset*: that the omission of *essent* with *defleti* is not Ciceronian; that Pompey did not bewail the death of his sons, as both were alive when he died, and one actually survived Cicero; that Cic. is dealing only with misfortunes that befell Pompey personally; and that his property might have been seized by others at the time when it was seized, even though he had died much earlier. *deleti*, though supported by several editors, seems irreconcilable with the fact that one son was alive when Cic. wrote this passage. Mo. says 'quasi dixerit *paene deleti*': this would be the rhetorical use of the plural. And even though *deleti* were justified the other objections quoted above from Hei. would still apply. Of these Reiske's conj., *essent deleti*, approved by Wesenberg, only removes one, and Baiter's expulsion of *non liberi defleti* only removes two, while the marginal gloss theory, which would account for the presence of these words, can also account for all down to *possiderentur*. Sff. gets rid of some objections by taking *defleti* not as = *defleti essent* but as a participle = *deplorati*

siderentur]. qui, si mortem tum obisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset, is propagatione uitae quot, quantas, quam incredibilis hausit calamitates!

XXXVI. Haec morte effugiuntur, etiam si non euenerunt, tamen, quia possunt euenire. sed homines ea sibi accidere posse non cogitant; Metelli sperat sibi quisque fortunam, proinde quasi aut plures fortunati sint quam infelices aut certi quicquam sit in rebus humanis aut sperare sit prudentius quam timere.

87. Sed hoc ipsum concedatur, bonis rebus homines morte priuari: ergo etiam carere mortuos uitae commodis, idque esse miserum? certe ita dicant necesse est. an potest is, qui non est, re ulla carere? triste enim est nomen ipsum carendi, quia subicitur haec uis: habuit, non habet; desiderat, requirit, indiget. haec, opinor, incommoda sunt carentis. caret oculis, odiosa caecitas; liberis, orbitas. ualet hoc in uiuis, mortuorum autem

29. obisset R V G B S E D C Π J *plurimi*. obijsset B 2. 30. incredibilis V G B 1 2. XXXVI. 1. euenerunt R V G E O 3 4 7 9 10 12. euener̄ B K P. eueneȓt B 2. euener̄' S *marg*. euenerunt. uenerunt G 3 (*non ut adfirmat* Or.). eueniunt M 1. euenerint W 1 2 M 2 R 6 G 2 B 3 C Π O 1 2 5 6 8 11. 3. proinde *plerique*. ꝓinde K. perinde W 1 O 8. 4. ut (*ante* plures) R G 1 3 B 1 2 K W 2 R 10 E 8 J O 1 9. ut S *marg*. aut. [a]ut V P. aut E a *alio atram. addito*. aut W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 B 3 E 5 O 2–5 10. ‖ certe R G O 9. certe [i] V K P. certe S *marg*. certi. certi B 1 2 E *alii*.
§ **87**, 10. subicitur R V G B 1–3 K P C O 3 5 9. subijcitur S.

(‘regarded by all their party as lost’) and reading *obsiderentur* for *possiderentur* (*ops-* corrupted into *pos-* by metathesis), comparing *omnibus rebus obsessi* Caes. B.C. i 84. On the whole I prefer to follow Heine.

hausit calamitates: a common metaphor. Editors compare de Domo 11, 30 ‘si utile r. p. fuit haurire me unum pro omnibus illam indignissimam calamitatem’; p. Sestio 29, 63 ‘luctum nos hausimus maiorem’; T.D. i 49, 118 ‘cum exanclauisset omnes labores’; and in Greek ἀντλεῖν, ἐξαντλεῖν κακόν.... Aesch. Choeph. 748; P.V. 375. So in English *to drink the cup of misfortune to the dregs*.

XXXVI. **proinde**: very few MSS read *perinde*. For the difference between *proinde* and *perinde* see Mo. and Küh. Küh. observes ‘*Perinde* semper in comparatione dicitur nec unquam, ut uidetur, in hac *argumentandi* forma, quae hoc loco aliisque innumerabilibus legitur, usurpatur;...deinde in simplici comparatione nunquam *proinde*, sed semper perinde dicitur, ut *perinde haberi*.’ Cf. 39, 94 ‘perinde ut cuique data sunt pro rata parte’; iii 26, 62 ‘perinde...quasi’ (‘for all the world just as if’); v 2, 6 ‘proinde ac de hominum est uita merita’ ‘*in accordance with* its services to mankind,’ where *perinde ac* would mean ‘*in exact proportion* to its services...’

quasi...sint: cf. 22, 50 n.

§ 87. **concedatur**: concessive subj., cf. ii 5, 14 n. *ne sit sane*.

ergo etiam: sc. *concedendum est*.

certe ita dicant necesse est: A. Frederking, in *Philologus* LX p. 636, cuts these words out as a gloss. And he is probably right.

an: 2, 4 n.

nomen...carendi: gen. of contents or definition, 4, 8 n.; 15, 34 n.; for the gerund as a verbal noun cf. 23, 53 n. ‘principium mouendi.’

ualet hoc, ‘this applies in the case of the living.’

non modo uitae commodis, sed ne uita quidem ipsa quisquam caret. de mortuis loquor, qui nulli sunt; nos, qui sumus, num aut sic cornibus caremus aut pinnis? ecquis id dixerit? certe nemo. quid ita? quia, cum id non habeas, quod tibi nec usu nec natura sit aptum, non careas, etiam si sentias te non habere. **88.** hoc premendum etiam atque etiam est argumentum, confirmato illo, de quo, si mortales animi sunt, dubitare non possumus, quin tantus interitus in morte sit, ut ne minima quidem suspicio sensus relinquatur: hoc igitur probe stabilito et fixo illud excutiendum est, ut sciatur, quid sit carere, ne

15. si cornibus R 1 2 10 V G 1–3 B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 D C J O 1–6 8 10–12. si *ante* cornibus *eraso* V 8. si *omittunt* M 2 O 9. ‖ pinnis R 1 2 10 V G B 1 2 K E O 7. pennis P S W 1 2 M 1 2 R 3 6 G 2 B 3 D J O 1–6 8–12. ‖ sit qui id R 1 6 B 1–3 W 1 2 M 1 2 V 13 G 2 J O 1 2 5 8–10 12. sit q^{is} id V. sit q^{iu} K d *eodem atram.*, i *ante* d *alio atram. superscr.* sit quid^{i} P u *ex parte eraso et* i *alio atram. superscr.* sit quid G 1 3 E R 2 B 2. sit qui^{id} S *alio atram. superscr.* sit qui R 3 10 P 4 D C O 3 4 6 7. sit id qui V 8 O 11.

§ **88**, 18. argumentum O 3 4 7. arguendum R 1–4 7 9–14 17 G 1–3 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 13 W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1 2 5 6 8–12. $^{\&}$arguendum V. 21. suspicio R E W 1 O 2. suspitio K. suspitio (*ut uid.*) S. suspicio *an* suspitio *incertum* V. suspicio G *at litteris* ici *in rasura*.

non modo...sed ne quidem: the negative contained in the second clause applies to both clauses. This only occurs where the two clauses have their verb in common and that verb stands in the second clause. Cf. Küh. here and Madvig *Gr.* 461 b.

nulli: cf. 6, 11; 38, 91.

sic: i.e. 'in this sense,' so that a sense of loss or want is involved. *sic* is Sff.'s emendation adopted by Küh. for *si* of most MSS. *si* is omitted by Hei. and TS. *etsi*, said to be in the Bernensis, is adopted by Or. and Mo. and read by Dav. in ed. 2 'ex Eliensi secundo.'

[**cornibus**: perhaps Cic. had in mind the κερατίνης λόγος of the sophists.]

ecquis id dixerit: Dav. conjectured *ecquis* in ed. 2. The emendation, now often credited to Madvig, is adopted by Küh. Tr. Kl. Bai. TS. Ml. Schiche. Hei. followed by Sff. conj. *id quis dixerit*, *sit* of the MSS being in either case due to a repetition of the final *s* of *pinnis*. For the argument Dav. compares Plut. adu. Stoicos p. 1068 c (c. 20) κεράτων γοῦν καὶ πτερῶν οὐδεὶς ἐνδεὴς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ὅτι μηδὲ δεῖται τούτων.

cum...non habeas = *si* (*ex hypothesi*) *non habeas*. The subjunctive is conditional; cf. 41, 98 'cum Palamedem... conuenirem.' See also Kühner, *Gram.* II p. 956. Instances of conditionals introduced by *qui* are still more frequent, cf. 23, 54 n. 'quod gigneretur aliunde.' Compare also the parallelism between εἰ- conditional clauses in Greek and conditional relative clauses.

aptum = *cohaerens*, *connexum*, Mo.

careas = *egeas* which is by far the more usual word in this sense.

§ 88. **hoc**: sc. *nos eo non carere, quod nobis nec usu nec natura sit aptum, uel mortuos, quia nulli sunt, aliqua re carere non posse.* Küh.

premendum = *urgendum*, cf. 7, 13 'quoniam me uerbo premis.'

confirmato illo: instead of the acc. and infin. *tantum interitum in morte esse ut ne...relinquatur*, we have *quin* with the subj., the construction being made to depend upon *dubitare non possumus* of the subordinate and parenthetic clause; cf. 17, 40 where we have the converse construction, *dubitare*, owing to the intervention of a parenthesis, being followed by the acc. and infin. See also 30, 73 n. on *ut cygni*.

suspicio sensus, 'trace of consciousness.'

hoc igitur: see 7, 14 n. on *id ergo est*.

illud excutiendum est...carere: 'we must sift, so as to understand it, what is meant by the word *carere*'; *quid sit*

relinquatur aliquid erroris in uerbo. carere in malo non dicitur; nec enim esset dolendum; dicitur illud: bono carere, quod est malum. carere igitur hoc significat: egere eo, quod habere uelis. inest enim uelle in carendo, nisi cum sic tamquam in febri dicitur alia quadam notione uerbi. dicitur enim alio modo

23. *uerba* carere in . . . malum *post* patiare *in codd. omnibus inuenta post* erroris in uerbo *reponenda censeo. uide adnot. meam.* || carere in morte R 1 2 5 7–10 15–17 V 1–3 5 8 10 11 G 1–3 B 1 2 K P 1 2 4 S E 1 2 7 9 11–15 L 1 2 4 5 W 1 D C II O 3 4 7 11 12. carere enim morte O 2 8. carere (enim) morte E 3 O 10 *alio atram. superscr.* carere ·N· in morte M 1 O 6. carere enim in morte W 2 M 2 R 3 4 11–14 V 4 7 12 13 G 2 4 B 3 P 3 E 4–6 8 L 3 6 J O 1 5 9 ed. P. carere in morte *marg.* malo V 6. carere enim in malo R 6. carereque in morte V 9 ed. H. 24. *non habet* enim V: *non habet* malo S *quamquam haec adfirmant Or. et Küh.; neque glossema hic habet* S.

carere depends upon *excutiendum est* and *ut sciatur* (=*ut hoc sciatur* sc. *quid sit carere*) follows upon *excutiendum est quid sit carere*. TS. takes *ut sciatur* closely with *excutiendum est* in the sense of 'gründlich,'—'the meaning of the word *carere* must be *thoroughly* examined.'

erroris, 'cause of error,' cf. Aen. ii 48 'aut aliquis latet error.' So *metus* often = 'cause of fear.'

carere in malo non dicitur...quod est malum: this passage in all MSS follows the words *facile patiare* 7 lines lower down, and *morte* not *malo* is read by all except R6 and (in margin) V6. Orelli who adopted *malo* asserts that Bernensis reads *malo*, but he was misinformed by Usteri the Berne professor who supplied him with the readings of that MS. The fact that two early editions (S E) read *carere in malo* may be taken as probably shewing that some Renaissance scholar saw that *malo* was required. J. M. Brutus in his edition reads *carere enim malo id non dicitur*, but he does not state the reading of Gr. All emendations hitherto put forward have been unsatisfactory. Madv. conjectured and Tr. adopted (*probante* Wes.) *malo carere in morte*; Keil *iam carere malo in morte*; Kl. *carere malo in morte*; H. Sauppe, *Philol.* XLIII p. 416, *ita carere in morte*, taking *ita*='in the second meaning of the word' as in *febri carere*; R. Enger, *carere ea ui* (*ea ui* being supposed to lurk in *enim*); Sff. *ea re carere in morte* (*ea re* and *ea ui* meaning 'in the latter sense of the word' just as H. Sauppe's *ita*). But to all these I object that the context fails not only to carry on the argument but even to yield any definite sense. Bentley confessed that he did not understand the words *carere in morte...malum*, and O. Heine proposed to cut them out, and so obtained a tolerable sense.

But how then did they come into the MSS? I believe that they are merely out of place and that they should follow the words *erroris in uerbo*. An early copyist missed this clause beginning with *carere* and went on to the clause beginning with *carere igitur hoc significat*. When he had written down to *facile patiare* he discovered the omission and inserted the clause beginning with *carere in malo*, out of its proper place. *carere in malo*, not *carere in morte*, though the latter is the MS reading. At some time subsequent to the error of transposition *malo* was altered to *morte* by an interpolator or owing to the act of a glossator, who thought the change demanded by the words *sed ne uiuus quidem* and *at in mortuo*, following. See Argument of Bk I, Introd. § 4, where the line of thought is worked out and a translation with some explanatory notes added.

With regard to the MSS it need not excite surprise that a sentence should have got out of its proper place in all MSS. Cf. the remarks upon 'Transposition,' Introd. § 3 c ii.

uelis: for the subj. cf. *habeas* and *sentias* below.

inest enim...carendo, 'for wish is implied in the word.'

tamquam: a rarer use of *tamquam* = *ut* or *quem ad modum*: cf. 10, 20 'tamquam in cantu sonos'; iii 10, 23.

tamquam in febri: cf. Fam. xvi 15 'mihi nuntiauit te plane febri carere.'

dicitur enim, 'for *carere* is used in another sense when.. ,' i.e. another sense than that of *egere eo quod habere uelis*, *febri carere* being a particular instance of this use.

etiam carere, cum aliquid non habeas et non habere te sentias, etiam si id facile patiare. sed ne uiuus quidem bono caret, si eo non indiget; sed in uiuo intellegi tamen potest regno te carere (dici autem hoc in te satis subtiliter non potest, posset in Tarquinio, cum regno esset expulsus), at in mortuo ne intellegi quidem. carere enim sentientis est, nec sensus in mortuo; ne carere quidem igitur in mortuo est.

XXXVII. **89**. Quamquam quid opus est in hoc philosophari, cum rem non magno opere philosophia egere uideamus? quotiens non modo ductores nostri, sed uniuersi etiam exercitus ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt! quae quidem si timeretur, non

30. set in uno Ĉ. ‖ intellegi V. ‖ regno te carere R 1 10 V 1 4 11 13 G 1–3 B 1 2 P 1 4 S E L D C Π J O 1 8 9 12. regno carere M 1 R 6 V 5 B 3 O 2 5–7. *omittunt* O 3 4. *omittit* M 2 *marg. habet* regno te carere. eum regno carere W 1. nemo carere O 11. *omittit* O 10 *marg. hab.* regno carere. 32. ne G B 1 2 K P E C J O 1 3 4 7 8 11. nec G 3 Π O 9. non M 1 2 O 2 5 6 10. ‖ intelligi quidem V. (ne *superscr.*) intelligi R. intellegi G B *et* (*multa in litura*) P. 33. potest *post* quidem M 1 2 O 5 6 *et* (*marg.*) S. ‖ necarere quidem V *nulla in litura.* nec carere quidem R G B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D J O 1–8 10–12. *omittit* O 9.

XXXVII. § **89**, 2. magnopere R V G B. 4. concurrerint R 1 2 10 V G 1 2 B 1 2 S E L O 7 9. concurrerint P *at marg.* rūt. cacurrerint (n *superscr.*) K (*sic*) *alio atram. superscr.* concurrerunt W 1 2 M 1 2 V 8 11 B 3 D C Π J O 1–5 10–12. cucurrerunt O 6 8 (? *errore ex* ꝯ = con *orto*). cucurrere R 6.

aliquid, 'when there is *something* that one has not.' See Madv. § 494 obs. 1; Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* 1 § 46. 'non habere aliquid,' 'to be without some particular thing'; 'non habere quidquam,' 'to have nothing.'

habeas...**sentias**...**patiare**: the subjunctive because the subject is indefinite; if the subject were particular the indicative would be used here. See Madv. § 370.

te carere: *te* is abundantly supported by the MSS and yields a good sense: 'you,' i.e. any living person: Cic. then remembers that the expression would not apply very accurately to the particular individual to whom this work is dedicated, and qualifies his statement accordingly.

in te: see explanatory note in translation of this passage, Introd. § 4.

subtiliter: 23, 55 n.

posset: for the imperf. cf. 12, 27 n. on *haereret*. *posset* here differs from *possem* of § 84, for there M. is a definite person, who actually has the power if he chooses to exert it, but here the person implied in *posset* is an indefinite person merely conceived of in the mind. Cf. Laelius 3, 11 'quid hunc paucorum annorum accessio iuuare potuisset' where there was no actually existing power, for the *accessio* to which the power belongs was merely assumed—*paucorum annorum accessio* = *pauci anni si accessissent*. Similarly where a clause of the form *possunt* (*poterant*) *si uellent* (*uel si aliud quid facerent*) depends upon a previous condition, we have *possunt poterant cet.* changed into the subjunctive, cf. Diu. ii 9, 24 *si Crassus et Caesar diuinare potuissent* (implied in the context) 'quid posset eis esse laetum exitus suos cogitantibus?'

cum...**esset expulsus**: the subjunctive is best taken as due to attraction, cf. 5, 9 n., 11, 23 n. But it may possibly be *causal*.

ne intellegi quidem: sc. *potest*, which is read by most old editions, though absent from nearly all MSS including the best.

ne carere quidem, '*neither* then is there any want in the dead.' For the reading see 26, 65 n.

XXXVII. § **89**. **cum**...**uideamus**: *cum* causal.

quotiens...: there is a close resemblance between this passage and Cato M. 20, 75. [Cf. Sen. Ep. 82 § 22.]

concurrerunt: the best MSS read *concurrerint*, but the subjunctive is impossi-

L. Brutus arcens eum reditu tyrannum, quem ipse expulerat, in proelio concidisset, non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, cum Etruscis filius, cum Pyrrho nepos se hostium telis obiecissent, non uno bello pro patria cadentis Scipiones Hispania uidisset, Paulum et Geminum Cannae, Venusia Marcellum, Litana Albinum, Lucani Gracchum. num quis horum miser hodie? ne tum

8. cadentis V P E O 3. 9. geminium R V G K S E L W 1 2 D C J. gemminium B 2. geminum B G 3 O 4. || latina R 1–3 5 8–17 G 1 3 B K S E 1 3 7–9 11–14 L 1 2 5 W 2 J O 1 9 11 ed. H. latina *in* latini *mut.* V 8. latine O 12. latinia O 7. lacinia R 4. hirpin[i] V *multa in litura.* latinū B 2. latini W 1 M 1 2 R 6 7 12 V 2 5–7 12 13 G 2 4 B 3 P 2 E 2 4–6 15 L 3 6 D C II O 2–6 8 10 ed. P. (Gud II = G 3 *habet* latina *non ut adfirmat Küh.* latinia). 10. lucani G 1 2 4 K *plerique.* lucania G 3. || grachum V E. gracum G. graccum (h *supra*) S. gracchum B 1 3 K.

ble. Some second-rate MSS read *concurrerunt*, others and some early editions read *cucurrerunt*; some early editions *cucurrere*. The compound is to be preferred on its own merits as well as on the authority of the MSS. *con-* denotes collision with the enemy, as often in this word, not vehemence or convergence in attacking, as some editors have supposed.

si timeretur ... concidisset: for the tense cf. 12, 27 n. on 'nisi haereret.'

L. Brutus: cf. Livy ii 6.

Decius: the reference in *pater* is to the fight at *Veseris* 340 B.C.; in *filius* to *Sentinum* 295 B.C.; and in *nepos* to *Asculum* 279 B.C. Mommsen *R.H.* I 366 n. doubts the self-immolation of the father, but, though he shews that the narrative of the first Samnite-Latin war of the Romans bristles with absurdities, he puts forward no convincing argument on this particular point; for it was a common belief among earlier warriors that one man by sacrificing his own life could involve in his destruction that of the hostile army, and the renown acquired by a father by such an act would strongly stimulate his son to repeat the act.

For the practice of self-immolation and its meaning see Preller, *Röm. Myth.* 466–9; Mayor on Juv. viii 257 and further references there.

With regard to the grandson Cic. repeats in Fin. ii 19, 61 the assertion here made 'seque...tertiam uictimam rei publicae praebuisset.' But in Off. iii 4, 16; Cato M. 20, 75; Diu. i. 24, 51; Paradoxa 12 he only refers to two Decii, and Zonaras Ann. viii 5 definitely asserts that before the battle of Asculum Pyrrhus, finding his soldiers disturbed by a rumour that Decius was preparing to imitate his father and grandfather, ascertained the garb worn by those who devoted themselves in battle, forbade his men to slay anyone so arrayed, and sent word to Decius that if he made the attempt he would be taken alive and put to death by torture; whereupon the consuls replied that they had no need to have recourse to any such plan. Zonaras also indicates that both consuls survived the battle. Moreover, the fact that the battle resulted in victory for Pyrrhus (cf. Mommsen I 414) shews that the devotion if historic was ineffective.

Scipiones: Publius, the father, and Gneius the uncle of Scipio Africanus Maior. These two commanders fell in Spain in 212–211 B.C., Gneius a few days later than Publius. **L. Aemilius Paulus** consul in 216 B.C. and **Cn. Servilius Geminus** consul in 217 B.C. fell at Cannae. **M. Claudius Marcellus**, who took Syracuse in 212 B.C., fell in a skirmish near Venusia in 208 B.C.

Litana: the best MSS have *Latina*. The emendation (which Mo. ascribes to Billerbeck, Or. and Schiche to Lindemann, Küh. to Menkius) is rendered certain by Livy xxiii 24, 7 'silua erat uasta (*Litanam* Galli uocabant)...ibi Postumius (i.e. consul L. Postumius Albinus) omni ui, ne caperetur, dimicans occubuit.'

Lucani: Or. conjectured and Mo. accepted *Lucania* thinking *Lucani* a copyist's substitution for *Lucania*, after *Litana* had been corrupted into *Latini*.

[**Lucani**: Wölfflin in *Arch.* XII 332 points to the absence of *Lucania* at this time (I had noticed it). He says it no more existed than *Bruttium* or

8—2

quidem post spiritum extremum; nec enim potest esse miser quisquam sensu perempto. **90**. at id ipsum odiosum est, sine sensu esse. odiosum, si id esset carere. cum uero perspicuum sit nihil posse in eo esse, qui ipse non sit, quid potest esse in eo odiosum, qui nec careat nec sentiat? quamquam hoc quidem nimis saepe, sed eo, quod in hoc inest omnis animi contractio ex metu mortis. qui enim satis uiderit, id quod est luce clarius, animo et corpore consumpto totoque animante deleto et facto interitu uniuerso illud animal, quod fuerit, factum esse nihil, is plane perspiciet inter hippocentaurum, qui numquam fuerit, et regem Agamemnonem nihil interesse, nec pluris nunc facere M. Camillum hoc ciuile bellum, quam ego illo uiuo fecerim Romam captam. cur igitur et Camillus doleret, si haec post

§ **90**, 22. illo uiuo V 1 3 11 B 1–3 K P S E L 16 W 1 2 M 1 2 R 10 17 G 2 3 D Π J O 1–8 10–12. ipo uiuo O 9. uiuo illo R G.

Sequania. Probably *Lucania* first occurs in Hor. S. ii 1, 38. This raises the question whether *Hyrcania* in § 108 (to which he does not refer) is not an error for *Hyrcanis*. Wölfflin does not deal with *Campania*, which Cic. seems to avoid, though Varro used it. As to *Lucania* cf. 'subigit omne Loucanom' in the Scipio inscription.]

Gracchum: cf. Livy xxv cc. 16, 17.

§ 90. **odiosum, si id esset carere**: i.e. 'odiosum *esset* si....' Wes. compares Fin. ii 28, 93 'nec tamen miser esse... uidebatur, at miser (sc. *esse uideretur*) si ...adflueret.'

quamquam hoc quidem: sc. *mortuos nihil sentire.*

nimis saepe: sc. *dicimus.*

sed eo: sc. *hoc facimus.*

in hoc: i.e. in the fear that men *have* feeling and perception after death.

animi contractio, 'dejection,' cf. iv 31, 66 'effusio animi in laetitia...in dolore contractio.'

fuerit...fuerit...fecerim: these perf. subjunctives all three come under one head—reported thought; the clauses in which they occur are essential to the sense of the clauses that depend upon *uiderit* and *perspiciet* respectively. Cf. Madv. § 369.

hippocentaurum: Cic. takes the centaur as an example in N.D. i 38, 105; ii 2, 5; Diu. ii 21, 49. For a clear and common-sense proof of the impossibility of centaurs see Lucr. v. 878 sqq.

regem Agamemnonem: sc. *qui re uera fuerit.*

hoc ciuile bellum: not, as Hei. supposes, the fighting between Antony and the murderers of Caesar; for Atticus was reading a copy of this first book of the T.D. by the 18th May, 44 B.C., cf. Att. xv 2, 4 'quod prima disputatio Tusculana te confirmat sane gaudeo'; Brutus and Cassius were in the neighbourhood of Rome at that time and up to a much later date (cf. Att. xv 12 written about the 12th June, 44); and there was no fighting till the actions around Mutina in the spring of 43 B.C. The civil war here referred to is that between Caesar and the Pompeians; the battle of Munda was fought on the 17th March, 45 B.C.; Cicero planned the Tusculan Disputations in the five days following the 20th July, 45 B.C.; he may not have regarded the Civil War as ended while Sextus Pompey survived, and as a matter of fact Sextus Pompey was continuously active; Caesar did not return to Rome from Spain until September; and the word *hoc* would not be inappropriate until a good while after the war was finished, as there was only one civil war with which to contrast it, the war between Marius and Sulla.

quam ego illo uiuo: besides being better supported by the MSS this order of words, which brings the pronouns together, is more Ciceronian than that found in G R *quam ego uiuo illo.*

doleret...putaret: cf. 12, 27 note on *haereret.* 'Would have grieved had he believed,' both verbs denoting continuing states of the mind; if this be so *doleam* and *putem* are subjunctives of pure hypo-

trecentos et quinquaginta fere annos euentura putaret, et ego doleam, si ad decem milia annorum gentem aliquam urbem nostram potituram putem? quia tanta caritas patriae est, ut eam non sensu nostro, sed salute ipsius metiamur.

XXXVIII. **91** Itaque non deterret sapientem mors, quae propter incertos casus cotidie inminet, propter breuitatem uitae numquam potest longe abesse, quo minus in omne tempus rei publicae suisque consulat, ut posteritatem ipsam, cuius sensum habiturus non sit, ad se putet pertinere. quare licet etiam

25. urbem nostram R 1 2 4 6 7 9 10 G 1–3 L M 1 V 6 E 4 6 13 O 1 2 6 7 10 11 ed. H. ed. P. urbem nostrā S B 2 3 J. urbē nrām V B P O 5. urbem nrām K P 4 E 3 5. nostram urbem O 12. urbe nostra W 1 M 2 R 3 17 G 4 P 2 L 4 Π O 3 4 8 9. urbe nostra E 2 *at in litura*. urbe n̄ra E 8. urbe nra[illegible] E *h. e.* nostram *in* nostra *mutato*; *haud mut.* urbe *uid.* nr̄a urbe D C.

XXXVIII. § **91**, 1. non *ante* deterret V G L W 2 B 3 P 2 O 1–12. non P *at spatio cum litura post* non *relicto*. non ñ R. non (non modo *superscr.*) K *fort. ead. manu superscr.* non modo non B 1 2 E R 2 G 3 P 4 D C. non modo non S *marg.* non. 2. cotidie V G S E 2. 3. numquam R V G E. ‖ potest longe R G 1 3 B 1–3 K E W 1 M 1 2 Π O 1 3–10. longe potest W 2 G 2 O 2 11 12. 4. ut (*ante* posteritatem) R V B 1–3 P S E W 1 2 M 2 D C J O 2 5 12. et O 3 4 9.

thesis. But *doleret* may be potential of the past 'might have grieved' and *doleam* potential of the present 'might grieve' with *putaret* and *putem* as hypothetical subjunctives. Cf. Kühner, *Gram.* II § 46, 3 b; Draeger, *H.S.* I § 148 B b. See also Madv. § 350 a and cf. Livy xxxiv 9, 4 'miraretur qui tum cerneret' and Cic. d. Imp. Cn. Pomp. 11, 31 'quis arbitraretur.'

ad decem milia annorum, 'in ten thousand years.' Cf. Att. xii 46 'nescio quid intersit utrum illuc nunc ueniam an ad decem annos'; ii 17, 2 'ne Sampsicerami merita in patriam ad annos sescentos maiora uiderentur quam nostra.' The usage is the same in *ad diem* 'by the appointed day'; *ad extremum* 'at last.' Hei. cites Or. iii 24, 92 'ut tibi, Caesar, faciendum est ad annum.'

urbem nostram: the acc. is found in all the best MSS here and in the best MSS in Off. ii 23, 81 'urbem est potitus'; d. Fato 7, 13 'Karthaginem potiturum.' The reading in all three instances depends upon the presence or absence of the abbreviation for *m*, but to remove the rarer construction by eliminating the symbol would be a much bolder act of criticism than it would be to insert it in order to improve a suspected reading (as in § 92 *cum in*). The acc. with *potior* occurs pretty often in Plautus, Terence, and the fragments of the early dramatists, and undoubted instances are supplied by Cicero's contemporaries, the authors of the African and Spanish Wars, e.g. B. Hisp. 13 *oppidum potiri*; B. Afr. 36, 4 *castellum*; 68 *oppidum*; 87 *castra*. Reiske admitted that *potiri aliquid* was sometimes used, but objected here to the recurrence of words ending in *m*; but Küh. shews that the ancients were not so sensitive to such instances of κακοφωνία as are many moderns. Sff. Lamb. Wes. Kl. Bai. Ml. Schiche read *urbe nostra*. The words *cur igitur et Camillus doleret... metiamur* are added to meet a possible objection. Cicero had just said that when once a man is dead all feeling is gone and he takes no more interest in what happens after his death than he did at the time of their occurrence in events that happened before his birth. An objector might say 'Why then do people manifestly take an interest during life in what may happen to some beloved object, e.g. to their country, after their death?'

XXXVIII. § **91**. **ut...se putet**: if sound, this is compressed for *ut inde adpareat eum posteritatem.. ad se pertinere putare*. So Küh., who compares Or. i 25, 115 'neque haec ita dico ut ars aliquos limare non possit,' see also 26, 64 n. Of emendations the best is C. F. W. Müller's *aut* for *ut*, adopted by Hei. in his 4th edition. The arguments of Sff. for *cum* instead of *ut* are not convincing. Ann.

mortalem esse animum iudicantem aeterna moliri, non gloriae cupiditate, quam sensurus non sit, sed uirtutis, quam necessario gloria, etiam si tu id non agas, consequatur. natura uero < si > se sic habet, ut, quo modo initium nobis rerum omnium ortus noster adferat, sic exitum mors, ut nihil pertinuit ad nos ante ortum, sic nihil post mortem pertinebit. in quo quid potest esse mali, cum mors nec ad uiuos pertineat nec ad mortuos? alteri nulli sunt, alteros non attinget. **92**. quam qui leuiorem

6. animam R 1–5 8–12 14–17 V 1 8 G 1–4 P 1 2 S E 1 3–9 12–15 L 2 3 4 6 W 2 M 1 2 B 2 3 D C J O 1–7 9 10 12 ed. P. aīa L 5. animum R 6 13 E 2 ed. H. aīum W 1 R 7 Π O 11. aīm P 4 O 8. animā̄ B (*sic*) *in rasura, h. e.* animā *in* animū *mut.* animā K *alio atram. superscr.* 7. non sit (s superscr.) V. 9. se sic habet R V G B 1 2 K P E 1 5 W 2 D C O 3 4 7 9–11. sic se habet S W 1 M 1 2 R 10 G 3 (*non ut adfirmat Küh.*) G 4 B 3 P. 4 Π J O 1 2 5 6 8 12. ‖ ortus nr̄t V. 10. adferat V G K. 13. attinget R 1 10 V G 1–3 B 1 3 P S E L W 2 M 2 D C J O 2 5–8 11 12. adting& K. attingit W 1 M 1 G 4 B 2 E 2 Π O 1 3 4 9 10.

xiii 26 is a very corrupt passage and Nipperdey does *not* receive '*cum* inter paucos...' for 'ut inter paucos...' into his text. For an opposite argument see 14, 31 sqq.

[C. F. W. Müller is quite right, I think, in denying the parallel. In all the examples of compression like that in De Or. i 115 I have not seen one where the statement preceding the *ut*-clause is general as here. It is always some assertion of individual opinion so that the type *ut...sit* is naturally understood to be the equivalent of *ut putem*, *credam*, etc. *esse*.]

licet: the acc. and infin. with *licet* is regular where the reflexion is general; cf. v 15, 44 'quibus abundantem licet esse miserrimum'; de Fato 15, 35 'superiora repetentem regredi infinite licet'; Off. i 26, 92 'haec praescripta seruantem licet magnifice...uiuere'; ii 19, 67 'licet opera prodesse multis, beneficia petentem.' For the dat. of a definite person cf. 15, 33.

[**licet**: the acc. and inf. occurs oftener than is commonly supposed, where the reflexion is not general. I have collected many examples since I wrote the n. on Balb. § 29.]

animum: most MSS and the best have *animam*, but the soul in Cicero is constantly *animus*, not *anima*; cf. 9, 19 'animum autem alii animam.'

gloriae = *εὐδοξίας*, *bonae famae*, which Cicero Fin. iii 17, 57 declares to be a preferable expression.

sensurus non sit: the subject is to be supplied from *iudicantem* = *eum qui iudicet*. Küh. apud Mo. quotes Or. i 8, 30 'neque...quidquam praestabilius... quam posse (aliquem) dicendo tenere hominum coetus...uoluntates inpellere, quo uelit'; and Ochsner apud Mo. quotes Laelius 16, 59 'ita amare oportere, ut si aliquando esset osurus,' where see Reid's n. Cf. also iii 17, 38 'haec *cogitantem* fore beatum.'

Nor is there any need with Bentley to alter to *sis* because of the following *si tu id non agas*, which = *si quis id non agat*: cf. Madv. § 370, and N.D. i 30, 84 (quoted by Küh.) 'quam bellum erat, Vellei, confiteri potius nescire, quod nescires, quam ista effutientem nauseare atque ipsum sibi displicere.'

uirtutis, 'but from a desire to play a worthy part'; *uirtus* has much the same meaning as in Hor. Odes iii 2, 21 'uirtus recludens inmeritis mori caelum negata tentat iter uia.'

id agas: cf. 20, 46 n.

consequatur: 16, 36 n.

consequatur, and **sit** in the previous line, subjunctives after the rel. containing a reason 'since he will not feel it,' etc.

si se sic habet: *si* is absent from the MSS. Bake, followed by Küh. Hei. TS. Schiche, conjectured that it had fallen out before *se*. Sff. conjectured *si hoc habet*, i.e. *si ita fert*.

adferat: Cicero might have written *adfert*; the subjunctive is due to attraction, *adferat* (following upon *ut*) being necessarily understood after *mors*; cf. 4, 8 n. on *uellet*.

attinget: Küh. thinks the future

faciunt, somni simillimam uolunt esse, quasi uero quisquam ita nonaginta annos uelit uiuere, ut, cum sexaginta confecerit, reliquos dormiat. ne sues quidem id uelint, non modo ipse. Endymion uero, si fabulas audire uolumus, ut nescio quando in Latmo obdormiuit, qui est mons Cariae, nondum, opinor, est experrectus. num igitur eum curare censes, cum Luna laboret? a qua consopitus putatur, ut eum dormientem oscularetur. quid curet autem, qui ne sentit quidem? habes somnum imaginem

§ **92**, 16. ne sues quidem R 1 2 5 10–12 14 15 17 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P 1 2 4 S E 1–3 8 9 13 L 1 6 W 1 M 1 2 D C O 2 3 10. ne sues id quidem O 6 ed. H. ne suos quidem O 7. ne suis quidem W 2 O 11. nesciẽs quidem Π. nec sues quidem R 6 O 1 4 5 8 12. nec suẽs quidem E 6. nec suos quidem O 9. nec suis quidem E 5. ne sui quidem J. 19. laboret V G B 1 2 K P E D C Π J W 2 O 1 3 4 7 8 11 12. laborat W 1 G 3 O 9. laboraret M 1 2 B 3 O 2 5 6 10.

ironical 'ut haec fere uis insit *alteros credo non attinget mors*.' But very often, where the present might be expected, the future is used, especially in comic or colloquial Latin, to denote what is, and will prove to be, the fact, cf. Ter. Phormio 801 'sic erit'; Juv. i 114 'quiescet' (Mayor's n.). See also 22, 53 n. on *nesciet*.

§ **92.** **faciunt**: pres. of the attempt = *fingunt*. TS. compares p. Flacco 20, 46 'cum uerbis se locupletem faceret... pecuniam sumpsit mutuam.'

uolunt: cf. 18, 42 n.

quasi uero...uelit: 22, 50 n.

sues: not even the pig (proverbially the most stupid of animals and a famous sleeper) would wish that, so far from man himself (of whom mental activity is the distinctive characteristic) wishing it. The contrast is somewhat awkwardly expressed by Cic., as man in general must be supplied by inference from *quisquam* 'any one at all.' To avoid this many editors (TS. Kl. Bai. Ml. Hei. Schiche) have adopted Keil's conjecture *sui* which is also the reading of J. But there does not seem sufficient reason for departing from the MSS. Moreover in many cases a man's relations would prefer having him with them asleep, (say) from his 60th to his 90th year, to burying him in his 60th year.

non modo ipse: cf. Diu. ii 55, 113 'ne mediocri quidem cuiquam, non modo prudenti probata sunt'; Livy xxv 15, 2 'ne Tarentum quidem non modo arcem tanti debere esse.' The more usual form of expression would be *non modo ipse sed ne sues quidem*.

The argument seems to be—Some, in order to make death seem less terrible, represent it as a perpetual sleep: but a perpetual sleep would be no better than death, since both states are equally marked by absence of consciousness. Even a sleep like that of Endymion is unrelieved by any pleasure since there is a total absence of consciousness. You do not fear sleep; there is then no reason to fear death. Cf. Fin. v 20, 55 'itaque ne si iucundissimis quidem nos somniis usuros putemus, Endymionis somnum nobis uelimus dari, idque si accidat, mortis instar putemus.'

Endymion: for the import of the legend cf. Geddes on Plato, Phaedo 72 c.

qui est mons Cariae: Bake, followed by Bai. and TS, bracketed these words as a marginal gloss; but Cic. often has similar geographical notes and Dav. well observes that on the same principle 'fluuium, qui ab Europae parte in Pontum influit' in 39, 94 might be condemned as a gloss.

opinor: ironical, as often, and without connexion with the construction of the sentence; so *credo*, *puto*, *reor*, *spero*. See Küh. on 22, 52 *credo*.

laboret: subj. of reported thought. For the expression cf. Virg. Geo. ii 478 'defectus solis uarios lunaeque labores.' The expression seems to have come down from the time when an eclipse was supposed to be due to an attempt of a monster to swallow the moon, or sun.

autem, 'moreover,' not 'but.' The emendation of Sff. *quid curet etiam* is therefore not required, cf. 2, 3 n.

mortis eamque cotidie induis, et dubitas, quin sensus in morte nullus sit, cum in eius simulacro uideas esse nullum sensum?

XXXIX. **93.** Pellantur ergo istae ineptiae paene aniles, ante tempus mori miserum esse. quod tandem tempus? naturaene? at ea quidem dedit usuram uitae tamquam pecuniae nulla praestituta die. quid est igitur quod querare, si repetit cum uolt? ea enim condicione acceperas. idem, si puer paruus occidit, aequo animo ferendum putant, si uero in cunis, ne querendum quidem. atqui ab hoc acerbius exegit natura quod dederat. 'nondum gustauerat,' inquit, 'uitae suauitatem;

22. cotidie R V G B 1 2 P E D C. quo/cotidie S *alio ut uid. atram. superscr.* cottidie E 1 3. 23. cum eius R 1 10 G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E 1 8 13 L W 1 M 1 D C O 3–8 10–12. cum simulacro eius W 2 J. cum in eius V. cum ꝉ eius M 2. cum in eius R 6 E 2 Π O 1 2 9.

XXXIX. § **93,** 3. ad ea R G 1 3 B 1 2 K S E 1 13 L C O 9. at ea V *at* t *in litura.* ad ea P (t superscr.). 5. uolt V B. ‖ conditione *h. l.* V G S W 1 M 1 2. condicione E. ‖ idem R 1 6 V G B 1 2 K P S E C Π O 6 7 8 11. id' G 3. id ē L. id est W 2 O 1. i/dem J. iidem W 1 M 1 2 B 3 O 2–5 10. inde O 9. 7. querendum R V. quaerendum G. q̄ rend' W 2. querendum *at litura sub priore* e. querendum P E. conquerendum M 1 2 O 5. ‖ exegit R 1 2 6 10 V G 1–3 B 1 3 K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 2 6 9 10 12. exigit G 4 O 1 3–5 7 8 11. 8. inquit R V G 1–3 K B 1 3 P S L M 1 2 D C J O 1 11. inquid E O 7. in quid B 2. inquiunt W 1 O 3 4 6 10. inquiunt *marg.* W 2. aiunt G 4.

et dubitas, 'and yet do you doubt,' cf. 3, 6 n. on 'et id.'

cum in : *in* is absent from most MSS. *cū in* became *cum* through the stroke over the *u* being lost or disregarded. Mo.

nullum sensum: Cic. here omits to deal with the fact that dreams are often most unpleasant, and that the analogy between sleep and death is apt to suggest the thought 'in that sleep of death what dreams may come.'

XXXIX. § **93. istae ineptiae,** 'such foolish assertions...as that.' The plural includes not only the present but all similar assertions. Cf. Küh. on 6, 12 'quam ista tam inconsiderate diceres.'

quod tandem tempus: the prep. is carried on from the antecedent, as it usually is (especially in questions) where the verb is also carried on from the antecedent clause or mentally supplied from it, cf. iii 17, 37 'sed traducis cogitationes meas ad uoluptates. *quas?*' In Pison. 37, 91 'Arsinoen, Stratum, Naupactum ...fateris ab hostibus esse captas. *quibus* autem hostibus? nempe *eis* quos...' similarly T.D. i 39, 94 'in eadem...breuitate *qua* illae bestiolae'; 46, 111 'esse cum aliquo sensu in eis malis, *quibus*....'

usuram : cf. 31, 77 n.

praestituta die: cf. Verr. ii 1, 56, 148 'diem praestituit operi faciundo'; and for the gender of *dies* see Roby I § 337. For the matter cf. Plut. Cons. ad Apoll. 116 a—f.

querare: the subjunctive is consecutive; *quod = tale ut,* cf. Madv. § 363; Roby II § 1680.

si uero: *uero* with intensive force, cf. 41, 98 'ut uero.'

acerbius: cf. Aen. vi 429 'funere mersit acerbo.' This use is transferred from the harshness of unripe fruits: cf. iii 14, 29 where Cicero writes *mortem acerbam* as an equivalent for θανάτους ἀώρους in translating from a fragment of Euripides' Theseus. But the word was also used of harshness on the part of a creditor, cf. Att. vi 1, 6 'etiam acerbissimis feneratoribus'; Rep. iii 28, 40 'nec est uirtutis ulla alia merces, quam tamen illa, inquit, accipit facile, exigit non acerbe.'

[nondum gustauerat......suauitatem: Lucr. v 179 (in similar context) 'qui numquam uero uitae gustauit amorem.']

inquit: the sing. is often used, with an imaginary opponent as the subject, cf. ii 12, 29; Hor. Sat. i 4, 79 'laedere

hic autem iam sperabat magna, quibus frui coeperat.' at id quidem in ceteris rebus melius putatur, aliquam partem quam nullam attingere; cur in uita secus? quamquam non male ait Callimachus multo saepius lacrimasse Priamum quam Troilum. eorum autem, qui exacta aetate moriuntur, fortuna laudatur. **94**. cur? nam, reor, nullis, si uita longior daretur, posset esse iucundior; nihil enim est profecto homini prudentia dulcius, quam, ut cetera auferat, adfert certe senectus. quae uero aetas longa est, aut quid omnino homini longum? nonne

9. ad id R G 1 3 K E L B 2 O 9. ad id S *marg.* at. ad B (d *in* t *mut.*). at id V *at* t *ex* d *mut.* at id W 1 Π J O 1–8 10 11. at hoc uel id quidem D C. 10. ipsum (*post* quidem) W 2 M 1 2 B 3 J O 2 5 8. 11. attingere K. || agit (*post* male) V E. 13. qui &acta R V. qui et acta G B 2 J. qui-a- &acta (ex superscr.) E *alio atram. superscr.* quia exacta S. qz 7 acta (=quia et acta) G 3. qui &acta (ex superscr.) P. qui et exacta G 2. qui ex acta O 11. qui exacta B 1 3 D Π O 1–8 10 12. qui exapta O 9. *omittit* K; *in marg. habet* quia et acta.

§ **94**, 14. nullis R 1 2 10 15 V 1 13 G 1 3 Gr B 1 2 K E 1–3 13 L W 2 P 4 D C O 2. nullis S *marg.* illis. nullis V 8 u *in* i *mut.* nullus R 17 G 2 Π. ñullis P *at alio atram. superscr. h. e.* nullis *in* non ullis *mut.* in illis O 8. ī illis V 5 6 J O 7. nullis (nō superscr.) E 4 O 12. nō nullis V 4 O 9. nonnullis V 9 ed. H. nonnulli O 1. ñ illis R 14. non illis M 1 2 R 6 V 2 B 3 O 3–6 10 ed. P. nō ī illis W 1 *marg.* nonnullis. 15. iucundior V G E. iucundior K B 2 *h. e.* u *in* o *mut.* iocundior B S W 2 C O 2. || nihil enim est R V G B K P S E C Π J *plerique.* nihil est enim R 6 O 3. || hominis R V G B 1–3 K P S E C Π J *ceteri.* 16. adfert R V G P E. adferat K *punctis eod. ut uid. atram. appositis.*

gaudes, inquit, et hoc studio prauus facis'; Livy xxxiv 3, 9.

at id quidem...Troilum: the argument is this—it should be better to live to reach the verge of manhood than to die in the cradle, for 'half a loaf is better than no bread,' and yet perhaps it is not so, for the longer one lives the more trouble one goes through.

non male ... Callimachus: Plutarch, Cons. ad Apoll. p. 113 d, probably had Callimachus' words in view when he wrote 'Μεῖον γὰρ ὄντως Τρωΐλος ἐδάκρυσεν ἢ Πρίαμος.'

For Troilus, son of Priam, cut off in battle by Achilles, cf. Aen. i 474.

exacta aetate: *aetas* often, as here, = the vigorous period of life, cf. Cato M. 17, 60 'acta iam aetate'; 14, 48 'bona aetas'; Laelius 10, 33 'ineuntis aetatis'; Off. i 34, 122; Livy xxxv 28, 7 'ab ineunte aetate'; Tac. Dial. c. 8 *extrem.* with Gudeman's n.

§ **94. cur**: Cicero is maintaining that death is in no case an evil. He therefore, in an ironical manner (*reor*, see *opinor* 38, 92 n.,) argues that, popular opinions as to the timeliness or untimeliness of death are inconsistent.

nullis: so most recent editors with most MSS including the best. Or. and Tr. read *non ullis*; many early editions *non illis*; two early editions and Mo. *nonnullis*. *nullis*, *non ullis*, and *non nullis* differ very little in MSS, since *non* was represented by the compendium *n̄*. But *nullis*, substantively used, is very rare, while *non ullis* and *nonnullis*, though unsuitable in meaning here, are fairly common. It is therefore more probable that the copyists of inferior MSS mistook *nullis* for *n̄ ullis* = *non ullis* than that the careful copyists of R V G Gr B, etc. omitted the top stroke and changed *n̄ ullis* into *nullis*, thereby introducing a rare use of the word. For *nullus* as subst. in other cases than the gen. and abl. sing., cf. Off. i 37, 132 'huic autem qui studeant sunt nulli'; Hirtius B.G. viii 45, 1 'nullis aduersus Romanos auxilia denegabant.'

posset: not *potest*, for the denial is made with regard to a class, not with regard to definite individuals.

auferat, adfert: note the chiasmus (cf. 1, 5 n.) and for the use of two con-

Módo pueros, modo ádulescentes ín cursu a tergo
ínsequens
Néc opinantis ádsecuta est

senectus? sed quia ultra nihil habemus, hoc longum dicimus. omnia ista, perinde ut cuique data sunt pro rata parte, ita aut longa aut breuia dicuntur. apud Hypanim fluuium, qui ab Europae parte in Pontum influit, Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci, quae unum diem uiuant. ex his igitur hora octaua quae mortua est, prouecta aetate mortua est; quae uero occidente

18. adulescentes R V G K P. 20. opinantis V G K E C. || adsecuta est R V G K E. 22. perinde R V G B 1–3 P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D C II J O 2 5 6 8–10 12. p̣inde K. proinde O 1 3 4 7 11. 23. auita longa R 1 2 6 10 G 1 3 B K P L V 5 E 4 13 D J. a uita longa Gr S B 2 C O 1 2 7 8 ed. P. aut ita longa G 4 ed. H. aut longa M 1 E 2 II O 3 4. aut longa V *at littera ante* t *et altera littera post* t *erasa*. a uita aut longa M 2 B 3 O 6. auita aut longa O 5. aut uita longa G 2 (*non ut Küh.*) O 9. aut uitam longam O 12. ita longa W 1. uita longa O 11. uita longo E. ^aut longa O 10 *marg*. auita. *non legitur in* M 1 *et* G 2 ita aut longa *ut adfirmat Küh.*, *Moserum ut sibi fingit secutus, neque uero id adfirmat Mo.* || breuia dicuntur V G K B 2 O 15. breue addicuntur S *marg*. breuia.

trasted compounds of the same verb (*figura etymologica*) cf. 22, 52 'esset... non esset'; p. Sull. 16, 47 'amissum... remissum,' and *ibid.* 'tulisse...iniuriam... rettulisse gratiam'; Laelius 18, 65 'inferendis...oblatis.' Davies quotes the same thought from Menander, as preserved in Stobaeus Serm. cxiv p. 585 (Meineke IV p. 264)

'εἰ τἄλλ' ἀφαιρεῖν ὁ πολὺς εἴωθεν χρόνος
ἡμῶν τό γε φρονεῖν ἀσφαλέστερον ποιεῖ,'

and refers to Eurip. Phoen. 531 (528); cf. Ovid Met. vi 28 quoted by Mo. 'non omnia grandior aetas | quae fugiamus habet; seris uenit usus ab annis.'

modo...: the metre is trochaic tetrameter catalectic; the source of the extract is unknown. *modo* = 'but lately.'

pŭĕros: dissyllabic.

in cursu, 'in its course' (= *in aetatis cursu*, Mo.).

nec opinantis = *non opinantis*; a form surviving from old Latin, cf. *neglego* (*neclego*); *negotium* (= *nec otium*); *res nec mancipi* (= *res non mancipi*).

senectus: Küh. notes that Romans were *pueri* until they took the *toga uirilis* in their 16th or 17th year; *adulescentes* until they were 40 years old; *uiri* until they were 60; and thenceforward *senes*; and that here Cic. under *adulescentia* comprises *uirilem quoque aetatem* as in Cato M. 2, 4 'citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit.'

omnia ista, 'all these spans of life,' i.e. *pueritia*, *adulescentia* (including *constans aetas*, cf. Cato M. 20, 76), *senectus*, 'are pronounced long or short according as they have been allotted to each individual in definite proportions,' i.e. 'these are relative terms.' Thus let 80 years = a full span of life: according as 20, 40, 60 or 80 years have been allotted to any particular man in a definite proportion to the full span of life $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, 1, we pronounce the life *breuissima*, *breuis*, *longa*, or *longissima*.

perinde: 36, 86 n.

ita aut: I have not found *ita aut* in any MS. The emendation *ita aut* was introduced by Manutius, followed by Lambinus. The reading *auita* arose from the transposition of *ita aut*.

Hypanis: the Bug.

Aristoteles ait: cf. Hist. Anim. v 19 (quoted by Dav.) translated almost literally by Pliny, H.N. xi 36—except that Aristotle calls the winged creature ἐφήμερον—'Hypanis, fluuius in Ponto, circa solstitium defert acinorum effigie tenues membranas, quibus erumpit uolucre quadrupes nec ultra unum diem uiuit, unde ἡμερόβιον uocatur.'

[**prouecta aetate**: probably *prouectă* agreeing with *quae*, not *prouectā*. This accords with Cicero's usage elsewhere; *decrepitus* too is applied to persons, and would hardly go with *aetas*. But some doubt, I think, rests on the word here.]

sole, decrepita, eo magis, si etiam solstitiali die. confer nostram longissimam aetatem cum aeternitate: in eadem propemodum breuitate, qua illae bestiolae, reperiemur.

XL. **95**. Contemnamus igitur omnis ineptias (quod enim leuius huic leuitati nomen inponam?) totamque uim bene uiuendi in animi robore ac magnitudine et in omnium rerum humanarum contemptione ac despicientia et in omni uirtute ponamus. nam nunc quidem cogitationibus mollissimis effemi-

XL. § **95**, 1. contemnamus V. contem⁀namus S. contempnamus G K E W 2. ‖ omnis V B K P. 2. lenius . . . lenitati O 6; *idem* B 3 *at* u . . . u *superscr.* ‖ inponam V G E 14 L ed. H. imponam R P K. impono B (*at* o *post* n *in litura*). 4. contentione S *marg.* contemptione. 5. iussu tyrrannorum *post* ponamus K. iussu tyrannorum R 1–3 9 14 16 G 1 2 B 1 2 P 1 3 4 E 1 2 5 8 9 11 14 L 1–3 W 2 V 5 7 Π J O 7. *eandem lectionem at uerbis* iussu tyrannorum *transuerso calamo uel alio quodam modo notatis praebent* S W 1 R 8 10 11 S E 3 O 5. ·ſ·sequitur infra
iussu tyrannorum R 7. iussu ~~tyrannorum~~ V 8. iussū tyrannorum V 12 13 P 4 E 4 13. iussu tyrānoꝝ V 9 *i.e.* u *in* a *mut.* iussa tyrannorum R 17 P 3 L 4 O 1 ed. H. *idem habuerat* O 12 *at spatio relicto erasum est.* iussu *ante* nam M 2. iussuque tyrannorum et in omni uirtute ponamus D. iussa tyrannorum et in omni... C. nomen imponam iussu tyrannorum nam nunc G 3 (*omni quod intercedit omisso*). *non habet* iussu tyrannorum (*post* ponamus) V *neque rasura est neque satis spatii in quo haec duo uerba scribantur relictum est. spatium quidem est at* V *στιχηδὸν scriptus est.* ponamus nam nunc M 1 R 5 6 12 13 15 V 2–4 6 10 11 G 4 B 3 E 6 7 12 15 L 5 6 O 2–4 6 8–11 ed. P. ‖ molestissimis R 1–5 8–11 15–17 V 1 4 5 12 13 G 1 3 Gr B 1 2 K P E 1 2 5–9 12 13 L 1 4 W 1 2 D C Π J O 1 7–9 11 12. molestissimis S V 11 *marg.* mollissimis. mestissimis G 2. mollissimis E 3 *at in rasura et spatii aliquid relictum est.* molissimis L 6. mollissimis M 1 2 R 6 12–14 G 4 B 3 E 4 15 O 2–6 10 ed. H. ed. P.

decrepita: this word, common in Plautus, is only found here in Cic.

solstitiali: *solstitium* was specially applied to the midsummer solstice, the midwinter s. being *bruma*, cf. Virg. Ecl. 7, 47 'solstitium pecori defendite'; Hor. Ep. i 11, 18 'paenula solstitio.'

confer...reperiemur: 13, 30 n.

in eadem breuitate: i.e. *haud minus breues*, i.e. ὀλιγοχρόνιοι (cf. 'breuem dominum' Hor. Odes ii 14, 47): for this use of the prepositional clause cf. ii 21, 49; N.D. i 12, 31 'quae sunt isdem in erratis fere'; Fin. ii 14, 47 'quartum sequitur in eadem pulchritudine,' and Madv. there.

qua: for the non-repetition of the prep. cf. 93 n. on 'quod tandem tempus.'

XL. § **95**. **omnis ineptias**: *omnis* is limited by *huic leuitati* immediately following, and by *istae ineptiae* of § 93.

leuius...leuitati: Bentley conj. *lenius*. But the pun is quite Ciceronian. TS. appositely quotes Lael. 23, 87 'quis tam esset ferreus qui eam uitam ferre posset?' and Cato M. 11, 38 'sensim sine sensu aetas senescit.' For *leuius nomen* in the sense of 'a milder term' cf. p. Rosc. Am. 33, 93 'quos qui leuiore nomine appellant, percussores uocant'; p. Sest. 69, 145 'ut leuissime dicam,' and elsewhere.

totamque: for the distinction between *et*, *que*, and *ac* (or *atque*) see Madv. § 433. Here *que* tacks the clause *totam...ponamus* on to the clause *contemnamus... ineptias*, which it serves to explain and to expand; the first *ac* connects *robore* with *magnitudine*, the second connects *contemptione* with *despicientia*, and *ac* has not, in these two instances, its intensive meaning but simply connects, being used instead of *et* for the sake of clearness; further, the three things in which we are to regard happiness of life as essentially (*uim*) residing, viz. (a) *in animi robore ac magnitudine*, (b) *in omn. rer. hum. cont. ac. desp.*, (c) *in omni uirtute*, are connected thus: (a) *et* (b) *et* (c). Cf. Livy xxxiv 16, 7 'captiuique... et...et...ac....'

totam uim bene uiuendi: cf. v 11, 33 'totum hoc bene uiuere.'

in omni uirtute = *omnino in uirtute* 'in virtue generally,' cf. iv. 15, 34 'omnisque recta ratio.'

ponamus: after this word most MSS

namur, ut, si ante mors aduentet quam Chaldaeorum promissa consecuti sumus, spoliati magnis quibusdam bonis, inlusi destitutique uideamur. **96.** quod si exspectando et desiderando pendemus animis, cruciamur, angimur, pro di inmortales! quam illud iter iucundum esse debet, quo confecto nulla reliqua cura, nulla sollicitudo futura sit! quam me delectat Theramenes! quam elato animo est! etsi enim flemus cum legimus, tamen non miserabiliter uir clarus emoritur. qui cum coniectus in carcerem triginta iussu tyrannorum uenenum ut sitiens

6. caldeorum (*uel* ae) R V G 1–3 P W 1 J O 2 3 8. chaldeorum B S E 1 2 W 2 Π C O 10. 7. sumus R V B 1–3 P S D Π J O 1–5 7–12 *plerique*. simus M 1. simus *ex* sumus *mut*. O 6.

§ **96**, 9. animis (with i written above) V *manu recentiore*. animis *ceteri*.

including the best, with the notable exception of V, have inserted the words *iussu tyrannorum* from ten lines lower down (§ 96). As it is not conceivable that the copyists could separately make this mistake, the natural conclusion is that all these MSS spring from a single source.

mollissimis: *molestissimis* is the reading of all the best MSS, and it is worth noting that no variant is supplied by the early corrector of V. Yet the objection of Bent. that with it we should expect *cruciamur* or *torquemur*, not *effeminamur*, is forcible, and modern editors read *mollissimis* with most late MSS and early editions.

aduentet: often used of the approach of evils, Cato M. 1, 2 'onere...aut iam urgentis aut certe aduentantis senectutis'; Or. i 45, 199 'cum me uires (quod fere iam tempus aduentat) deficere coepissent.' Mo. But often without this implication, especially of troops, e.g. Att. viii 3, 7 'Afranium (a friend) cum magnis copiis aduentare.'

Chaldaeorum: for astrologers at Rome see Mayor on Juv. x 94. Foretelling the duration of life was one of their specialities, cf. Hor. Odes i 11, 3 'nec Babylonios temptaris numeros,' and Juv. xiv 248 'nota mathematicis genesis tua.' At this period the art, which had originated long before in the valley of the Euphrates (cf. Diu. i 1, 2), was mainly prosecuted by Greeks, but the original name persisted; cf. the application of the word 'Scotchman' to all who sell dry goods, tea, etc., from house to house in England, and *szatas* 'pedlar' (lit. Scotchman) in Lithuania.

consecuti: 16, 36 n.

sumus: it is not necessary with Or. and other editors to change to *simus* against the MSS.

magnis quibusdam: *quibusdam*, by its vagueness, here disparages, cf. i 12, 27 n.

§ **96. exspectando et desiderando**: abl. of attendant circumstances.

animis: so the best and nearly all MSS. Ursinus read *animi* which he found in his MS, and Bent. approved. Wes. *Em.* iii p. 27 also thinks *animi* probably right; and it is the usual form in Cicero, but in Livy vii 30, 22 MSS read 'quid illis nos sollicitis ac pendentibus animis renuntiare iubetis?' There however Weissenborn, after Sigonius and Gron., reads *animi*, with great probability. See Wes. *Em.* i p. 29 [Madv. *Em. Liv.* p. 180]. *animi* is read in our passage by the early corrector of V.

Theramenes: as one of the Thirty Tyrants he ultimately opposed the cruelty of his colleagues, especially that of Critias, and was condemned to death. For his character see Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. VIII c. 65.

legimus: in Xen. Hell. ii 3, 56 '*καὶ ἐπεί γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτον· Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ.*'

miserabiliter = that famous man does not die *cum lamentatione*. Hor. Carm. i 33, 2 'neu miserabiles decantes elegos.' Hei.

obduxisset, reliquum sic e poculo eiecit ut id resonaret, quo sonitu reddito arridens 'Propino,' inquit, 'hoc pulchro Critiae,' qui in eum fuerat taeterrimus; Graeci enim in conuiuiis solent nominare cui poculum tradituri sint. lusit uir egregius extremo spiritu, cum iam praecordiis conceptam mor-

15. obduxisset R 1 4 7 8 14 V 1 5 10 11 13 G 1 4 B 1 2 K P 1–3 L 1 3 W 2 E 4 7 8 14 J O 1 3 4 7 11. obdussisset R 15. abduxisset V 3 E 9 11. *omisit* O 9. obdixisset S R 2 10 16 E 13. bibisset *marg.* S. o[b]bdixisset E (*sic*).' obbibisset W 1 M 2 R 5 6 12 V 12 G 3 B 3 E 2 15 L 6 Π O 5 6 10 O 12 (*at hic in rasura*) ed. H. ed. P. obibisset M 1. obibibisset R 14. ebibisset V 4 G 2 E 5 6 12 L 5 C. bibisset V 6 L 2 4 O 8. hausisset R 3 E 3 O 2. 15. quod (*ante sonitu*) R G B 1 2 K E L W 2 E 2 J. q[o] Π *at fuerat* quod. quod P (*manu* 1). quod V. quo S W 1 M 1 2 R 6 G 3 B 3 E 4 D O 3–5. 16. adridens V. a[d]ridens G. 17. teterrimus R *at fuerat ut uid.* tȩterrimus. taeterrimus G. deterrimus V *at* d *in litura.* teterrimus B 1 2 K P 1 2 E 1 2 4 8 13 W 1 M 1 R 2 3 6 10–12 16 17 V 12 G 2–4 L 4 6 Π O 1 3 4 10 11 ed. P. [d]teterrimus S. deterrimus L 1 3 W 2 M 2 R 5 7 8 V 4 6 10 11 13 B 3 E 5 8 D C J O 2 5–9 12. ‖ enim conuiuiis R V K B 2. enim[in] conuiuiis P *alio atram. superscr.* N conuiuiis O 2. enim in conuiuiis B 1 3 S E 1 2 W 1 2 M 1 2 *plerique.*

obduxisset, 'had drunk the poison down, as one athirst': the notion of eagerness is not in *obducere* but in *ut sitiens.* Similarly *obsorbeo* means 'to sip' not 'to gulp down.' cf. Plaut. Mil. Glor. iii 2, 21 'quia enim obsorbui: amburebat gutturem'; Truc. ii 3, 29 'uin' aquam? si frustulentast da, obsecro, hercle obsorbeam.' Hence with best MSS Keller and Holder, followed by Palmer, read *ab*sorbere not *ob*sorbere in Hor. Sat. ii 8, 24.

sic e poculo eiecit ut id resonaret: cf. ἀποκοτταβίσαντα Xen. l. c. For the κότταβος see Becker, *Charicles* pp. 349–351 (Eng. Trans.); *resonaret* in our passage refers to the ringing produced by the descending scale-pan in the κότταβος κατακτός as described by Becker.

propino hoc: cf. Plaut. Curc. ii 3, 8 'propino poclum magnum: ille ebibit.' Mart. ii 15, 1 'nulli calicem tuum propinas.'

pulchro: Küh. explains as a usual Attic complimentary term, comparing Xen. Memor. iv 2, 1 'καταμαθὼν γὰρ Εὐθύδημον, τὸν καλόν, γράμματα πολλὰ συνειλεγμένον κ.τ.λ.'

Cic. seems to have referred the remark of Theramenes to a custom similar to that of passing the 'loving cup' (cf. ἐπιδέξια πίνειν), a custom still observed at some City and College feasts, and editors seem tacitly to accept this, but I suspect that Victorius, quoted in an Excursus to Moser, is right, and that Cic. has mistaken the reference. It will be observed that in the passage in Xen. there is nothing to correspond to Cic.'s explanation 'Graeci enim...tradituri sint.' Athenaeus xv 666 b says that the κότταβος was a game of Sicilian origin and that in it the wine was poured out in honour of a *beloved* person (τοῖς ἐρωμένοις). The prize was often a kiss, *ibid.* 668 d. The jest therefore (*lusit uir egregius* cf. τὸ παιγνιῶδες in Xen. l. c.) consisted in drinking to 'fair Critias,' i.e. to 'dear Critias.' Cf. commentators on Δῆμον καλόν and κημὸς καλός in Aristoph. Wasps 98, 99.

taeterrimus: some inferior MSS have *deterrimus*, but, besides that the best MSS have the reading of the text, we should expect *pessimus* rather than *deterrimus*, cf. *deteriores fiunt ex bonis peiores ex malis*, Schol. on Hor. Odes iii 5, 30, and (as Küh. observes) there is a good antithesis between *pulchro* and *taeterrimus*.

Graeci enim ... tradituri sint: cf. Hom. Il. ix 224 'πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλῆα' cited by Athenaeus xi p. 498 in Davies, who also refers to Athenaeus x p. 432 to shew that the Spartans had not this custom.

in before *conviviis* is wanting in RVG, the loss being, no doubt, due to the preceding *m*.

extremo spiritu: not abl. of means, but abl. abs., giving the accompanying circumstances, cf. 5, 10 'maxima corona'; 25, 60 'hoc nebuloso et caliginoso caelo'; ii 16, 38 'quamuis leui ictu.'

tem contineret, uereque ei, cui uenenum praebiberat, mortem eam est auguratus, quae breui consecuta est. **97.** quis hanc maximi animi aequitatem in ipsa morte laudaret, si mortem malum iudicaret? uadit in eundem carcerem atque in eundem

20. ei qui R G B K E *omnes, quod sciam.* || praebiberat R 1 2 10 15 16 G Gr K E 1 11. prębiberat L. prebiberat S V 11 E 7. p̄ biberat R 10 G 3 E 13. prehiberat B 2. prebiberat (u superscr.) V P *alio atram. superscr.* p̄bu erat E 3 *at* ib *in* u *mut.* biberat B. non biberat O 11 (?non *ex* n̄ *ex* p̄ *orto*). praebuerat M 2 R 5 6 12 14 17 V 5 E 6 O 1–3 6 7 10 ed. P. prębuerat W 1. p̄buerat R 7 17 V 6 B 3 E 2 5 8 12 15 J O 8. prebuerat W 2 M 1 R 3 4 11 V 4 10 13 G 2 4 E 4 9 14 L 3 6 D C Π O 4 5 9 12.

§ **97**, 22. maximi animi R V G B 1–3 K S E W 1 M 1 2 O 8 *plerique.* animi maximi W 2 O 2 6 11 12. 23. uadit enim in R 1 2 9 10 V 1 10 11 G 1 4 B 1 2 K W 2 E 2 4–9 L 3 C J O 1 ed. H. uadit enī in E L G 2 D O 8. uadit eī ī E 3 13 O 7. uadit eī in Π R 7. uadit ·N· ī O 12. uadit ·N· in W 1 R 4 V 5 8 G 3 E 11 O 2 9. uadit in M 1 2 R 6 B 3 P 3 O 3–6 10 11.

praecordiis: 'circa praecordia potissimum, ait Beroaldus, grassari solet uis ueneni. Horatius (Epod. iii 5) quid hoc ueneni saeuit in praecordiis?' Mo. But the word is often used simply of the *stomach*, cf. Fin. v 30, 92 'anulus in praecordiis piscis inuentus est.'

praebiberat = *propinauerat*. This, the true reading, was restored by J. M. Brutus from Gr. G R E and some inferior MSS also read *praebiberat*, with *qui* instead of *cui*. *praebuerat* of inferior MSS and most early editions could not be said of Critias, who did not personally administer the poison. *praebiberat* occurs nowhere else in Cic., and only here in classical Latin. Davies quotes the word from Apuleius, Metamorph. x p. 334; and from two places in St Jerome, and Bentley quotes from 'Glossarium Graeco-Latinum' (i.e. from Stephanus' Thesaurus) 'Προπίνω propino, probibo,' and adds 'corrige praebibo.'

consecuta est: 16, 36 n.

Theramenes was put to death in the latter half of 404 B.C.; Critias fell early in 403.

§ **97. quis hanc...si...iudicaret**: Camerarius rightly objected to this reasoning—'Immo uero quis laudaret magno opere illam animi aequitatem, si mortem bonum iudicaret? Nam uirtus elucescit in aduersis, grauibus calamitosisque casibus, non spectatur rebus prosperis et in molli uita.'

animi aequitatem = *aequanimitatem*, a word which occurs in Terence, Ph. prol. 34; Ad. prol. 24.

uadit: for *uadere* of striding manfully into danger see Dict. The reading may be sound; in that case we have zeugma—*fortiter intrat carcerem, fortiter accipit scyphum*. But *uadit* is not separated from *scyphum* by the intervention of many words, and the sitting, or at least stationary, position natural for drinking poison is in contrast to *uadit*. Hence many conjectures; Hei. reads *potatque eundem*. Probably the best explanation is that *in* has a final use here with *scyphum*. 'Soc. boldly enters the same prison a few months later on; aye, and enters it for the same poison-bowl,' i.e. 'there to drink the same poison-bowl.' Dr Reid in an article in *Hermathena*, vol. XI, no. 27, pp. 251–2, which I had not noticed until these notes were ready for the press, defends the construction thus:—

'That *uadit in scyphum* would never, by itself, have been written by Cicero is certain; the question whether it comes within the proper limits of zeugma has been disputed. To me it seems a simpler example of zeugma than many which have been retained in our texts without debate. The expression *uadit in carcerem* recalls *ire in eculeum* (Tusc. v § 14): Socrates advances to meet the terror of the prison and the poison-cup as of enemies to whom his spirit will not yield.'

uadit in eundem: R V G B with many inferior MSS read *uadit enim in*. Dav. Mo. Sff. Hei. TS. reject *enim*. Küh. retains and seeks to justify it by supplying in thought *at mors malum non est iudicanda*. It seems best to follow Sff. who supposes that we have a case of *dittographia*, a copyist having first written *enim* (·N·) by mistake for IN, and then adding IN on finding that word

paucis post annis scyphum Socrates eodem scelere iudicum, quo tyrannorum Theramenes. quae est igitur eius oratio, qua facit eum Plato usum apud iudices iam morte multatum?

XLI. 'Magna me,' inquit, 'spes tenet, iudices, bene mihi euenire quod mittar ad mortem. necesse est enim sit alterum de duobus, ut aut sensus omnino omnis mors auferat aut in alium quendam locum ex his locis morte migretur. quam ob rem, siue sensus exstinguitur morsque ei somno similis est, qui non numquam etiam sine uisis somniorum placatissimam quietem adfert, di boni, quid lucri est emori! aut quam multi dies reperiri possunt, qui tali nocti anteponantur, cui si similis futura est perpetuitas omnis consequentis temporis, quis me beatior? **98.** sin uera sunt quae dicuntur, migrationem esse mortem in eas oras, quas qui e uita excesserunt incolunt, id

26. multatum V G E. XLI. 3. omnis K. omnes R V G. oms B P E. ~~oms~~ S *marg.* omnis. 7. adfert R V G P E. affert K. || dii R G B 1–3 P W 1 2 M 1 2 J O 1 3 6 10 11. di K. di S *at* j *fortasse post* i *eraso.* || est emori R V G K S W 1 2 M 1 2 B 2 D C Π O 1–4 7 9 10 12. ē emori B P E R 10 G 3 J O 8. ē mori O 11. est mori O 5 6. 8. repperiri V G. || cui similis R 1 6 10 G 1–3 B 1–3 K P 1 2 S E 1 5 L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C J O 1–6 8 9 11 12. cui ^si^ similis V *alio atram. superscr.* cui si similis Π O 10. cum similis V 5 O 7.

necessary before *eundem carcerem.* Ed. Stroebel (*Philol.* L pp. 81–2) thinks that here, as in ii 26, *enim* may be a corruption for *etiam.*

paucis post annis: *post* adverb; *annis* abl. of measure. Cf. Madv. § 270 and obs. 4.

Plato: Apol. Socr. c. 32 p. 40 c foll.

XLI. **spes...bene mihi euenire,** 'I have a strong persuasion that it is a source of gain to me that I am being put to death.' It is scarcely necessary to point out that one can hope with regard to the present and even the past (cf. ii 27, 67 'me...spero liberatum metu,') as well as with regard to the future. We can hope until we definitely know the result or real character of the present or past event. *spero* often = *spe credo* and so Küh. explains *me spes tenet* here, rightly, no doubt, as Socrates speaks with confidence, but this meaning is not necessary to justify the construction.

mittar: Soc.'s own thought reported.

siue sensus...sin uera sunt: strictly we should have *si...sin...*or *siue...siue...* but Cic., beginning with *siue*, has, owing to the length of the intervening clause, brought the sentence to an end and begun a new sentence. We have therefore an anacolouthon; see Madv. on Fin. i 6, 20. So in Plato l. c. 'καὶ εἴ γε μηδεμία αἴσθησίς ἐστιν...εἰ δ' αὖ οἷον ἀποδημῆσαι....'

emori: read by RVG and most MSS and therefore not to be altered to *mori* as Ern. does on slight MS authority. Küh. also notes that *emori* closes the sentence with a better rhythm than *mori.* *emori* has naturally a stronger force than *mori*, but the difference in use is sometimes subtle.

cui si similis: *si* is absent from most MSS and from editions prior to Dav. and Lall. Bentley restored the word 'from Eliens. tert.'; it is not in R (*pace Lallemanni*). *si* easily fell out before *si* in *similis.*

§ **98. migrationem**: cf. ἀποδημῆσαι Plato l. c. Here, where he is translating continuously from the Greek, Cic. does not modify the metaphor by *quandam quasi* as he does in 12, 27.

excesserunt, incolunt: the indicatives are read in nearly all MSS and are correct, but below the subj. *appellentur*, equally well supported, is right, as the parallel word *uixerint* shews, and because the reality of these judges depends upon the correctness of the hypothesis with

multo iam beatius est. tene, cum ab iis, qui se iudicum numero haberi uolunt, euaseris, ad eos uenire, qui uere iudices appellentur, Minoem, Rhadamanthum, Aeacum, Triptolemum, conuenireque eos, qui iuste et cum fide uixerint—haec peregrinatio mediocris uobis uideri potest? ut uero conloqui cum

§ **98**, 12. tene cum R V G B 1 2 K E O 7. tene cum W 2 O 11. tene com P. tenere cum V 11 J. te cum S W 1 M 2 R 26 B 3 E 13 D C Π O 1–6 9 10 12. pene cum O 8. 14. appellentur R 16 V G 1 2 B 1–3 K P E W 2 M 1 2 C J O 2 5 8 10 12. appellantur S W 1 R 10 E 13 Π O 1 3 4 7 9 11. appellantur G 3. || Aiacem V G 1–3 K *alii*. Aiacen E. 15. iuste cum R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P 1 4 S E L W 2 D C Π J O 2 3 5–8 10 12. iuste et cum E 7 O 1 9. iuste O 11. cum fide et iuste W 1. cum iuste qui fide O 4.

which he is now dealing—*sin uera sunt quae dicuntur*. Küh. while reading *appellentur* notes 'quamquam hoc loco indicativus non ineptus iudicandus est. Cf. Graeca οἵπερ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν.' But *appellantur* is not supported in the slightest degree by λέγονται since it does not, in Cic.'s version, represent that word. Cic., as Mo. observes, gives throughout a free, not a close, rendering of the Greek. Here the Greek says 'εἰ δ' αὖ οἷον ἀποδημῆσαί ἐστιν...εἰ...τις εὑρήσει τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς... οἵπερ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν...'; the hypothetical character of these judges is even more emphasised in the Greek than in Cic., '*if* that theory be true,...*if* one will reach real judges, who are *said* to give judgment there....' Λέγονται is not represented in Cic.'s loose version at all, except by *sin uera sunt*, *quae dicuntur*.

id multo iam, 'actually.'

tene: most modern editors, Dav. Küh. TS. Hei. Sff. read *tene*, with the MSS, but take this accus. and infin. clause to be the subject to *uideri potest*, 'Can you think it an ordinary change of scene that you should visit those who ...?' But this would require *te*, not *tene*, and Mo. therefore reads *te*. Moreover, as Heindorf in Mo. points out, *tene*, in such interrogations as this, usually implies *nonne indignum*, *mirum est? num credibile?* Here I take the clause to be exclamatory, 'Think of your coming to those who truly bear the name of judges! Can you consider this an ordinary change of scene?' Küh. on ii 9, 21 points out that in this constr. *ne* belongs to a clause which must be supplied in thought.

Minoem ... Triptolemum: the words fall into pairs, just as do *Orpheo Musaeo*, and *Homero Hesiodo* below. Minos and Rhadamanthus, connected with Crete, are represented to have judged with justice on earth and to have become judges in the underworld after death. There are numerous references to both in Homer and elsewhere in Gk lit.

Aeacus and Triptolemus are more closely connected with Athens, the latter being celebrated as the inventor of the plough and the first to sow grain in Attica, and the former being famous in connection with the neighbouring island of Aegina. Aeacus is not referred to in Greek lit. as judge of the dead except by Plato l. d. and in Gorg. 523 e, while Triptolemus is only referred to in the Platonic original of the present passage. But both are represented as just judges on earth (cf. Hom., Hymn to Demeter 153 for Triptolemus, and Pind. Isthm. viii 48 for Aeacus); and this was the circumstance that would make the meeting specially interesting; cf. 'conuenireque eos qui iuste...uixerint,' and in Plato l. d. 'καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι...δίκαιοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῶν βίῳ.' Stallbaum on Plato, here, observes 'Quod Triptolemus in numero iudicum inferorum ponitur ea uidetur esse plebis Atticae opinio, quae fortasse ex mysteriis Eleusiniis in uolgus dimanauerat.' And, as a matter of fact, all four heroes here mentioned were connected with the secret rites or mysteries of their native places. See Riddell's note on Plato's Apol. 41 a.

conuenireque: for the force of *que* cf. note on *totamque* 40, 95.

[*conuenirĕque*: *que* after *ĕ* is not so uncommon in Cic. as is often stated; but probably not used by Cic. in speeches except *sinĕque* (twice) and *essĕque* once. Cf. *indĕque* T.D. i 28; *omnĕque* v 119.]

peregrinatio: often used of travelling for pleasure, cf. Lael. 27, 103 'peregrinationes rusticationes'; Tac. Ann. iii

Orpheo, Musaeo, Homero, Hesiodo liceat, quanti tandem aestimatis? equidem saepe emori, si fieri posset, uellem, ut ea, quae dico, mihi liceret inuenire. quanta delectatione autem adficerer, cum Palamedem, cum Aiacem, cum alios iudicio iniquo circumuentos conuenirem! temptarem etiam summi regis, qui maximas copias duxit ad Troiam, et Vlixi Sisyphique pru-

19. inuenire G. inuisere V *at* ise *multa in litura*. 20. adficerer V G. aficerer (d superscr.) K *fortasse eod. atram.* || iniquorum uentos R 1 2 16 G 1 3 L W 1 B 2 P 4 E 13 J. *idem habent manu 1* P E R 10 17 *at alia manu et alio atram.* circum *superscr.* *idem* B *et* E 3 *at marg.* circum. iniquorum uentos K *ead., ut uid., manu superscr.* (preter cum) iniquorum temptarem S *at marg. post* iniquorum *quod uerbum uersum claudit* circūuētos cōuenirē.

cum iacem (a superscr.) cum alios iudicio
iniquo circum
uentos conuenirem temptarem; *sic in tribus lineis haec uerba praebet* V at *post* iniquo *trium litterarum litura est et* circum *alia manu et alio atramento scriptum est.* iniquorum circumuentos W 1 M 1 2 R 3–9 11 14 V 3 5–7 11–13 B 3 P 2 E 2 5 6 8 11 12 14 15 L 2 3 6 D C Π O 1 2 5–8 10 11 ed. P. iniquorum circunuentos R 12 V 4 10 G 2 4 P 3 L 4 O 9 12. iniquorum circunuentus ed. H. inimicorum circumuentos E 4 R 13. aliquorum circūuentos O 3 4. 21. temptarem R G B 1 2 K P S E L W 1 2 Π J O 1 6 11. temtarem O 3. tentarem M 1 2 B 3 O 7 10. 22. ulixi R G B 1 2 K E G 3 O 7. ulixis S W 2 M 1 2 G 2 4 B 3 P 4 E 13 C J O 1–3 5 6 8 9 11 12. ulyxis V 6. ulyssis W 1 O 10. ulbeis O 4. ulixi ſ sisyphique V P *al. atram. superscr.*

24 *end* 'quod frater eius e peregrinatione longinqua reuertisset' 'protracted foreign tour' (the emperor affecting to be unaware that the man had been in exile); iii 47, 5 'peregrinationis suburbanae.'

ut uero: the sentence is one of those that are conditional in sense though not in form; for these see Draeger, *H.S.* II p. 729, § 562. This instance is final in origin, lit. 'on condition that,' *quanti aestimatis* being nearly equivalent to *quantum daretis*. Cf. Plato's equivalent 'ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἄν τις δέξαιτ' ἂν ὑμῶν;'

Palamedem: the several legends with regard to this hero varied in nearly every point of detail (see Dict. of Biog.). Most accounts referred his death to the hatred and cunning of Ulysses, cf. Ovid Met. xiii 56–60. For a different version cf. Virg. Aen. ii 81–5. The story of Ajax and the *armorum iudicium* is most generally known from Ov. Met. xiii 1–398.

iniquo circumuentos: Bentley's emendation for the vulgate *iniquorum circumuentos* which is scarcely nearer to the reading of the best MSS *iniquorum uentos*; *-rum* must have arisen out of some abbreviation for *circum.* Bent. justified his emendation by a ref. to the Greek 'διὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον' (not ἀδίκων); Mo. also points out that the victims were ruined not by the malice or unfairness of the judges, but by the malice of Ulysses who deceived the judges. Mo. also doubts whether Cic. would have written *iudicio iniquorum* for *iud. hominum iniquorum.*

cum...conuenirem: *cum* here introduces a conditional clause and at the same time marks the time, these words being equivalent to *si, id quod tunc* (in that case) *facerem, conuenirem,* just as *qui* can sometimes be resolved into *si quis*. Cf. Or. ii 4, 15 'cum apud me uiderem,' quoted by Roby § 1558, who has also many instances of *qui = si quis*, e.g. Off. iii 23, 91 'qui uinum fugiens uendat sciens debeatne dicere' = 'suppose a man to sell, etc.' *exquirerem* is to be similarly explained. See also 23, 54 n.

temptarem: the ref. to Socrates' peculiar purpose and method is more clearly seen in the Greek—'καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐξετάζοντα καὶ ἐρευνῶντα ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διάγειν, τίς αὐτῶν σοφός ἐστι καὶ τίς οἴεται μέν, ἔστι δ' οὔ...πάντως οὐ δήπου τούτου γε ἕνεκα οἱ ἐκεῖ ἀποκτείνουσι.'

For Socrates' method cf. 42, 99 'suum illud nihil ut adfirmet.' For his purpose see Grote's *Plato* I 238–9, 293, 379 (his services with ref. to Definition); also *Hist. of Greece* VIII p. 229 (c. 68).

Sisyphi: cf. Il. 6 153–4.

dentiam, nec ob eam rem, cum haec exquirerem, sicut hic faciebam, capite damnarer. ne uos quidem, iudices ii, qui me absoluistis, mortem timueritis. **99.** nec enim cuiquam bono mali quicquam euenire potest nec uiuo nec mortuo, nec umquam eius res a dis inmortalibus neglegentur, nec mihi ipsi hoc accidit fortuito. nec uero ego iis, a quibus accusatus aut a quibus condemnatus sum, habeo quod suscenseam, nisi quod mihi nocere se crediderunt.' et haec quidem hoc modo; nihil autem melius extremo: 'Sed tempus est,' inquit, 'iam hinc abire me, ut moriar, uos, ut uitam agatis. utrum autem sit melius, di inmortales sciunt, hominem quidem scire arbitror neminem.'

XLII. Ne ego haud paulo hunc animum malim quam

24. hi (ſi superscr.) qui me V *manu antiqua superscr.*

§ **99**, 27. a dis R V G K. a dis (i superscr.) P E. ad is B 2. a di~s S j *procul dubio eraso.* || inmortalibus V G. || neglegentur R V G B E *et* (*manu prima*) P S. 28. nec uero ego R V G B K P E W 1 2 M 2 C O 1–10. nec uero his G 3 O 11. nec nō ego O 12. || his R V G B K E W 1 2. his P *at* h *fort. postea addito.* iis S *at fort. ex* his *mut.* iis O 3. || accusatus aut R 1 2 10 G 1–4 K M 1 2 B 2 E 13 Π O 3–10. acusatus (c superscr.) aut V P. acusatus aut L. *omittunt* E O 1. accusatus quod O 12 *cet. omissis.* accusatus sum aut W 1 2 O 2. accusatus habeo O 11. 29. suscenseam R G K E P 4. stis censeam B 2. succenseam V *at* c *post* u *in litura.* 32. dii R G B 1 2 P. di S *at litt. post* i *erasa uid.* || inmortales G P. XLII. 1. ne ego aut R 1 2 10 G 1–3 B 1 2 K P S E L W 2 D C J O 3 4. ne ego haud M 2 G 4 B 3 O 2 5 8 12. ne ego autem W 1 R 9. ne (h' superscr.) ego aut (h superscr.) V *manu antiqua superscr.* || mallim R L B 2. mallim V K. mallim G *at alt.* l *in rasura.* malim B P E D J O 2–4 8.

ob eam rem: cf. 27, 66.

capite damnarer: 22, 50 n.

ii qui me absoluistis: these words are not represented in the Platonic passage at this point, but are worked in by Cic. from 'τοῖς δε ἀποψηφισαμένοις,' p. 39 e, a good deal earlier in the dialogue.

ne timueritis: Elmer holds that the use of the perf. subj. in prohibitions is usually associated with emotion and energy of expression, cf. *Class. Rev.* XII 100–104; Sonnenschein in *Class. Rev.* X 64; Gildersleeve and Lodge, *Gram.* § 272, 2 remark.

§ **99. neglegentur**: the fact that Plato has οὐδὲ ἀμελεῖται does not, in view of the looseness with which Cic. renders the Greek, afford any ground for changing the future, here read by all MSS and early editions, into the present.

suscenseam: a verb of state from *suscensus*, lit. = 'to be somewhat inflamed.' The form *suscenseam* has the best MS support here though most MSS read *succenseam*. *sus-* = *subs-*. It is also the form adopted by Reid in p. Sulla 17, 48. Küh. *Gr.* I § 210, 27 thinks that it belongs chiefly to old Latin.

The subjunctive is final; cf. Madv. § 363. *quod* in this instance is acc. of extent (cf. Madv. § 229). This acc. really represents a cognate accusative.

nisi quod mihi nocere se crediderunt: cf. Plato l. d. 'καίτοι οὐ ταύτῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατεψηφίζοντό μου καὶ κατηγόρουν, ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν τι· τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἄξιον μέμφεσθαι.' Whether was Soc. angry at their evil intention (as Hei. imagines) or at the unsoundness of their opinion?

tempus est...abire: Küh. *Gr.* II § 132 (p. 554). The infin. is used where an abst. subst. unites with *est* to form a verbal idea, as *consilium est* = *uolo*, *decreui* (here *t. est* = *tempestiuum est* = *debemus mature abire*). *tempus est abeundi* would mean 'the hour for departure has arrived.'

hominem...neminem: see Mayor on N.D. ii 38, 96; Reid on p. Sulla 8, 25; and Lewis and Short Dict. s.v. *nemo*.

quidem only lends emphasis. The

eorum omnium fortunas, qui de hoc iudicauerunt. etsi, quod praeter deos negat scire quemquam, id scit ipse utrum sit melius; nam dixit ante; sed suum illud, nihil ut adfirmet, tenet ad extremum. **100.** nos autem teneamus, ut nihil censeamus esse malum, quod sit a natura datum omnibus, intellegamusque, si mors malum sit, esse sempiternum malum. nam uitae miserae mors finis esse uidetur; mors si est misera, finis esse nullus potest.

Sed quid ego Socratem aut Theramenem, praestantis uiros uirtutis et sapientiae gloria, commemoro? cum Lacedaemonius quidam, cuius ne nomen quidem proditum est, mortem tanto opere contempserit, ut, cum ad eam duceretur damnatus ab ephoris et esset uoltu hilari atque laeto, dixissetque ei quidam inimicus: Contemnisne leges Lycurgi? responderit: Ego uero illi maximam gratiam habeo, qui me ea poena multauerit, quam sine mutuatione et sine uersura

§ **100**, 6. intellegamus quaesimors R. intellegamus quae si mors G. intellegamus que simors V. intellegamusque si mors K. intelligamus que si mors E. intellegamusq; si mors B. intellegamus q̄ simors P. 8. mors si est R V G B K S E L D C Π J XI Oxx *plerique*. mortis si est O 11. 10. socratē & aut K. socratem &, aut R 1 10 G B 1 2 P E. socratem aut V *spatio cum rasura relicto*. socratem et autheramenē S *marg*. aut. 12. tantopere R V G B K P E *alii*. tanto opere B 2. 14. uoltu R V G K *et* (*manu prima*) P. 15. lycurgi W 1. lygurgi V G P. ligurgi B 1 2 S Π. 17. multauerit V K E J O 2 9.

adversative idea ('but') is as usual *implied* by the contrast of the clauses.

XLII. **etsi...sed**: more usually *quamquam* thus introduces a correction with *sed*; cf. 37, 90.

suum illud, 'his characteristic principle.' For the statement see Grote, *Plato* I p. 292.

nihil ut adfirmet: Küh. (on 8, 16 'mors ut malum non sit') notes the effect obtained by postponing conjunctions, relatives, and interrogatives in emphasizing the word which they, in each case, follow.

§ **100. teneamus ut**, 'let us abide by this principle,' 'observe this rule'; therefore *ut* and subj. of result; but if we compare v 11, 34 'nos tamen teneamus ut sit idem beatissimus' ('let us hold the opinion that'...) with i 43, 104 'unum tenendum est, ad corpus illam pertinere' and i 44, 107 'tenendum est igitur nihil curandum esse post mortem' ('we must therefore hold that'), it will be seen that either construction is usually available. [It is not unlikely that *nostrum* (*n̄r̄m̄* or even *n̄m̄*) has fallen out after *autem*.]

finis: sc. *miseriae*, implied in *uitae miserae*. There is no need to insert *miseriae* before *finis*, with Sff. after Or., who follows an old conjecture approved by Wes., or to alter *mors* to *mortis* after the MSS of Gebh. and to read *miserum* as Bent. would.

sed quid: in passing to less famous instances, cf. § 101 'sed quid duces....'

ne nomen quidem: according to Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 885 (221) his name was Thektamenes.

ephoris: for the powers of the ephors see Hermann, *Pol. Antiq. of Greece*, §§ 25 and 44; Gilbert, *Gk Constit. Antiq.* pp. 53–59 (E.T.); Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Gk Antiq.* pp. 419 foll. and pp. 426 foll.

leges Lycurgi: see Hermann l. c. § 23 and reff. in n. 1 there; Gilbert, p. 15; Gardner and Jevons, pp. 421–2.

multauerit: subj. with the rel. giving a reason, 6, 12 n.; cf. 'qui...fuerit' below.

multauerit...possem: for the sequence cf. 4, 7 n.

sine mutuatione et sine uersura, 'without borrowing or incurring further

possem dissoluere. o uirum Sparta dignum! ut mihi quidem, qui tam magno animo fuerit, innocens damnatus esse uideatur. **101.** talis innumerabilis nostra ciuitas tulit. sed quid duces et principes nominem, cum legiones scribat Cato saepe alacris in eum locum profectas, unde redituras se non arbitrarentur? pari animo Lacedaemonii in Thermopylis occiderunt, in quos Simonides:

Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic uidisse iacentis,
Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

[quid ille dux Leonidas dicit? Pergite animo forti, Lacedaemonii; hodie apud inferos fortasse cenabimus. fuit

§ **101**, 20. talis innumerabilis R V G B 1–3 K[1] P E M 1. 21. uocato R. cato V G P E L W 1 2 M 1 2 C Π J *plerique*. 22. alacris V G P E D C O 2–5. 23. thermopilis R G. termopilis S. thermofilis B. thermopilas V (i *post* l *in* a, *ut uid.*, *mutato*). 24. in quo R 1 8 10 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D C J O 1–12. de quo E 2 Π. 25. iacentis V G 1–3 B 1 2 E. i *in* e *mut*. P. 27. semidam R G 1 3 B 1 2 P E 1 2 13. semidā K. semidam (semidam) V (*sic*). se midam L. semides O 11. semidam E 8. semidea J. leonidas O 8. leonidas W 1 M 1 2 R 6 V 11 B 3 E 6 D C O 1–3 5 7–10 12 ed. H. 28. cenabitis V. cenabimus G.

debt.' For *uersura* (*dissoluere*, *soluere*), the technical term for paying off a debt by means of money obtained upon a new loan, cf. Lewis and Short s.v. § C. Plut. l. c. gives the Spartan's answer thus, '*οὐχί, ἀλλὰ γέγηθα, ὅτι δεῖ με τὴν ζημίαν ἐκτίσαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε διαιτήσαντα* (*scribendum τι αἰτήσαντα* Mo.) *οὔτε δανεισάμενον*,' i.e. (as emended) 'without begging or borrowing.'

ut mihi quidem...uideatur: *ut* consecutive. Mo. compares Off. i 26, 90 'alter semper magnus, alter saepe turpissimus, ut recte praecipere uideantur qui....'

§ **101. principes**: cf. 15, 34 n. 'loquor de principibus.'

Cato: sc. in the Origines (2, 3 n.), cf. Cato M. 20, 75 'recordor...legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituros numquam arbitrarentur.'

[**in Thermopylis**: as in Fin. 2, 97; *apud Therm.* Cato M. § 33.]

in quos: for *in* with acc. in a good sense cf. 34, 84 'epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleombrotum' (Küh.); N.D. i 28, 79 'Catulus...dilexit...Roscium, in quem etiam illud est eius'; Cato M. 17, 61 'in quem illud elogium.' Simonides' words are preserved in Herod. vii 228, '*ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι*,' also in Lycurgus, Κατὰ Λεωκράτους, p. 146; Strabo ix p. 656; Suidas s.v. Λεωνίδης, referred to by Dav.

dum obsequimur: for the pres. with *dum* cf. Roby § 1458; and for the indic., although the clause is an integral part of the or. obl., cf. Roby § 1784, Madv. § 369 obs.

quid ille dux...uigebant: these words have been condemned as a spurious insertion by Bent. and Wes., cut out by Bai. and Schiche, and bracketed by Dav. F.A.W. Tr. Küh. Ml. TS. Hei. The meaning is incongruous, the reason given being ill adapted to induce even heroes to advance. The words ascribed to Leonidas elsewhere, both in Greek and Latin, have nothing to correspond to *pergite animo forti*—a point fully brought out by Dav.—cf. Stobaeus. Serm. vii p. 91 '*εὐωχουμένοις εἶπε τοῖς συμμάχοις, Οὕτως ἀριστᾶτε, ὦ τριακόσιοι, ὡς ἐν ᾅδου δειπνήσοντες*'; Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 225 (ed. Paris) '*τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις παρήγγειλεν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, ὡς ἐν ᾅδου δειπνησομένους*.' Similarly Diod. Sic. xi p. 8; also Val. Max. iii 2, 3 *end* 'sic prandete, commilitones, tamquam apud inferos cenaturi'; Seneca Epist. 82; Orosius ii 11. Aldus Manutius and Dav. suspected that Cic. con-

haec gens fortis, dum Lycurgi leges uigebant.] e quibus unus, cum Perses hostis in conloquio dixisset glorians: Solem prae iaculorum multitudine et sagittarum non uidebitis, In umbra igitur, inquit, pugnabimus. **102.** uiros commemoro; qualis tandem Lacaena? quae cum filium in proelium misisset et interfectum audisset, Idcirco, inquit, genueram, ut esset, qui pro patria mortem non dubitaret occumbere.

XLIII. Esto, fortes et duri Spartiatae; magnam habet uim

29. lygurgi R V G E W 2. ligurgi P S. lycurgi W 1 B 3. 30. conloquio V G K.

§ **102**, 34. audisset V G B 1–3 K P E D Π O 4 9. ‖ idcirco V G K E B 2 3. iccirco B. 35. morte R V G 1–3 B 1–3 K P S E M 2 D C Π O 1–8 11 12. mortem W 2 M 1 O 9. morte O 10 *at fuerat fortasse* mortem.

founded *ἀριστᾶν* (*prandere*) with *ἀριστεύειν* (*fortiter facere*), but Cic. must have been too familiar with the Greek language and also with this story to commit such a blunder, and, as Bent. observed, he had also Tiro, skilled in both tongues, to revise for him. Bent. at first conjectured *prandete ait o fortes Lacedaemonii*, and Küh. notes that if he could approve of any emendation he would simply read *prandete Lacedaemonii*. But Bentley found further inconsistencies and (*notae ineditae* p. 23 published at the end of Davies' edn. of 1805) decided that the whole passage *quid ille...uigebant* was falsely inserted. The clause *fuit haec gens fortis...uigebant* interrupts the construction as *e quibus unus* would refer, and awkwardly refer, to *haec gens*, whereas it ought to refer to those who fell at Thermopylae; and though this objection might be removed by placing this clause after *pugnabimus* its presence would make the transition to *uiros commemoro* less clear and the statement is inconsistent with ii 14, 34 'Spartae uero pueri ad aram...' a passage which shews that the institutions of Lycurgus retained much vigour in Cicero's day; see also v 27, 77. Nor would it suffice to cut out this one clause only, for we should still have the individual Leonidas inappropriately introduced in a passage purporting to deal with the rank and file, cf. *legiones* above. If the whole extract be cut out *e quibus unus* is in natural connexion and the argument runs smoothly.

e quibus unus: Herod. vii 226 calls him Διηνέκης, but makes the interlocutor not a Persian but a Trachinian. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 225 attributes the reply to Leonidas himself.

Perses: Cic. only used the nom. of this word here and in Rep. i 27, 43 'Cyrus ille Perses'; in Diu. i 46, 103 Persa is the name of a dog. He has a similar form in T.D. v 32, 90 'Scythes Anacharsis.' Cf. Mo. here and on Rep. i 27, 43.

§ **102. genueram**: instances of this word, as applied to females, are not rare in post-Aug. Latin; a Ciceronian example is N.D. ii 21, 129 'pisces, ut aiunt, oua cum genuerunt, relinquunt.'

mortem...occumbere: most and best MSS read *morte*, as do many early editions. But Tischer (in App. to TS.) follows Wes. in doubting the genuineness of the reading here 'as the abl. *morte* with *occumbere without accompanying adjective* only occurs here and in Livy i 7, 7, and the letter *m* is often omitted even in the best MSS of the Tusc. Disp.' Lamb. read *morti*, but this constr. is only poetic. In *occumbere mortem* the acc. is an extension of the cognate accus. = *occumbere casum mortalem*.

[I believe *occumbere* to be a gloss, which has driven out the proper word *oppetere*. In the only other passage where *occumbere* is found in Ciceronian texts, Att. iii 15, 4, it is due to mere conjecture—the second hand in Med.]

XLIII. **esto** = *concedo*, i.e. 'that may be,' but these were a people specially trained to hardship. Cic. anticipates a possible objection, which he proceeds to meet by taking instances to which no such objection can apply.

Spartiatae: Küh. points out that Cic. and his contemporaries do not use the

rei publicae disciplina. quid? Cyrenaeum Theodorum, philosophum non ignobilem, nonne miramur? cui cum Lysimachus rex crucem minaretur, Istis, quaeso, inquit, ista horribilia minitare purpuratis tuis; Theodori quidem nihil interest, humine an sublime putescat. cuius hoc dicto admoneor, ut aliquid etiam de humatione et sepultura dicendum

XLIII. 6. sublime R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 2–6 8–10 12. sublimi G 4 O 1 7. ī sublime G 2. in sublimi O 11. ‖ putescat R 1 2 G E 1 13 B 2 P 4. put[e]scat W 2 G 3. patescat O 7. pute[r]scat V P *alio atram. superscr.* pute[r]scat K *fort. ead. manu superscr.* putrescat B 1 3 S L W 1 M 1 2 R 4 6 G 2 4 E 2–6 9 10 D C Π J O 2–6 8–12. putrescam O 1.

form *Spartani*, but he is not correct in making the *Spartiatae* the inhabitants of the city of Sparta and *Lacedaemonii* those of all Laconia. The inhabitants of Laconia were Σπαρτιᾶται, Περίοικοι, and Εἵλωτες—*Lacedaemonii* in Cicero, as Λακεδαιμόνιοι commonly in Greek, applies to all inhabitants of Laconia, but Spartiatae in Cic. denotes members of the dominant race, just as it does in Thucydides, cf. (*inter alia*) Thuc. iv 38, 5 καὶ Σπαρτιᾶται τούτων ἦσαν τῶν ζώντων περὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. See Gilbert, *op. cit.* p. 38 n. 1 (E.T.).

rei publicae disciplina, 'national training.'

Cyrenaeum: the adjectives which denote schools of philosophy end so commonly in *-icus*, and Cic. has so often used the form *Cyrenaici* to denote this school (cf. 34, 83), that Reid is probably right in departing from the MSS in Ac. ii 24, 76. We may either suppose that the MSS here also are in error or else take *Cyrenaeus*, with some editors, to mean 'native of Cyrene.' In the latter case we should still have a point in the word, *Cyrenaeus*)(*Spartiates*, and it is probable, though not certain, that Th. was born in Cyrene. The adj. is in any case emphatic by position.

For Theodorus the Cyrenaic, surnamed ἄθεος, cf. Diog. L. ii §§ 98 foll. It is not certain, as stated by some editors, that he was put to death by poison by Lysimachus. Cic. in v 40, 177 refers to a threat with regard to such a death; cf. *cantharidis uim* there.

cui: attracted into the rel. clause, cf. 34, 84 n. on 'qui...si ante occidissemus.'

Lysimachus: one of the generals of Alexander who, after gaining much of Asia and all the European dominions of that monarch, ultimately fell at Corupedion in 281 B.C., defeated by Seleucus.

cum minaretur: the subj. refers to our thought (*nonne miramur?*).

horribilia: Cic. would scarcely have used this word as a noun if he were not translating from the Greek. [Rather the use as noun is eased by its occurrence with *ista*; it may even be that *horribilia* is still regarded as adj., *ista* being substantival.]

purpuratis, 'high officers,' 'courtiers,' cf. Cat. iv 6, 12 'regnantem Lentulum... purpuratum esse huic Gabinium'; Juv. iv 31 'purpureus...scurra palati.' Livy xxxiii 8, 8 'Nicanori, ex purpuratis uni.'

humine an sublime: ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ ὑπὸ γῆς. Plutarch 499 d. The paronomasia is noted by TS.

sublime: 17, 40 n. Here an adverb of rest.

putescat: so G R E and other MSS here, and the best MSS in N.D. ii 64, 160. For the distinction between *putesco* (*putisco*) 'rot,' and *putresco* 'crumble away,' cf. Nonius *Putidum, non putrem, sed odoris mali*, quoted by Madv. on *putisceret* Fin. v 13, 38 where see his note.

cuius hoc dicto = *quo huius dicto*; Lat. writers prefer to bring the person to the front of the clause. From this point to the end of § 108 we have a digression with reference to erroneous views commonly prevalent with regard to burial and funeral rites.

admoneor...ut dicendum existimem: almost = *admoneor ut dicam* or *admoneor dicendum esse.* 'Prompted by this utterance of Th. I think that I ought....'

humatio differs from **sepultura** as the particular from the general term. 'Interment and modes of disposing of the dead.' Cf. *sepeliri* below § 103; *sepulturam* 45, 108. Also Tac. Hist. i 47 *sepultura*)(*cremari.*

existimem, rem non difficilem, iis praesertim cognitis, quae de nihil sentiendo paulo ante dicta sunt. de qua Socrates quidem quid senserit, apparet in eo libro, in quo moritur, de quo iam tam multa diximus. **103.** cum enim de inmortalitate animorum disputauisset et iam moriendi tempus urgeret, rogatus a Critone, quem ad modum sepeliri uellet, Multam uero, inquit, operam, amici, frustra consumpsi. Critoni enim nostro non persuasi me hinc auolaturum neque mei quicquam relicturum. uerum tamen, Crito, si me adsequi potueris aut sicubi nanctus eris, ut tibi uidetur sepelito. sed, mihi crede, nemo me uestrum, cum hinc excessero,

8. dificilem R S. dif(f)icilem G K. difficilem V B 1–3 P E *alii*. || his R V G B 1–3 P W 1 2 M 1 *alii*. iis S *at* ? *ante* i *cerni potest, fuerat ergo* his. iis M 2. § **103**, 15. neque me quicquam (*uel* quidquam) R 1 2 10 V G 1 3 4 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 10 L W 1 M 1 2 D C Π O 1 5–9. neque quicquam me W 2 R 4 6 E 9 J O 2 11 12. neque mei quicquam O 3 4. neque uel mei quidquam O 10. neque me me quicquam G 2. 16. adsequi R V G P. 17. nanctus R. nanctus V. na(nc)tus G. na(c)tus P W 1. natus O 9. nanctus B 2. nactus K S E 1 2 10 L W 2 M 1 2 R 2 6 10 G 2–4 D C Π J O 1–8 10–12. || uidetur G *plerique*. uidebitur G 2–4.

rem non difficilem: acc. in apposition to the sentence. Cf. Or. 16, 52; Or. ii 19, 79; Fin. ii 23, 75 which Madv. there cites along with our present passage as completing the list of Ciceronian instances. Add T.D. iii 20, 49 'omnia philosopho digna' (quoted here by Küh.). In these Ciceronian exx. the acc. is limited to stating the *effect* of the preceding sentence, but in Tac. (and in Greek) it is extended to include the *purpose* to which it refers. The acc. is governed by the idea of *doing* carried on from the verb of the preceding clause. The usage is common in Tacitus, see Nipperdey on Ann. i 27, 1 where instances from Livy, Horace, and Sallust, are also cited. It is also common in Virgil, cf. Aen. vi 223 'triste ministerium,' and reff. given by Conington there. For this acc. in Greek see commentators on Eur. Orest. 1105; Aesch. Agam. 226.

de nihil sentiendo: for the intervention of the acc. between the prep. and its case cf. Leg. i 6, 19 'eamque rem... putant...a suum cuique tribuendo appellatam.' The intervening word or words combine with the gerund to form a single idea.

in eo libro: Phaedo p. 115 c, d, e.

in quo: the prep. cannot be omitted here, cf. 39, 93 n. on 'quod tandem tempus?'

in quo moritur = *in quo mors eius narratur*.

§ **103. neque mei quicquam**: this reading is adopted by Bent. *notae ineditae* by conj. and is now found in some MSS. Küh. says that it is in cod. Marb. The readings of MSS may equally well point to Moser's *neque mei me quicquam* as the true reading.

adsequi...nanctus eris...consequetur, 'reach me...find me anywhere...overtake me.' *adsequi* implies purpose; *nancisci* coming upon without intention; for *consequi* cf. 16, 36 n.

nanctus: it is very difficult to decide between the forms *nanctus* and *nactus*. See Neue II² p. 580. The best MSS and the early grammarians can be cited for either form. Fleckeisen prefers the form *nactus* (*Fünfzig Artik.* p. 49).

ut tibi uidetur: so most MSS and Dav. (*prob. Bent.*) Kl. Küh. who quotes with approval the remark of Kl. that expressions like *ut tibi uidetur*, Gr. ὥς σοι δοκεῖ, are stereotyped and do not vary with the context. The Platonic passage has ὅπως ἄν σοι φίλον ᾖ. Some inferior MSS read *uidebitur*, which is adopted by most editors before Davies, and by Sff. Mo. Or. Bai. (*prob. Wes.*) TS. Hei. Ml. Schiche.

consequetur. praeclare id quidem, qui et amico permiserit et se ostenderit de hoc toto genere nihil laborare. **104.** durior Diogenes, et is quidem <idem> sentiens, sed ut Cynicus asperius, proici se iussit inhumatum. tum amici: Volucribusne et feris? Minime uero, inquit; sed bacillum propter me, quo abigam, ponitote. Qui poteris? illi, non enim senties. Quid igitur mihi ferarum laniatus oberit nihil sentienti? praeclare Anaxagoras, qui cum Lampsaci moreretur, quaerentibus amicis, uelletne Clazomenas in patriam, si quid accidisset, auferri, Nihil necesse est, inquit, un-

§ **104**, 21. et is quidem (*ante* sentiens) R 1 2 10 16 V G 1 3 B 1 3 K E 1 2 M 1 2 P 4 D C Π O 2 5 6 9 12 S (*at marg.* id), O 8 (*at superscr.* id). et his quidem P. et his quidem L B 2. et quidem J. et id quidem R 6 E 5 10 O 1 3 4 7 10 11. et is quidem recte W 1. sed quidem W 2. 23. bacillum R 1 2 6 8 10 V 1 4 11 G 1 3 B 1–3 K P 1 4 S E 1 2 10 13 L W 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 2–6 8–11. bacillum (baculum *superscr.*) O 12. batillum O 7. baculum W 1 G 2 O 1. ‖ propter R 1 2 10 V G B 1 2 S E 1 2 L D C Π O 5 7. ppf K. prope P W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 8 V 2 4 E 10 O 2–4 6 8–12. *omittit* O 1. 24. quod (*ante* abigam) R. quod E. qđ (u) *in* qo *mut.* K. quo V (*plane*) G B 1–3 L W 1 2 M 2 R 2 10 16 P 4 E 2 10 D C Π J O 1–6 8–12. quo (eas) S *alia manu superscr.* in quo O 7. ‖ quid poteris R 1 2 6 10 G 1 2 K P 1 4 E 1 2 L W 2 M 2 V 11 D C Π O 1–6 8–12. quid poteris V. quid prosit O 7. qui poteris B S *at littera in utroque post* i *erasa.* qui poteris W 1 M 1 J E 10. 26. sentiendi (t) R. sentienti V G K E. ‖ lamsaci V G B. 27. moretur R G 1 3. morer&ur V *at priore* re *in marg. excurrente et alio atram. scripto.* moretur V 4. moreretur B 1–3 K P 1 4 S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 R 2 D C Π J O 2 8. moriretur O 3 4.

praeclare id quidem: sc. *dixit*.

qui...permiserit...ostenderit: for the subj. with the rel. giving a reason cf. 6, 12 n. on 'qui dimiserit.'

durior Diogenes: i.e. σκληρότερος ὢν Διογένης. Küh.

§ **104. et is quidem idem sentiens**: this is the emendation of F.A.W. accepted by most subsequent editors for *et is quidem sentiens* of most MSS. *idem* would easily be lost by haplography after *quidem*. The same principle would account for the reading of G R below *moretur* for *moreretur*; it would also account for *quid poteris* the reading of G R below, if that be an error for *qui id poteris*, the reading approved by Tr. Küh. Kl. But *qui poteris*, read by most modern editors and by several MSS, may be right, as the abbreviations for *qui* and *quid* were very apt to be confused. When *idem* dropt out *is* would be changed into *id* to supply an object to *sentiens*, and *id* is read by many inferior MSS. Bent. conj. *et is idem*.

ut Cynicus: 8, 15 n. on *ut Siculi*.

asperius: probably to be taken with *idem sentiens*, though we might take *asperius iussit* as = *asperius sententiam prolocutus iussit*.

proici se iussit inhumatum: his directions in this matter were variously reported, cf. Diog. L. vi 79.

Anaxagoras, born about 500 B.C. at Clazomenae, lived at Athens on terms of intimacy with Pericles, was banished, and died at Lampsacus on the Hellespont. The most important feature of his system was the recognition of νοῦς (mind) as the force by which matter is moved. For his views see R. and P. §§ 117–128; Zeller *Pre-Soc. Phil.* II pp. 374 foll.

moreretur, 'was at death's door.' Mo. compares Diu. ii 66, 135 'cum Ptolemaeus...telo uenenato ictus esset eoque uolnere summo cum dolore moreretur,' where *moreretur* is said of a man who afterwards recovered.

si quid accidisset: avoiding a word of ill-omen they said ἤν τι πάθῃς or ἤν σοι ξυμβῇ τι.

undique...uiae est: Diog. L. ii 11

dique enim ad inferos tantundem uiae est. totaque de ratione humationis unum tenendum est, ad corpus illam pertinere, siue occiderit animus siue uigeat. in corpore autem perspicuum est uel exstincto animo uel elapso nullum residere sensum.

XLIV. **105.** Sed plena errorum sunt omnia. trahit Hectorem ad currum religatum Achilles; lacerari eum et sentire, credo, putat. ergo hic ulciscitur, ut quidem sibi uidetur; at illa sicut acerbissimam rem maeret:

> Vidí, uidere quód me passa aegérrume,
> Hectórem curro quádriiugo raptárier.

quem Hectorem, aut quam diu ille erit Hector? melius Accius et aliquando sapiens Achilles:

XLIV. § **105**, 3. ulciscitur (se *superscr.*) V *correctoris antiqui manu superscr.* 4. mȩret V B. meret R G E. moret (e *superscr.*) S *at fuerat fortasse* meret. 5. me passa (*ante* aegerrume) R V G K *et manu prima* P. (*ante* egerrime) B 1 2 S E W 2 R 2 10 17 G 2 3 P 4 II J O 1. me pasa O 9. passa (me *omisso*) V 11 O 7. me passa sum M 1 E 5 O 11 12. sum *alio atram. superscr.* R 8. me passam M 2 B 3 O 2–6. me passaṃ O 10. me quod sum passa D C. me quod passa sum O 8. quod sum passa W 1. 6. curro R 1 10 G L B 2 P 4. curru V *at fuerat* curro. curro (u *superscr.*) B K E *alio atram. superscr.* currui O 5 *i.e.* curro *in* currui *ut uid. mut.* currui G 2. curru B 1 3 P W 1 2 G 3 C II J O 1–4 6–12. 7. accius R 1 10 17 V 1 4 11 G 1 3 B 1 2 K P 1 4 S E L D C J O 1 3 4 6 11. actius M 2 R 6 B 3 E 2 O 2 5 8–10 12. auctius II. acutius V 5 O 7. attius *non inueni.*

Πανταχόθεν, ἔφη (sc. Anaxagoras), *ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς ᾅδου κατάβασις.*

totaque: for *-que* summing up cf. 34, 82 n.

in corpore autem: Küh. notes that *autem* here, as in iii 7, 14 *fin.*, 'non cadunt autem'...and often, serves (like *atqui*, *at*, and *et*) to introduce the minor premiss of a syllogism, the conclusion *de humatione et sepultura nihil laborandum esse* being, in this instance, unexpressed.

XLIV. § **105. omnia**: limited by the context—'this whole subject.' Cf. 40, 95, 'omnes ineptias.'

trahit Hectorem: Il. xxii 395 foll.

credo: 38, 92 n. on *opinor*.

illa: sc. Andromache (or Hecuba) in Ennius' Andromacha Aechmalotis. For this mode of referring to a character in a well-known play Mo. compares N.D. iii 29, 72 'ille in Eunucho...ille uero in Synephebis....'

maeret with acc., but in 13, 30 with *suo incommodo* abl. of cause.

uidi uidere: for the *παρήχησις*, cf. 28, 69 n.

quod me passa: so most MSS. Dav. rejected *quod sum passa* which Ribbeck reads with W and D (*Scaen. Rom. Poes. Frag. 1* Ennius l. 90). The constr. is *quod aegerrime passa* (*sum*) *me uidere*.

Hectorem: for the ō cf. Varro L.L. x 70 'non modo poetae, sed etiam plerique ac primo omnes, qui soluta oratione loquuntur, dicebant, ut quaestorem, praetorem, sic Hectorem, Nestorem. Itaque Ennius ait Hectoris natum de Troiano muro iactarier'—a line which Ribbeck takes to have followed the two lines given in our passage. Cf. ii 17, 39 'Hectoris.'

curro: for this form cf. Quint. i 6, 27 'quid de aliis dicam, cum *senatus senatus senatui* an *senatus senati senato* faciat, incertum sit?'

raptarier: for a theory as to this formation see Stolz and Schmalz in Müller's *Hdbh. d. Kl. Alt.-Wiss.* vol. II § 115.

quem Hectorem derisively echoed; cf. *ποῖος* in Greek. 'Hector indeed.'

erit: Cic. graphically apostrophises the speaker as though she were present, and, by way of *reductio ad absurdum* asks, supposing the corpse is still Hector though the life is gone out of it, how long will it continue to be Hector? Mo. wrongly wished to read *erat*. Küh. well

Ímmo enim uero córpus Priamo réddidi, Hectora ábstuli.

non igitur Hectora traxisti, sed corpus, quod fuerat Hectoris. **106**. ecce alius exoritur e terra, qui matrem dormire non sinat:

Matér, te appello, tú, quae curam sómno suspensám leuas,

11. hector atraxisti R 1 17. hector attraxisti B 2. hectora attraxisti E 5. hectora traxisti G 1 3 B 1 3 K S E 1 2 L 1 2 4 5 W 1 2 M 1 2 R 2 4–7 10 12 15 16 P 4 D C Π O 2 4–6 8 10–12, *idem marg.* P *e contextu omissum.* hectora traxisti V *at fuerat littera ante* tr (? ttr). hectora traxisti O 3 *at* a *alio atram. postea additum uidetur.* hectora traxi R 13. extrahi hectora G 2 (*non ut adfirmat Küh.*) *et* R 11. extraxi hectora G 4. hectorem traxisti R 14 E 4 6 L 3 J O 1 7 9.

§ **106**, 14. tu quae R G K O 2 3. tu quę V P L W 1 O 4 10. tu q̇ O 11. tu q3 W 2 M 1 G 2 B 3 J O 12. tu que B *at in litura; fuerat fortasse* quę. tu q̅ S *at* 3 *post* q *eraso.* tequę W 1. tuque E R 2 C O 7. tuq3 G 3 P 4 D. || suspenso R V G 1 2 B K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1–6 10 *alii.* suspensas O 8. *omittit* O 7. suspensa O 9 11 12. suspensam G 3 E 10. *Porphyrion ad Hor. Sat.* ii 3 *laudat* suspensam, *ut monet Bentleius.*

compares *uacabunt* § 107 below, where Dav. and Ern., with 2 Oxford MSS, read *uacabant.*

Accius: Ellendt on Or. iii 7, 27 says that in this word 'libri...quod sciam, ubique fere *tt* ignorant.' And this dictum is fully confirmed so far as the MSS of T.D. are concerned.

aliquando: 1, 1 n.

Accius et...Achilles: i.e. 'Achilles in fabula Acciana.' There is not evidence to shew whether this line occurred in the Achilles or in some other play of Accius.

enim uero: in O.L. an unaccented vowel before two consonants very often remained short where the later rule would make it long by position. Cf. Sonnenschein on Plaut. Rudens Arg. l. 1.

Hectora abstuli: I have two reasons for departing from the MSS, which read *Hectorem*: (1) because *Hectora* was Accius' usual form, cf. Varro L.L. x 70 M. 'Accius haec in tragoediis largius a prisca consuetudine mouere coepit et ad formas Graecas uerborum magis reuocare, a quo Valerius ait: Accius Hectorem nolet facere, Hectora malet' quoted in Ribbeck *Frag.* 1 p. 226. Cf. also Ribbeck's remarks on the quantity of *Hectoris* on p. 63. (2) Because Cic. in writing *Hectora* in the next line is evidently repeating Accius' word. The corruption is due to the occurrence of *Hectorem* three times in the preceding context. *Hectorem* on the other hand is right in Ennius, above.

Hectora traxisti: *Hectora* is the form given here by the best and nearly all MSS. *Hectorem*, Cic.'s usual form, is adopted from a few inferior MSS by Kl. Sch. and Mo., but Cic. here repeats with a touch of sarcasm Accius' exact word from the previous line.

§ **106**. **alius**: the ghost of Deiphilus, son of Iliona, daughter of Priam, and of Polymnestor, King of Thrace, as explained by Or. Priam having sent his son Polydorus to Iliona to be brought up by her, Iliona brought him up as her own son and brought up Deiphilus, her son, as her brother. When the Greeks, victorious at Troy, wished to extirpate the race of Priam they called on Polymnestor to put Polydorus to death, whereupon he put Deiphilus to death believing him to be Polydorus. Hyginus cix. Cf. Heindorf on Hor. Sat. ii 3, 60 and Bouhier on this passage. Cic. often refers to this scene, cf. Ac. ii 27, 88; Sest. 59, 126.

sinat: subj. of quality, cf. Ter. Hec. 213 'tu sola exorere quae perturbes haec tua inpudentia'; p. r. Deiot. 1 3 'exortus est seruus qui ... eum accuset solutus.'

Mater te appello...: for the source of these lines cf. Ribbeck vol. 1, p. 100 and Porphyrion on Horace Sat. ii 3, 60. As usually printed the lines are iambic *octonarii*, but Cicero § 107 below calls them *septenarii*. Küh. Hei. TS. suppose that Cic. made a mistake as to the metre;

Neque té mei miseret, súrge et sepeli nátum—

haec cum pressis et flebilibus modis, qui totis theatris maestitiam inferant, concinuntur, difficile est non eos, qui inhumati sint, miseros iudicare.

Prius quám ferae
Volucrésque—

metuit, ne laceratis membris minus bene utatur, ne combustis, non extimescit.

16. neque te mei R 1 2 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K S E L W 1 M 1 2 P 4 D C Π J O 1–6 8–10 12. neque te mī W 2 O 7 11. neque timei *in* neque temei *mut.* P. neque mei te *non inueni: neque legitur in* D *neque in* G 3. 17. prȩssisset R. praessisset G. p̄siss& V. p̄ssisset E. pressisset S *marg.* pressis et. pressisset L G 2 B 2 J. pressis& B. pressis & K. expressisset & W 1. prescisset P *at* c*'et* se *in litura.* planxisset D. pressis flebilibusque W 2. 18. inhumati R G B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 Π O 1–6 8–10 12. ^in^humati V *manu antiqua superscr.* humati O 7 11. 19. sint R V G B 1 2 S Π. sunt K P 1 4 E W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1–12.

Lamb. and Sff. think that the copyists have written *septenarii* by mistake for *octonarii*; Bent., followed by Dav. Mo. F.A.W., Or. Sch., arranged the lines as *septenarii*, i.e. trochaic tetrameter catalectic. It may be noted that only two of the lines as given in the MSS are *octonarii*, the lines beginning with *mater* and *per terram* respectively. Bentley would cut out *tu* (though read by most and the best MSS and quoted by Porphyrion on Hor. l.c.) from the first line and read *taetra* for *per terram* against the MSS in the second line, pointing out that *tetra* and the abbreviation *p̄ t̄rā* are not very dissimilar. Bentley with some force objects that iambic *octonarii* belong essentially to comedy and have scarcely any place in tragedy. But it seems impossible to deny that we have iambic *octonarii* in ii 16, 38 'O Patricoles....' Bent., it is true, attempts another arrangement, but the MSS completely refute him. See also iv 23, 52.

[If Cic. wrote *octonarios* it might have become corrupted through *VIIInarios*.]

suspensam: *suspenso* is read by most MSS, the adj. having been brought into agreement with the nearest noun. Porphyrion on Hor. Sat. ii 3, 62 quotes *suspensam*. Hei. retains *suspenso*, 'troubled sleep,' although *curam leuas* would be ill applied to such a sleep, and the reproach would be less, and the words *neque te mei miseret* suggest that the speaker observed no signs of trouble. [*suspensam* is no doubt right; but *suspensus somnus* need not mean 'troubled sleep,' it might be 'light, hovering sleep,' cf. *suspensus gradus* and (Lucr.) *aura suspensa leuisque*.]

neque te mei...: the line is incomplete. Bent. emended as follows:

néque te mei miserétur; surge et sépeli natum tuúm prius quám ferae uolucrésque...

Mo. reads *neque mei te miseret: surge et sepeli natum, oro*; *oro* being a conj. of Bouhier suggested by *soror surge* in Acron's remarks on Hor. l.c.

pressis et flebilibus, 'measured and plaintive,' cf. Quint. xi 3, 111 'aliis locis citata aliis pressa conueniet pronuntiatio'; N.D. ii 59, 149 'sonos uocis distinctos et pressos.' See also Holden on Off. i 37, 133.

modis...concinuntur, 'are recited to the accompaniment of,' cf. 'fundat ad tibiam' § 107 below; Hor. Odes iv 2, 33 'concines maiore poeta plectro'; Suet. Calig. 54 'concinere tragoedo pronuntianti.'

totis theatris: for *theatrum* transferred to the spectators in a theatre, cf. Or. iii 50, 195 'theatra tota reclamant'; also ii 26, 64 below; similarly ii 1, 3 'qui (oratores) iam conticuerunt paene ab ipso foro irrisi.'

qui...inferant: subj. of quality.

sint: Dav. Mo. Or. read *sunt* with inferior MS authority. The class-subjunctive seems appropriate as no definite persons are conceived of.

Neu réliquias semiésas sireis dénudatis óssibus
Per térram sanie délibutas foéde diuexárier.

107. non intellego, quid metuat, cum tam bonos septenarios fundat ad tibiam. tenendum est igitur nihil curandum esse post mortem, cum multi inimicos etiam mortuos poeniuntur. exse-

24. neu R 1–3 7 8 10 11 16 V 1 6–8 13 G 1–4 K P S E 3 5 8 13 L 4 6 Π O 2. ne ű V 12. ne ut L 2. ne B 1 2 E V 2 P 4 J. ‖ semias sireis E. semias‿sireis E 5. semiassir[g]eis V *alio atram. superscr.* semi assi reis R. semi‿assi reis B. semi assi r[g]eis V 8. semiassi reis K P S L 1 3 5 W 2 R 2 15 16 V 3 7 12 E 8 13. semi asseris B 2. semiassi seris E 14. semiassi r[g]eis R 10 V 11 E 3 *alio atram. superscr.* semassi r[g]eis V 13. semiṣassi r[g]eis R 4. semiassi regis (*ex* reis *mut.*) R 17. semiasi reis R 9. seminasse reis G 2. seminassʒ reis G 3. semiassi rogi R 8 11. semiassi rogis R 13. semiussi regis O 11. semiassi renis R 3. semiassi corporis E 2 Π. semiassir[g]eris O 5. semias[ſ]ciregis V 10. sinuasi regis O 9. semiatheupt regis O 8. semiassi denudatis D C O 7. semi[a]esi denudatis V 5. semiassi regis W 1 M 1 2 R 5–7 12 14 V 4 9 G 4 B 3 E 4 6 7 10–12 15 L 6 O 1–4 6 10 12 ed. H. ed. P. semiassi regi E 9. semiasi regis V 6 L 4. 25. per terram R V L D C *plurimi.* ꝑ terrā B K P Π O 8. ꝑ t'ram S P 4. ꝑ t'rā E W 2.

§ **107**, 26. intellego R V G B K. e (*ante* g) *in* i *mut.* P. intell[i]ego W 2. 28. poeniuntur G 3. po[u]eniuntur G B E. [o]peniuntur V *alio atram. superscr.* paeniuntur R. paeniunt[ur] [l'o] K. pęniuntur R 10. ę *in* u *mut.* P. pęniuntur [puniūt] [puniant] S *alia manu superscr. et marg.* puniūt S. peniuntur R 16. peniuntur V 11. ponuntur R 2. puniunt' W 2 E 7 13. puniuntur R 9. poeniantur Gr. patiuntur L. puniunt M 1 2 R 3 4 11–14 V 4 7 13 G 2 4 B 3 E 2 5 10 15 L 2 Π J O 1–8 10 12. puniut O 9. puniant W 1 R 6 E 9 D C O 11 ed. P.

neu reliquias... : the reading *semiassi regis* found favour until Bent. pointed out that there could be no question of imperfect cremation (*semiassi* being taken to mean *semiusti* or *semiustulati*), since the corpse was *proiectum feris uolucribusque*, and that *semiassi* does not = *semiusti*. Bent.'s further objection that the victim was not a *rex* may be questioned. In Cicero's day the title *rex* was bestowed by the Senate on the heir apparent to the throne of Galatia, Att. v 17, 3: the word can therefore apply to a young prince, cf. Livy ii 2, 11 'reges'; Tac. Hist. ii 2 *init.* 'Berenices reginae'; Aen. ix 223 'regemque requirunt' (of Ascanius). Bent. at first conjectured *semiesas* and this is adopted by Küh. Sff. followed by Hei. reads *semesas*, the more common form, but Bent. had pointed out that that form alone suited hexameters and pentameters, while we might expect *semiesas* in trochaics (or in iambics) just as we have *semianimis*, *semihominis* in trochaics, *semanimis*, *semhominis* in hexameters. Bent. subsequently (*notae ineditae* published in Davies' edition of 1805) preferred *neu reliquias sic meas siris denudatis ossibus*, which Mo. adopts. TS. reads *neu tu reliquias sic meas sieris denudatis ossibus* (Fleckeisen's conj.), *tu* being inserted against the MSS. If the lines be *octonarii* (as I take them to be) read *semiesas* (*i* consonant). If *septenarii*, *sic meas* (*sc meas*). The weak point about Bentley's arrangement of the whole passage is the difficulty of accounting for the presence of *tu* in the MSS after *appello*.

sireis = *siuereis* = *siueris*; there is no need to alter to *sieris*, as many editors do.

§ **107. septenarios**: see note on previous section.

fundat: cf. 26, 64 'graue plenumque carmen...fundere.'

cum...poeniuntur: the indic. is read by the best MSS and by most modern editors and the word is quoted in the indic. by Nonius p. 479 M.

Or. explains the indic. thus: 'tum cum uides, ultionem multos exercere in inimicos etiam mortuos, tu id curare noli, aut reformidare ne idem in te aliquando

cratur luculentis sane uersibus apud Ennium Thyestes, primum ut naufragio pereat Atreus. durum hoc sane; talis enim interitus non est sine graui sensu: illa inania:

Ípse summis sáxis fixus ásperis, euísceratus,
Látere pendens, sáxa spargens tábo, sanie et sánguine atro.

non ipsa saxa magis sensu omni uacabunt quam ille 'latere pendens,' cui se hic cruciatum censet optare. quam essent dura si sentiret, nulla sine sensu! illud uero perquam inane:

Néque sepulcrum, quó recipiat. hábeat, portum córporis,
Vbi remissa humána uita córpus requiescát malis.

35. omnia *post* sensu R 1 4 10 14 17 V G 1–3 B 1–3 P 1 4 S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1 2 5–9. om̄a K. omni R 6 O 3 4 10 11 *et* (*marg. ead. manu*) O 12. ‖ uacabunt V G 1–3 B 1–3 P 1 4 S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 10 O 1 2 5–11 *et* (*marg. ead. manu*) O 12. uacabant O 3 4. 36. quam *post* optare R G 1 3 B 1–3 K P 1 4 S E W 2 M 1 2 Π J O 1 3 4 6 8 9 11 *et* (*marg.*) O 12. q̂ W 1 R 6 O 1 2 5 7 10. ‖ quam que D. quam V (e *alia manu superscr.*) 37. si sentirent R 1 10 V G 1 2 B 1 2 K P 1 4 S E L W 2 D C J O 1 7 8. si sentiret R 6 B 3 O 2–6 9–12. ‖ nulla sine sensu sunt R 6 O 11. sunt nulla sine sensu O 2 5 6. nulla sine sensua B 2. sunt *non habent* R V G B P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J *plerique*. 38. sepulcrum G C. sepulchrum S *alio ut uid. atram. subnotatum*. sepulchrum V B 1 3 K P E W 2 M 2. ‖ quo recipiat V G B 1–3 K E. quo recipiat' P D. quo recipeatur C. quo recipiatur W 1. quo recipiat S (se *alia manu superscr.*) 40. malis (*post* requiescat) R V G 1–4 L W 2 M 2 P 4 D J O 1 7–9 11. malis (a *alio atram. superscr.*) P S Π O 5. a malis O 2–4 6 10 12.

fortasse fiat: immo persuasum tibi sit, nil curandum esse post mortem.' The indic. gives a good sense and, being best supported, seems preferable. The subj. (= 'whereas,' 17, 39 n.) is perhaps rather what we should have expected. The deponent form occurs in Cicero p. Mil. 13, 33 'cuius tu inimicissimum multo crudelius etiam punitus es quam...'; Phil. viii 2, 7 'ut clarissimorum hominum crudelissimam puniretur necem.'

exsecratur: cf. 'Thyesteas preces' Hor. Epodes v 86. He curses Atreus on discovering that the latter had served up his children to him.

sensu: cf. Lael. 3, 12 'moriendi sensum'; Cato M. 20, 74 'iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest.'

latere: abl. of means. This line is quoted entire by Nonius *ad uocem* spargere.

uacabunt: the principle is the same as in § 105. See note on *erit* there. Here the present might be expected: the fut. is similar to *nesciet* 22, 53 n.

quam essent dura si sentiret, nulla sine sensu! i.e. *quam nulla sunt si nihil sentit*.

quam, read by most MSS, is rejected (as a frigid exclamation) by several editors in favour of *quae*, which is found in V *manu secunda*. *quae* with *sunt* inserted before *sine* is read by Bai. (*prob.* Wes.) TS. Hei. Ml. Schiche. *quae*, with *sunt* inserted after *sensu*, by Or. *quae* with *sed* (*set*) inserted after *sentiret* by Sff. Bent. felt almost certain that Cic. wrote *quae ut essent dura si sentirentur* (G R and many MSS *sentirent*) *nulla sine sensu sunt*. *quam* is retained and *sunt* is not inserted by Dav. Mo. Kl. in *Add.* p. 54, Küh. But Davies thought *quamquam* possibly right instead of *quam*. I agree with Küh. that the sentence is more effective without *sunt*.

neque sepulcrum: the metre consists of trochaic octonarii.

recipiat: *recipere* = *se recipere* is common in O.L., cf. Plautus, Rudens 880; Bacch. 291 'rursum in portum recipimus.' Kl., quoted in Küh., points out that in cl. prose it is found in this use in the

uides quanto haec in errore uersentur; portum esse corporis et requiescere in sepulcro putat mortuum: magna culpa Pelopis, qui non erudierit filium nec docuerit quatenus esset quidque curandum.

XLV. **108**. Sed quid singulorum opiniones animaduertam, nationum uarios errores perspicere cum liceat? condiunt Aegyptii mortuos et eos seruant domi, Persae etiam cera circumlitos condunt, ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora. Magorum mos est non humare corpora suorum, nisi a feris sint ante laniata. in Hyrcania plebs publicos alit canes, optimates

XLV. § **108**, 1. opinionis R V G S B 2; i *in* e (*ante* s) *mut.* B P E. 2. condiunt V G 1–3 K P E M 2 B 2 3 D C Π J. condunt S W 2 R 10 G 2. 3. seruant domi R V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P 1 4 S E L W 1 M 1 2 C Π O 2–8 10–12. domi seruant W 2 J O 1 9. 4. condunt K P E. condūnt V (*sic*). condiunt W 1 M 1 2 B 3 Π. ‖ maxime K. 6. hircania R V B 1–3 M 2. hyrcania G S E W 1. ‖ supplicos R 1 2 10 16 G 1 3 K S L 1 4 W 2 B 2 P 4 E 7 9 13 Π J O 1. sub/licos (p *supra*) E. publicos V *at* pu *in rasura.* publicos B *at* pu *in rasura et* b *ex* p *mut.* suplicos O 7. suplicos R 17 *marg.* ul' publicos. suplices R 3. supplices P R 7 V 4 7 G 2 E 2 8 L 2 O 9. *idem* O 8 *at* e *ex* o *mut.* publicos W 1 M 1 2 R 4 6 V 3 G 4 B 3 E 4 5 D C O 2–4 6 10 12. pu[cos] O 5 11 ed. H. ed. P.

gerund only, and only as a military term, e.g. Caes. B.G. i. 48, 7 'si quo erat longius procedendum aut celerius recipiendum.'

haec...uersentur: P. Manut. approved by Lamb. and F. Fabricius thought that *hic...uersetur* would be preferable; but Wopkens, *Lectt. Tull.* p. 54, points out that similar changes from person to thing or *uice uersa* are common, and he appositely compares N.D. iii 10, 25 'is igitur "si aliquid est" inquit...haec omnia in eodem, quo illa Zenonis, errore uersantur.'

magna culpa Pelopis: nom. in appos. to the sentence, cf. 26, 65 n. 'non iusta causa.'

qui...erudierit...docuerit: for the rel. with subj. giving a reason cf. 6, 12 n. 'qui dimiserit.'

esset: for the sequence cf. 42, 100 'multauerit...possem' and 4, 7 note on 'dedimus...auderemus.'

XLV. § **108**. **sed quid**: 15, 34 n.

condiunt: *ταριχεύουσι* Herod. ii 86, where three processes are described.

condunt: cf. Herod. i 140 quoted below, *γῇ κρύπτουσι*.

ut quam max. perm. diut. corpora: the reason assigned is no doubt, as noted by P. Victorius, Cicero's own; the real reason was to prevent the earth from being defiled by contact with the dead body; see next note.

nisi a feris sint ante laniata: cf. Herod. i 140 *ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἑλκυσθῇ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι· κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι.*

Zarathustra (Zoroaster) taught that earth water and fire were excellent creatures of Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd), and that they must not be polluted by contact with a dead body. Cremation and interment were therefore out of the question. The bodies of the dead were to be placed on a very elevated spot, specially prepared, where carnivorous birds and dogs could see them, and they were to be fastened down by the feet and hair that their bones might not be carried to water or earth by birds or dogs. Cf. Avesta, *Vendidad* vi 93–4.

The Towers of Silence, the well-known cemetery of the Parsee community at Bombay, situated on the highest point of Malabar Hill, with groves hard by that swarm with vultures, mark a modern survival of the rite referred to in the text.

[**a feris**: Cic. usually treats animals as persons.]

domesticos; nobile autem genus canum illud scimus esse; sed pro sua quisque facultate parat, a quibus lanietur, eamque optimam illi esse censent sepulturam. permulta alia colligit Chrysippus, ut est in omni historia curiosus; sed ita taetra sunt quaedam, ut ea fugiat et reformidet oratio. totus igitur hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non neglegendus in nostris, ita tamen ut mortuorum corpora nihil sentire uiui sentiamus. **109.** quantum autem consuetudini famaeque dandum sit, id curent uiui, sed ita ut intellegant nihil id ad mortuos pertinere.

9. opt^{v}imā K. || cessent V. || co^{l}ligit V. 10. crysippus R V G. ^{h}crysippus W 1. crisippus B S. crisipus B 2. || tętra V. tetra R B K S E. 12. contempnendus R G K S E W 2. contemnendus V B 1 2 W 1. conte^{p}mnendus P *alio atram. superscr.* || neglegendus G B. ɨ *i.e.* i *super* e *inculcatum* P.
§ **109,** 15. intellegant V G B K. intellɨgant P. || nihil id ad R V B 1 2 S E M 1 P 4 O 1 7–9. nihil ^{id}ad G. nihil ad W 1 2 M 1 B 3 J O 2–6 10–12. nihil aͽ P. nihil id G 3.

sint: subj. of reported thought.

in Hyrcania: cf. Sil. Ital. xiii 473 'cum lucem posuerunt membra, probatum est | Hyrcanis adhibere canes'; Plutarch, Moralia 499 d. Strabo xi 11, 3 says that dogs were called 'buriers' by the Bactrians.

publicos, 'for the benefit of the community,' **domesticos**, 'for the benefit of their own families'; Or. compared *serui publici*, *familia publica*; Mo. adds *equus publicus*.

sed, 'but (famous though the breed is and consequently costly) each procures...' Küh.

colligit: for the tense cf. 18, 42 n. on 'uolt.'

Chrysippus, born at Soli in Cilicia about 280 B.C., succeeded Cleanthes as head of the Stoic school, to which he rendered such services that he was regarded as its second founder, cf. Diog. L. vii 7, 183 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος οὐκ ἂν ἦν στοά.

historia, 'inquiry,' 'investigation.' Cf. ἱστορία often in Greek. Küh. compares Att. ii 8, 1 'si quid in ea epistula fuit historia dignum (*h.e. cognitione dignum*), scribe quam primum, ne ignoremus.'

curiosus: often with an implication of blame (πολυπράγμων), cf. Fin. i 1, 3 and Madvig's exx. there.

ita taetra...reformidet oratio: cf. Off. i 45, 159 'ea Posidonius collegit permulta, sed ita taetra quaedam, ita obscena, ut dictu quoque uideantur turpia.' Mo.

locus, 'this whole subject,' i.e. the question of funeral rights. The use of *locus* here is akin to its use with ref. to rhetoric, cf. 24, 57 n.

ita tamen ut mortuorum corpora nihil sentire uiui sentiamus: as the effect of these words is contained in the following words *quantum autem ... ad mortuos pertinere* Reiske conjectured that Cic. wrote the latter words as a substitute for the former, but forgot to erase the words so superseded. With this view Wes. *Emend.* II p. 33 agrees; Bai. and Hei. also bracket. And it is seen from Att. xvi 3, 1 that Cic. made such revisions even after a work had been published—'idem σύνταγμα misi ad te retractatius, et quidem ἀρχέτυπον ipsum *crebris locis inculcatum et refectum*.' (This letter, written 15 July 44, does not refer to the T.D.; see Introd. section 1 (b) subsec. 4 (a). The ref. is to the *de Gloria.*) Cf. also Att. xiii 21, 4 'scripsit enim Balbus ad me se a te quintum de finibus librum descripsisse, in quo non sane multa mutaui, sed tamen quaedam.' But there is force in the objection of Mo. that 'admodum difficile est apud Ciceronem, ubertatis et copiae et uariandae orationis, si quis alius, studiosissimum, redundare dicere aliquam sententiam.' Similarly Sff. notes that it is in Cic.'s manner to be somewhat prolix in emphasizing his points.

uiui: if this word belongs to the text it is compressed for *nos qui uiui sumus ideoque sentire possumus*, Or. *uiui* suspected by Dav. and Bouh. and omitted by Ern. is present in all MSS that I have

Sed profecto mors tum aequissimo animo oppetitur, cum suis se laudibus uita occidens consolari potest. nemo parum diu uixit, qui uirtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere. multa mihi ipsi ad mortem tempestiua fuerunt, quam utinam potuissem obire! nihil enim iam adquirebatur, cumulata erant officia uitae, cum fortuna bella restabant. quare si ipsa ratio minus perficiet ut mortem neglegere possimus, at uita acta perficiat, ut satis superque uixisse uideamur. quamquam enim sensus abierit, tamen suis et propriis bonis laudis et gloriae, quamuis

19. quae (*uel* quę *uel* que) *post* fuerunt R V G B K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J *ceteri, quod sciam.* quam *coni.* Dauisius *prob.* Bentleio; *receperunt editores prope omnes praeter* Kl. Ti. Mo. Sff. Ml. *et* Schichium. *confer uu. ll. ad* 46 § 110 quae pugnae *pro* quam pugnae. 22. neglegere R V G B E. neglįgere P. || perficiat V (e) *alio atram. superscr.* 23. quamquam ẹnịṃ sensus ab erit V (*litura post* b). 24. summis V G B P E L M 1 C Π O 1 6 7 9 10. sum̄is R 1 10 K S W 1 2 M 2 B 2 3 P 4 D J O 3 4 8 12. || bonis laudis R V G B 1 2 P E W 1 C O 1 3 4 7–10 12. *omittit* O 11. laudis *omittit* W 2, *omittunt at in marg. scriptum habent* et laudis S O 5. et (*post* bonis) M 1 2 B 3 O 2 6.

seen; it is contrasted with *mortuorum corpora*, but the antithesis seems weak. Wesenberg bracketed *ita tamen...sentiamus*. [Probably *uiui* came here from the next line but one. It is quite inept here.]

§ **109. munere**: cf. R.P. vi 15, 15 'ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse uideamini'; Cato M. 21, 77 'munere necessitatis.'

multa...tempestiua = *multa tempora opportuna moriendi. multa* is substantival.

quam: 'mortem obire,' as here, occurs in 35, 86. 'obire facinoris locum tempusque' occurs in p. Mil. 10, 27. The MSS read *quae*, which would involve taking *obire* in the sense of *experiri*, but Küh. well observes that Cic. actually *obiit* (= *expertus est*) *ea quae ad mortem tempestiua erant.* And even if *obire* be taken in the sense of 'to encounter' them, i.e. 'to die,' it would be absurd to wish that he had died on several occasions. The emendation of Dav. is therefore necessary. Translate 'there have been many occasions in my life when death would have been opportune: would only that I could have found it.' For the thought Beroaldus compares Phil. i 15, 38 'mihi fere satis est quod uixi, uel ad aetatem uel ad gloriam'; Phil. ii 46, 119 'si abhinc annos prope uiginti hoc ipso in templo negaui posse mortem inmaturam esse consulari, quanto uerius nunc negabo seni! mihi uero P.C. iam etiam optanda mors est perfuncto rebus eis, quas adeptus sum quasque gessi.' Dav. compares Sen. Cons. ad Marc. c. 20 'M. Cicero si eo tempore, quo Catilinae sicas deuitauit, quibus pariter cum patria petitus est, concidisset liberata re publica conseruator eius; si denique filiae suae funus secutus fuisset, tunc felix mori potuit. non uidisset strictos in ciuilia capita mucrones.'

cumulata erant officia uitae = *cumulate satisfactum erat officiis uitae*, cf. Att. vi 3. 3 'cumulate publicanis satisfactum' Mo. The word often involves a metaphor from *crowning an edifice* with the coping stone, cf. Livy xxx 32 *init.* 'multa ante parta decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut euersuri'; and often with ref. to glory e.g. Tac. Hist. i 77 *fin.* 'pontificatus auguratusque honoratis iam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit.' Here and in *cumulus* § 110, and often, the metaphor is rather from *overflowing measure.*

ipsa ratio, 'my arguments.'

abierit: the subj. is potential and therefore not '*propter* quamquam' though '*post* quamquam.' See Küh. on v 30, 85; Madv. on Fin. iii 21, 70; Wilkins on Or. ii 1, 1. Here the form of the statement 'feeling may have departed,' is due to the fact that there was an opposite theory. *aberit*, the conj. of Lamb., has been adopted by Dav. (*suadente Bent.*) by Kl. (*prob. Wes.*) by Or. Mo. Ern. *abierit* (as subj.) is approved by Sff. Tr. Bai. Küh. TS. and Hei. imagine that *abierit* is fut. exactum here.

suis et propriis: cf. 29, 70 n. 'propria

non sentiant, mortui non carent. etsi enim nihil habet in se gloria, cur expetatur, tamen uirtutem tamquam umbra sequitur.

XLVI. **110.** Verum multitudinis iudicium de bonis si quando est, magis laudandum est quam illi ob eam rem beati. non possum autem dicere, quoquo modo hoc accipietur, Lycurgum, Solonem legum et publicae disciplinae carere gloria, Themistoclem, Epaminondam bellicae uirtutis. ante enim

25. habet in se R V B 1 2 K P 1 4 S E W 2 M 1 2 G 2 4 C Π J O 1–8 10 12. in se hāt O 11. in se nihil habet W 1. habeat in se O 9. habet in se G (n *eraso*). 26. expeçtatur V O 6. expe tatur B (*una litt. erasa*). expectatur G 1 2 K L B 2 O 7 12. exspectatur E R 10 O 11. spectatur O 9. expetatur G 3 P 4 D Π O 1–5 8 10. || tamquam R V G 1 2 L.

XLVI. § **110**, 3. quoquo modo R G 1 3 B 1 2 K E 1 7 L W 1 P 4 C Π O 8 12. quo quomodo V. quoquo° S. quoquō D. quoquo mō G 2. quo modo O 6. quomodo P W 2 M 2 R 6 J O 1 3 4 7 9 10. quo̅ M 1 G 4 B 3 O 2 5. quo O 11. || accipietur R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K P 1 4 S E 1 7 L Π O 1 3 4 7 9 10. acciperetur M 1 2 R 6 G 2 B 3 O 2 5 6 10 12. accipiatur D C O 8. accipiantur W 1. || lycurgum V G B 2. lygurgum B P E W 2. ligurgum S.

5. & epaminondam V *manu antiqua superscr.*

et sua.' *suis* is the emendation of Lamb. for *summis* of the MSS. *summis* would not be true of the *mortui* generally.

laudis et gloriae: gen. of definition, 15, 34 n. 'mercedem gloriae.' Before Dav. the usual reading was *et laudis et gloriae*. Dav. prompted by Bent. (*not. inedit.*) returned to the MS reading.

quamuis non sentiant: to be taken closely with *mortui non carent*. Bent. followed by Dav. held these words to be a gloss.

uirtutem tamquam umbra sequitur: Dav. compares iii 2, 3 and Senec. Epist. 79, 11 'gloria umbra uirtutis est, etiam inuitos comitabitur.'

XLVI. § **110**. **uerum**: if *uerum* is a conjunction we must take *iudicium* ἐμφατικῶς (as H. Wolf said); 'sound judgment,' 'right judgment,' a use common enough in Tac., cf. Hist. i 12 'paucis iudicium aut r.p. cura' and reff. there given by Heraeus; and not without support in Cic., e.g. Q.F. iii 1, 5, 18 'uideor id iudicio facere'; Diu. ii 13, 30 'o mortalem beatum, cui certo scio iudicium numquam defuisse!' but *est* seems very weak on this view and we should have expected *iudicat* (*recte iudicat*) rather than *iudicium est*. Not dissimilar is *iudicauisse* 47, 114. Küh. takes *uerum* as conjunction = *jedoch*, but supplies to *si quando est* the word *iustum* 'quod e uerbis *magis laudandum est* eliciendum est': but this seems impossible. *uerum* has been taken as an adj. by Dav. (*auct. Bent.*) F.A.W. Or. Mo. Sff. TS. Hei. This gives a good sense: *iudicium mult. de bonis* (sc. *uiris*) *si quando est uerum*, but we should have a remarkable *asyndeton* which many scholars have found intolerable. Dav. (*auctore Bentleio*) inserted *et* before *uerum*; Sff. *igitur*, which he conjectures to have fallen out after *sequitur*; but a particle of inference is scarcely what we expect. I suspect that *sanum* or *rectum* or some similar adj. has fallen out after *quando* in the archetype of all existing MSS, owing to a copyist mistaking *uerum* for an adjective.

hoc: refers to the assertion with ref. to Lycurgus etc., which follows. Some have imagined that it refers to the word *carere* alone, which follows, and that the meaning is 'in whatever sense this word be taken,' referring to the two meanings of *carere* given in 36, 88.

quoquo modo hoc accipietur: inserted lest he should be charged with inconsistency in declaring that people who are dead, and whom he cannot assert to have any perception, possess glory.

Lycurgum Solonem: the *asyndeton bimembre* here indicates that two examples are selected out of more which were available, cf. 4, 7 n.

publicae disciplinae, 'political system.'

Salamina ipsam Neptunus obruet quam Salaminii tropaei memoriam, priusque e Boeotia Leuctra tollentur quam pugnae Leuctricae gloria. multo autem tardius fama deseret Curium, Fabricium, Calatinum, duo Scipiones, duo Africanos, Maximum, Marcellum, Paulum, Catonem, Laelium, innumerabilis alios; quorum similitudinem aliquam qui arripuerit, non eam fama

6. salaminam R V G S E W 2 M 1 2 Π O 1 6 7 9–11. salaminā B 1–3 K P L W 1 D O 8 *alii.* ‖ trop(h)ęi V *alio atram. superscr.* trop(h)ei G *alio atr. superscr.* 7. bootia *post* priusque R G B 2. (e)boeotia V *alio atram. superscr.* boetia B 1 3 E G 3 P 4 W 1 2 M 1 2 J O 2 3. boötia K. boαtia P (*h.e.* o *in* e *mut.*). priusque boeotia O 6 7 10 11. priusque boecia L. ab oeotia O 1 (*sic*). ‖ leuctrha R. leuctrha K. leuthra P. leutrą Π W 1 O 8. leuthrę O 3. leuctra G 1 3 B 1–3 S E W 2 M 1 2 J O 2 P 4. leuctra *in* leuctræ *mut.* V. ‖ quae R G. quę *in* q̃uę *al. atram. mut.* V. quam E. quā B K S W 2. q̄ W 1 O 3. 9. duo R G Gr B P E O 7. duo(ſ) V *al. atr. superscr.* duo(s) O 3 *fortasse eod. atram. superscr.* duos cipiones K B 2. duos S L W 1 2 M 1 2 R 2 G 2 3 P 4 B 3 D Π J O 1 2 4–6 8–12. ‖ duo G B 1 2 K E. duo(ſ) V *et* P *alio atram. superscr.* duos L G 2 3 P 4 D Π O 1–12. ‖ africanos V G K P E L. affricanos B 1 2 *alii.* ‖ maxĭmū K. 10. paulum R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 D Π O 3. ‖ innumerabilis R V G B 1 2 K E. i *in* e *mut.* P.

Salamina: so Sff. Hei. TS. F.A.W. Schiche; see Wes. II 33, 89 and Neue 1^2 p. 306. *Salaminem* Kl. Bai. Küh. *de Wes. sententia.* Küh. holds that *-em* was the usual acc. ending for such nouns in Latin writers of the golden age but that *-a* sometimes occurs; and that *-am* belongs to writers subsequent to that age.

tropaei in the sense of *uictoriae* belongs rather to poetry. The same use occurs in Corn. Nep. Themist. 5, 3 'Marathonio...tropaeo.'

memoriam: *obruet* is carried on but no longer with *Neptunus* as subject. *obliuio* would be the natural subject, and this Reiske wished to insert after *quam*. I fail to see any idea in *Neptunus* which can be carried on as subject here. The sentence seems too short to admit of the theory that Cic. wrote *quam* (sc. *obruet*) *Sal. trop. memoriam* meaning to write *quam obruetur Sal. trop. memoria.* If *obruetur* fell out after *quam* (or after *tropaei*) a copyist would probably bring *memoria* into construction by changing it into *memoriam*.

Boeotia: may be adj. and may be added, as Küh. and TS. note, because there were towns called Λεῦκτρα (Λεῦκτρον) in Arcadia and Laconia as well as in Boeotia. The instructive addition would then be parallel to 38, 92 'Latmo ...qui est mons Cariae,' where see note. There is also a fair sense in 'sooner will Boeotian Leuctra be removed than the glory of Leuctra's fight.' The expression, however, hardly seems natural and, when the miraculous removal of a substantial portion of the earth's crust is referred to, the place whence or the place whither is usually indicated. I therefore believe that *e* has fallen out after *priusque* and that the meaning is 'sooner will Leuctra be removed from Boeotia than the glory of Leuctra's fight.' It may also be noted that in the examples in the immediate context an object (person or country) is specified to which the glory attaches. V^2 inserts *e* and O_1 has *a*.

[I have also conjectured *e Boeotia*; but possibly *Boeotis. Leuctra Boeotia tollentur* is hardly in line with Leg. Agr. 1 § 19 'Capua...sustulerunt'; or Verr. 2, 2, 51 'Syracusis Marcellia tolluntur.' In favour of *e* might be quoted Verr. 2, 2, 4 'urbem ex sociorum insula tollendam'; 2, 2, 91 'urbem ex Italia pulcherrimam non sustulerunt.']

Calatinum: 7, 13 n.

duo: for *duo* as acc. Brutus refers to Charisius i, p. 101 who quotes Aen. xii (more correctly xi 285) 'si duo praeterea tales Idaea tulisset' and Attius, Epinausimache' (Ribbeck I p. 178, l. 321). See also Neue *Formenlehre*, ed. 3, vol. II pp. 279 sq. [I believe Cic. wrote *duos, ambos*, exclusively.]

arripuerit: the word suggests eager-

populari sed uera bonorum laude metiens, fidenti animo, si ita res feret, gradietur ad mortem, in qua aut summum bonum aut nullum malum esse cognouimus. secundis uero suis rebus uolet etiam mori; non enim tam cumulus bonorum iucundus esse potest quam molesta decessio. **111.** hanc sententiam significare uidetur Laconis illa uox, qui, cum Rhodius Diagoras, Olympionices nobilis, uno die duo suos filios uictores Olympiae uidisset, accessit ad senem et gratulatus: 'Morere, Diagora,' inquit; 'non enim in caelum ascensurus es.' magna haec, et nimium fortasse, Graeci putant uel tum potius putabant, isque,

13. re fert R. refert G 13 Gr B 12 K S E C O 17 R 2 P 4. refert V *al. atr. superscr.* refert II *al. atr. superscr.* res fert M 12 G 4 B 3 E 7 O 2–5 9–12. res feret W 1 O 6 8. cf. Lactant. *Diu. Inst.* VII 10. si ita gradietur W 2 J. 15. iucundus V G B 12. iocundus S E M 2.

§ **111**, 18. duo suos R G Gr B 12 K E. duo suos V *al. atr. superscr.* duos suos P 14 S L W 2 M 12 G 34 B 3 D C J O 3–11. [duos *plane habet* G 3.] die suos II (duo *non habet*). duos filios G 2 (suos *non habet*). duos filios suos O 12 12. 19. more V. 20. ascensurus R V G B K S E C II J *alii.* asscensurus L. asscensurus P.

ness in securing something valuable. Mo. compares N.D. iii 11, 27 'quaerit apud Xenophontem Socrates unde animum arripuerimus, si nullus fuerit in mundo': where the Greek is (Xen. Memor. i 4, 8) *νοῦν δὲ ἄρα...πῶς δοκεῖς συναρπάσαι;*

non eam...bonorum laude: the qualification is suggested by the optimate sympathies of Cic.

res feret: cf. Phil. iv 6, 14 'si ita res tulisset' (Mo.): de Leg. Agr. ii 28, 77 'si ita commodum uestrum fert' (Kl.).

aut...aut, 'either...or at all events...' cf. 1, 1 n.

cognouimus, 'we have found' (in the present inquiry).

etiam: to be taken closely with *uolet.*

esse potest: Küh. notes that Cic. nearly always wrote *potest esse* not *esse potest*, no doubt in order to avoid the pentametric ending, just as he wrote *mihi crede* not *crede mihi.*

§ **111**. **Diagoras**, son of Damagetus (a leading man at Ialysus in Rhodes), won the Olympic crown for victory in boxing in B.C. 464. Pindar's seventh Olympian ode celebrates that event. The victory of his sons is referred to by Plut. Pelop. p. 239 (c. 34); Pausanias vi 7, p. 468; Aulus Gellius N.A. iii 15; the latter, however, states that, while his victorious sons were placing their crowns upon his head and the multitude were congratulating him, he fell dead upon the course.

nobilis: he belonged to the ruling clan of the Eratidae, cf. Müller, *Dorians* III 9, § 3.

Olympiae: locative, cf. ii 20, 46; Livy xxvi 24, 14.

morere...ascensurus es: cf. *κάτθανε, εἶπε, Διαγόρα· οὐκ εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀναβήσῃ*, Plut. l.c. The meaning is 'you have reached the highest eminence to which you can possibly attain: for you cannot become a god.' Divine honours (until Imperial times) were not attainable by any men except demigods. Pindar Isthm. iv 17 addresses a victor in similar terms *μὴ μάτευε Ζεὺς γενέσθαι, πάντ' ἔχεις.* Cf. also Pythians x 22–27

εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ὑμνητὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ γίγνεται σοφοῖς,
ὃς ἂν χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἀρετᾷ κρατήσαις
τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἕλῃ τόλμᾳ τε καὶ σθένει,
καὶ ζώων ἔτι νεαρὸν
κατ' αἶσαν υἱὸν ἴδῃ τυχόντα στεφάνων Πυθίων.
ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὔ ποτ' ἄμβατος αὐτῷ.

nimium fortasse: sc. *nimium fortasse magna.*

Graeci putant: cf. ii 17, 41; p. Flacco 13, 31 'pugil Olympionices, hoc est apud Graecos...prope maius et gloriosius quam Romae triumphasse.'

qui hoc Diagorae dixit, permagnum existimans tris Olympionicas una e domo prodire cunctari illum diutius in uita fortunae obiectum inutile putabat ipsi. ego autem tibi quidem quod satis esset paucis uerbis, ut mihi uidebar, responderam. Concesseras enim nullo in malo mortuos esse, sed ob eam causam contendi, ut plura dicerem, quod in desiderio et luctu haec est consolatio maxima. nostrum enim et nostra causa susceptum dolorem modice ferre debemus, ne nosmet ipsos amare uideamur: illa suspicio intolerabili dolore cruciat, si opinamur eos, quibus orbati sumus, esse cum aliquo sensu in iis malis, quibus uolgo opinantur. hanc excutere opinionem mihimet uolui radicitus eoque fui fortasse longior.

XLVII. **112**. *A*. Tu longior? non mihi quidem. prior enim pars orationis tuae faciebat ut mori cuperem, posterior ut

22. tris R V B 1 3 K P E W 2 M 1 2 D C J O 1–7 9 10 12. tres G 1 2 S L B 2 Π O 8 11. ‖ olympionicas E W 1. olympiacas S *marg.* olympionicas. olimpionicas V B 1 3 Π. olympias W 2. 23. cunttari S *marg.* cuntari. cunctari R V G B P E *ceteri.* 29. ne nosmet ipsos R V G Gr B P S E *omnes, quod sciam.* 30. suspicio R V G B 1–3 P E W 1. suspitio K S M 1 2 O 3. ‖ intollerabili R K M 1 B 2 Π.' into lerabili V *una litt. erasa.* intolerabili P E (*sine litura*). 31. in his R V G B 1–3 W 1 M 1. in hiis S. 32. $\overset{\text{ipsi}}{\text{uolui}}$ V *al. atr. superscr.*

inutile: the word is very often used by λιτότης of things positively baneful, e.g. Off. ii 14, 49 'seditiosum et inutilem ciuem'; Livy iv 31, 2 (where a division of command resulted in disaster) 'quam plurium imperium bello inutile esset.' But here the word is not=*perniciosum* (as Küh. takes it) or (as Mo.) *periculosum*; further life might not be hurtful, and the word never means exposed to danger. The meaning here is 'inexpedient,' the opposite of *utile*, which so commonly= 'expedient.'

tibi quidem: the dat. depends upon *satis esset.* Editors before Küh. usually put a comma after *quidem* and made *tibi* depend upon *responderam.* But H. Muther (referred to in Küh.) shewed that to *tibi quidem quod satis esset* Cic. mentally opposed *mihi autem ipsi id satis non erat*, and that, if *tibi* depended upon *responderam*, *quidem* would have no force, as Cic. answered A. alone and no other. Cf. *mihimet* below.

concesseras: 7, 14.

contendi ut=*operam dedi ut* (Mo.) 'I was anxious to treat the subject more fully.' Subj. of result.

haec: sc. τὸ *nullo in malo mortuos esse.* For *haec* attracted to the gender of the predicate *consolatio* cf. Virg. Aen. vi 129 'hoc opus, hic labor est'; Cic. Par. 6, 3 'contentum suis rebus esse maximae sunt certissimaeque diuitiae.' According to Küh. *Gr.* II § 12, 7 this attraction always takes place where the subject is an infin.

ne nosmet ipsos: after *ne* early edns, except H., had *et*, contrary to the MSS. Dav. first expelled it, *suadente Bentleio. nosmet ipsos* is contrasted with *eos quos lugere fas est*, therefore the correction of Ern. *nosmet ipsi* is wrong. For the thought cf. Lael. 3, 10 'suis autem incommodis grauiter angi non amicum, sed se ipsum amantis est.'

in iis malis quibus: for the prep. carried on cf. 39, 93 n.

opinantur: for the subject omitted with *uolgo* cf. 35, 86 'uolgo ex oppidis ...gratulabantur' (Pompeio), and Madv. 211 a, obs. 2.

mihimet)(**tibi quidem** above. Cicero's personal motive was grief for the loss of Tullia.

XLVII. § **112**. **faciebat**: i.e. while you were speaking. *fecit* would not have suited here.

prior...pars, cc. 23—33 incl. **posterior**, cc. 34—46 incl.

modo non nollem, modo non laborarem; omni autem oratione illud certe perfectum est, ut mortem non ducerem in malis.

M. Num igitur etiam rhetorum epilogum desideramus? an hanc iam artem plane relinquimus?

A. Tu uero istam ne reliqueris, quam semper ornasti, et quidem iure; illa enim te, uerum si loqui uolumus, ornauerat. sed quinam est iste epilogus? aueo enim audire, quidquid est.

113. *M.* Deorum inmortalium iudicia solent in scholis proferre de morte, nec uero ea fingere ipsi, sed Herodoto auctore aliisque pluribus. primum Argiuae sacerdotis Cleobis et Biton filii praedicantur. nota fabula est. cum enim illam ad sollemne et statum sacrificium curru uehi ius esset satis longe ab oppido

XLVII. § **112**, 3. ratione R G E L R6 D C O 1 2 8 9 11. ratione *habuerat* V *at* o *ante* r *alio atram. in marg. scriptum est, unius litt. spatio inter* o *et* r *relicto.* oratione P *at* o *atriore atramento exarato.* oratione Gr B 1–3 K S W 1 2 M 1 2 R 10 G 2–4 P 4 Π J O 3–7 10 12. 5. rethorum V G B 1 2. r&horum (h superscr.) R. rethorum (h superscr.) S. 6. hanc iam R V B 1–3 K P S E W 2 M 1 2 G 2 3 D Π J O 1 3 4 6–10. *omittit* O 5 *sed in marg. habet.* hanc ā artem W 1. hanc ante iam O 2 (*sic*). hanc (iam superscr.) G *alia manu superscr.* iam hanc artem O 11. hanc an iam artem O 12. 7. ne reliqueris B 1 2 K E. ne relinqueris V. ne relinqueris L G 3. 9. habeo R 1 10 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E L 1–6 W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1 3 4 6–12. aueo O 2 R 6. habeo *in* aueo *corr.* O 5. ‖ quicquid R V G B P S L W 1 2 M 1 2 *alii.* quidquid E Π O 8.

§ **113**, 12. argiae R G M 2 O 2. argię V B K P S L W 1 O 3. argie E M 1 W 2 R 6 B 2 3 D C Π J *ceteri.* ‖ binoto R 1 2 V 1 4 G 1–4 B 1 2 K P 1 4 S E 1 2 5 8 L W 2 D C J O 8 9 11. binotho Π O 1. binote O 4. binotę O 3. binoti R 7. bissilij O 7. biton M 1 2 R 6 B 3 L 6 O 2 5 6 10 12. bitoN E 3 (N *in rasura*). bito E 4 10 L 4 ed. H. ed. P. bitho W 1. 13. sollemne V G B S E R 2 J. solemne (l superscr.) R. solemne M 2 B 3 O 4 5 9. solēne B 2 Π O 8. solenne W 1 M 1 R 6. sollempne L W 2 P 4. solempne C. solē/ne (p superscr.) P *al. atr. superscr.* 14. statutum R 1 2 6 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P E L 1 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1–12. statum *non inueni.*

oratione: this, not *ratione*, is obviously right, for, having dealt with the former part of Cic.'s *oratio* and the latter part of his *oratio*, A. naturally proceeds to deal with the *oratio* as a whole. Man. and Lamb. pronounced for *oratione*, as did Brutus on the strength of the reading of Gr; early editions generally read *ratione*.

perfectum est...ducerem: for the sequence cf. 4, 7 n. on 'dedimus...auderemus'; also 1, 1 n.

rhetorum epilogum: compressed, = 'such an epilogue as rhetoricians introduce' (in their declamations).

ornasti: sc. *laudibus*; **ornauerat**: sc. *honoribus atque dignitate.*

§ **113**. **solent**: the subject is *rhetores* loosely carried on from *rhetorum* above.

scholis, 'dissertations,' 4, 8.

Herodoto auctore: cf. Herod. i 31.

Argiuae: the MSS read *Argiae* here but in 20, 45 *Argiui*; iii 22, 53 *Argiuos.* Küh. Sff. TS. Hei. read *Argiuae* the corr. of Lamb., approved by Wes. *Em.* II p. 35. Dav. Mo. and Schiche retain the vulgate *Argiae.*

Argiuae sacerdotis: Κυδίππη, priestess (cf. Plut. Mor. 109; Stobaeus Florilegium 18, 32) at the famous temple of Hera which was burnt in 423 B.C. (Thuc. iv 133) but rebuilt a little below the ancient site. The ruins have been found between 5 and 6 miles north of Argos, a little west of the Corinth road.

Biton: the best MSS read *Binoto*, a form which Wes. *Em.* I 33 shews to have originated in a transposition of the last three letters of *Biton.*

statum sacrificium: a sacrifice always performed upon a fixed anniversary. At

ad fanum, morarenturque iumenta, tum iuuenes ii, quos modo nominaui, ueste posita corpora oleo perunxerunt, ad iugum accesserunt. ita sacerdos aduecta in fanum, cum currus esset ductus a filiis, precata a dea dicitur, ut illis praemii daret pro pietate quod maximum homini dari posset a deo; post epulatos cum matre adulescentis somno se dedisse, mane inuentos esse mortuos. **114.** simili precatione Trophonius et Agamedes usi dicuntur. qui cum Apollini Delphis templum exaedificauissent, uenerantes deum petiuerunt mercedem non paruam quidem

15. tum V G 1 3 B 1 2 S E L W 1 R 2 Π O 1 8 9 11. tunc K P W 2 M 1 2 B 3 O 2–7 10 12. tunc R *ad calcem paginae subscriptum, clausula* tunc . . . accesserunt *e contextu omissa.* || iuuenis V G 1 3 E R 2 B 2. iuuenes R B S L *plerique.* || hi R G W 1 O 1 8 9 11. hii *in* ii *rasura mut.* S. 18. praecata R G. pręcata W 1. p̄cata S E W 2 B 3. precata V B 1 2 P. || a dea G. adea R 1 16. ad ea E G 3 B 2 D C. a bea O 9. ab e͡a S *sed fuerat, ut uid.*, a d͡a. *marg.* deam S. || ut illis R 1 2 4 6 7 10 16 G 1 3 B P 1 4 S E 1 7 8 L 1 2 4 6 J O 1 3–7 10 11 ed. H. ut (id) illis V *al. atr. superscr.* || praemii R G. p̄mii S E 1 2 5 8 R 2 10 G 3 P 4 D J. premii V K W 1 2 R 16 B 2 E 13 L 4 C. premium R 6 7 L 6 O 1 3–7 10 11 ed. H. *idem* O 12 *at multa in litura.* praemiū M 2 O 2. p̄ miū M 1 B 3 L 2 O 8. premiū Π *at* u *mutatum est.* primum R 4 O 9. p̄ miū B *at marg.* + mii B. 20. adulescentis R V G E. e *in* i, *ut uid., mut.* B 2. i *in* e *mut.* P. adolescentis K *fortasse eod. atram. superscr.*

§ **114**, 21. praecatione R G M 2. p̄catione V B K E W 2. 22. exaedificauissent V G Gr B 1 2 P C O 8. 23. petiuerunt R V G 1 3 B 1–3 P L C Π O 1 3 5–8 10. petiuer̄ K. petiuerit M 1 2 O 9. petiuer̄t S *marg.* petiere. petiuer̄e E. pertinerunt O 4. petierunt W 1 O 2 11 12. petier̄ E. petiere W 2 J.

Rome some *feriae* were observed on a fixed day each year; others occurred every year (*sollemnes*) but upon a date fixed anew for each occasion (*conceptiuae*).

statum: the MSS have *statutum*, but cf. de Har. Resp. 9, 18 'statas sollemnesque caerimonias'; p. Mil. 17, 45 'stata sacrificia'; Livy xl 4 'ad statum sacrificium.'

ius esset: h.e. *religionis caerimonia constitutum esset*, Küh.

satis longe ab oppido: see above. Herod. i 31 gives the distance as 45 stadia.

tum: better supported and more emphatic than the vulgate *tunc*.

perunxerunt...accesserunt: the asyndeton is in keeping with the promptitude of movement described.

ut illis praemii: so the best MSS and Küh. and Schiche. Or., followed by TS., *praemium*. Rath conj. *ut id illis praemii daret*, which Wes. *Em.* 1 p. 16 approved and Sff. Ml. and Hei. adopt, and this is the reading of V *manu secunda* and may be right. Küh. thinks these conjectures, though elegant, unnecessary, since the gen. can depend upon *quod*, as often, cf. 48, 114 'hoc ei muneris pro sua missione dedisse scribitur'; ii 3, 9 'quod datum est temporis nobis in eo consumpsimus.'

homini...a deo: but *a dea* above, for the reference is more general here, 'to a human by a divine being.' Somewhat similarly in Herod. l.c. *ὁ θεὸς...τὴν θεόν*, 'the deity...the goddess.'

§ **114. Trophonius et Agamedes**: cf. Plut. Cons. ad Apollon. c. 14 p. 109 *περὶ Ἀγαμήδους καὶ Τροφωνίου φησὶ Πίνδαρος, τὸν νεὼν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς οἰκοδομήσαντας, αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μισθόν· τὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγείλασθαι εἰς ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἀποδώσειν...τοὺς δὲ...τῇ ἑβδόμῃ νυκτὶ κατακοιμηθέντας τελευτῆσαι.* Stobaeus also, cxix p. 603, has *τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ*.

Apollini...templum: cf. Homer, Hymn to Apollo l. 296.

exaedificauissent: here and in *petiuerunt*, and often, the uncontracted forms are supported by the MSS.

operis et laboris sui, nihil certi, sed quod esset optimum homini. quibus Apollo se id daturum ostendit post eius diei diem tertium; qui ut inluxit, mortui sunt reperti. iudicauisse deum dicunt, et eum quidem deum, cui reliqui di concessissent, ut praeter ceteros diuinaret.

XLVIII. Adfertur etiam de Sileno fabella quaedam. qui cum a Mida captus esset, hoc ei muneris pro sua missione dedisse scribitur: docuisse regem non nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori. **115.** qua est sententia in Cresphonte usus Euripides:

Nam nós decebat coétus celebrantís domum

27. dii R V G 1 3 B 1–3 P S E W 2 M 1 2 Π O 1 2 6 7 10. dei W 1. || ceteros R V E B 2 3. caeteros G M 2. cȩteros W 1. XLVIII. 1. adfertur R V G P E. affertur B. afferunt W 1.

§ **115**, 6. celebrantis R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K S E L 1 4 6 W 2 M 1 2 D C J O 2–5 8 9 12. i *in* e *mut.* P.

esset: or. obl.

post eius diei diem tertium: the gen. seems to be on the analogy of *pridie eius diei* (Fam. i 4, 1), *postridie eius diei* (Caes. B.G. *passim*). Cf. Madv. 230 obs. 1.

tertium: Dav. suspects that *septimum* may have been the original reading; cf. Plut. and Stob. quoted above. He adds 'certe notae numerales VII et III...non difficulter a librariis queunt confundi.'

reperti: but § 113 'mane inuentos esse mortuos.' Küh. refers the difference here, and in iii 10, 23, to desire to vary the mode of expression, and he goes on to state the usual distinction between *inuenire*, 'to come upon' (*casu uel fortuito*) and *reperire*, 'to discover,' with implication of design and search. It might possibly seem over-refinement to most readers were I to suggest that in the case of Cleobis and Biton no such event was expected, as no date or indication had been given, while in that of Tr. and Agamedes, a day having been specified, expectation would be on the alert.

iudicauisse, 'they assert that the god (hereby) gave a definite decision' sc. *mortem optimum esse homini.*

praeter ceteros = *ceterorum maxime.* Mo. notes that this phrase never means 'to the exclusion of the rest.'

diuinaret: sc. *atque ita sciret quid homini optimum esset.*

XLVIII. **Silenus**: this instructor and companion of Bacchus was represented to have been taken captive by Midas and to have given for his release the information stated in the text. In Herod. i 138 a version of the legend is referred to, localising the capture in Macedonia. Other versions placed the scene elsewhere, cf. Stein on Herod. l.c. For another attempt to capture Silenus cf. Virg. Ecl. vi 13 foll.

non nasci...: for the view Dav. compares Theognis 425 sqq.

πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου·
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας 'Αΐδαο περῆσαι
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον.

Alex. com. 3 p. 447

τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν κράτιστόν ἐστ' ἀεί,
ἐπὰν γένηται δ', ὡς τάχιστ' ἔχειν τέλος.

Compare also Bacchyl. v 160–1 (Blass)

θνατοῖσι μὴ φῦναι φέριστον,
μηδ' ἀελίου προσιδεῖν
φέγγος.

Soph. O.C. 1224 sqq.

μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον· τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ,
βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθενπερ ἥκει πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα.

Also Eurip. frag. 900, Dind. ed. 1869, from Clem. Alex. Str. 3 p. 520

τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι κρεῖσσον ἢ φῦναι βροτοῖς.

§ **115. in Cresphonte**: the fragment is preserved in Sext. Empir. p. 175, 17

ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους
τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά,
τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον
χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

For other references see Dindorf. fr. 452. [Also Otto in *Archiv* V p. 376.]

coetus celebrantis, 'when we assemble together,' cf. *σύλλογον ποιουμένους*

Lugére, ubi esset áliquis in lucem éditus,
Humánae uitae uária reputantís mala;
At quí labores mórte finissét grauis,
Hunc ómni amicos laúde et laetitia éxsequi.

simile quiddam est in Consolatione Crantoris; ait enim Terinaeum quendam Elysium, cum grauiter filii mortem maereret, uenisse in psychomantium quaerentem, quae fuisset tantae calamitatis causa; huic in tabellis tris huius modi uersiculos datos:

Ignaris homines in uita mentibus errant;
Euthynous potitur fatorum numine leto.
Sic fuit utilius finiri ipsique tibique.

116. his et talibus auctoribus usi confirmant causam rebus a dis

8. reputantis R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E W 2 M 1 2 D C J O 2 4 5 8 12. 9. grauis R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1 3 K L M 2 D C J O 2 5 8 12. i *in* e *mut.* P. graues E B 2. 10. omnes R V G S B 3 O 2–4 8. omẽs amico B 2 J. oẽs Π. omẽs O 5. oms B K P E L W 1 R 2 D. 11. terinaneum R G B 1–3 K E W 2 M 1 2 C J. terinanęum P. theinaneum (r *superscr.*) S. tire neū V (ire *multa in litura*). conterraneū W 1. 12. helysium R. helysium G P. helisium W 1 2 M 1 2 B 2 3. elisium B C. elisium S *litt. ante* e *erasa.* elysium K E O 2. ‖ męreret B S. maeret G. maer& (re *superscr.*) R *al. atr. superscr.* męret (re) V *al. atr. superscr.* meret (re) K *et* P *al. atr. superscr.* morẽt W 2. meret B 2. 13. sichomantium R V G B 1–3 K P S M 1 2. sycomātiū W 2. 14. tris R V G B K P S E W 2 M 1 2. 17. numine R V G 1 3 B K P 1 4 S E W 1 2 C Π J O 1 3 4 8 10 11. munere M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 2 5–7 9 12. lumine L. minime D. ‖ laeto R V G P W 1 M 2. lęto B S L G 3 O 10. loeto K. leto E 1 2 W 2 G 4 B 2 P 4 D C Π J O 1–5 8.

§ **116**, 19. a diis inmortalibus K.

above. Dav. compares Herod. vii 8, viii 83 *σύλλογον ποιέειν*· Virg. Aen. i 739 'coetum...celebrate frequentes'; cf. § 117 below 'celebrent funera.'

omni: Davies' emendation for *omnes* of the MSS, which the metre rejects. Cf. Livy x 29, 20 'funus omni honore... celebrat.'

exsequi: lit. 'to follow out,' sc. *eum qui efferebatur*. See Turnebus in Mo. and cf. *exsequiae*.

in Consolatione Crantoris: cf. 26, 65 n. Crantor, born at Soli, in Cilicia, was an Academic philosopher, pupil of Xenocrates, and friend of Polemo. His work *περὶ Πένθους*, addressed to his friend Hippocles to console him on the death of his son, is the work here referred to. Cf. Diog. L. iv 24—27.

Terinaeum: from Terina in Bruttii, on the Gulf of S. Eufemia.

psychomantium: cf. 16, 37 n.

uersiculos: the lines are thus given in Greek in Plut. Cons. ad Apollon. p. 109

ἦπου, νήπιε Ἠλύσι', ἠλίθιοι φρένες ἀνδρῶν.
Εὐθύνοος κεῖται μοιριδίῳ θανάτῳ,
οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ζώειν καλὸν αὐτῷ οὔτε γονεῦσιν.

potitur: here with ĭ as in Aen. iii 56 'ui potitur.' In prose ī.

numine: cf. *μοιριδίῳ θανάτῳ* above.

finiri = *mori*, cf. Tac. Ann. vi 50 *ad fin.* 'sic Tiberius finiuit'; Val. M. ix 12, 4 'sed atrocius aliquanto Euripides finitus est'; Plin. Ep. i 12, 2 'qui morbo finiuntur.'

§ **116**. **confirmant**, 'they maintain,' *ἰσχυρίζονται*, cf. Caes. B. G. v 27, 10 'iure iurando confirmare tutum iter per fines suos daturum'; this meaning is more suitable here than 'they establish their contention,' for which meaning cf. Or. ii 19, 80 'confirmare nostra argumentis...contraria refutare.'

inmortalibus iudicatam. Alcidamas quidem, rhetor antiquus in primis nobilis, scripsit etiam laudationem mortis, quae constat ex enumeratione humanorum malorum. cui rationes eae, quae exquisitius a philosophis colliguntur, defuerunt, ubertas orationis non defuit. clarae uero mortes pro patria oppetitae non solum gloriosae rhetoribus, sed etiam beatae uideri solent. repetunt ab Erechtheo, cuius etiam filiae cupide mortem expetiuerunt pro

20. alchidam$\overset{a}{\text{u}}$s V *alio atr. superscr.* alchidamus R G 1–3 B 1–3 K P 1 4 L 1 4 W 2 M 2 E 7 J O 1 3 6 8 9. achidamus O 7. alcidamus W 1 M 1 G 4 R 6 O 2 10 12. alchidamis E. alchidanus D. alchidams C. alchimadus S *marg.* alchidamus. alchimadus E 2 Π. alchimadusq3 R. ‖ quidem R 1 2 V G 1 3 4 B 1 2 K E 1 7 L 1 4 P 4 D C O 7 8. quidā S *ex* quidē *mutatum.* quidem P *ex* quidam *mut.* quidam G 2 B 3 O 1–6 9–12. ‖ $\overset{h}{\text{r}}$&or R. $\overset{h}{\text{r}}$ethor S. rhethor G. r&hor V. rethor B 1 2 K. 21. constet R V G 1 2 P B 1–3 K S E L M 2 Π O 1 3–9 12. constat W 1 2 G 3 D O 2 10 11. 22. rationis R 1 2 16 B L W 2 G 2 3 J O 1 8 11 12. rationes K E B 2. 23. orationis W 1 R 6 G 4 B 3 L 4 D C O 2–6 9 10. °rationis V P Π *al. atr. superscr.* rationis K. 24. mortes B. mortis R E B 2 Π. mort$\overset{e}{\text{i}}$s V S *alio atram. superscr.* 25. rhetoribus S. rethoribus V B. $\overset{h}{\text{r}}$&oribus R. 26. erechtheo O 1 6 10. erchtheo O 2. erectheo R V G S L 1 6. erectheo O 1 6 10. erchtheo O 2. erectheo R V G S L 1 6. er&theo K. erectheo *an* eretheo *incertum* P. ereththeo M 1. erecteo B. erictheo G 3 O 8. erietheo G 4. ericieo D C. eretheo W 2 M 2 B 2 3 E 2 J O 5. heretheo O 7. herethet G 2. eritheo W 1. eritheo O 12. ethiceo O 11. euriteo O 3. eureteo O 4. ‖ cupide V (*plane*) B 1–3 K P 1 4 E W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 G 3 L 4 D C Π J O 1 3–9 11. cupidae R 1 2 G O 2. cupidę S O 12. cupiditate O 10.

causam: sc. *mortem homini summum bonum esse.* Kühn.

rebus, 'by facts,' 'by their actions'; *rebus* was unnecessarily suspected by Lamb. (whom Bai. and Wes. *Em.* 1 p. 6 followed) to have arisen out of *-ribus*, in *auctoribus*, repeated. Since *auctores*, *causa*, and *iudicare* have a legal application, the presence of *rebus* serves to point the metaphor as well as to lend emphasis. The use scarcely needs illustration—cf. Ov. Fast. ii 734 'non opus est uerbis: credite rebus, ait.' Schiche reads *re et uerbis*.

Alcidamas: of Elaea in Aeolis in Asia Minor, pupil of Gorgias, flourished about 400 B.C.

quidem: this, the true reading, restored by Dav. on Bentley's conjecture, is actually found in all the best MSS except P[1]. Vulg. *quidam*. For *quidem* introducing confirmatory and illustrative examples cf. 22, 51 'Dicaearchus quidem'; 33, 80 'Aristoteles quidem'; 34, 84 'Callimachi quidem'; etc.

exquisitius, 'deeper arguments'; cf. Fin. i 9, 30 'quorum nihil oportere exquisitis rationibus confirmare.'

defuerunt...non defuit: 'where two contrasted clauses have the same verb in common, if the second clause is negatived it either contains the verb repeated or *item* is added to the negative *non*, without the insertion of an adversative conjunction (*sed*),' cf. 14, 31 'seret...non seret...'; ii 14, 34 'possunt...non poterunt...'; iv 14, 31 'corporum...accidere possunt, animorum non item.' Kühn. on iii 5, 11 'cadere possit, non possit.'

mortes, 'instances of death.'

For patriotic self-devotions see Mayor on Juv. viii 257.

repetunt ab Erechtheo, 'they go back to Erechtheus,' i.e. to the primitive times, not to the case, of Erechtheus, for the case is the case of his daughters. Cf. Or. i 20, 91 'cum repeteret usque a Corace'; Diu. i 1, 2 'ut ab ultimis auctoritatem repetam.'

Erechtheo: Cic. refers to Erechtheus and his daughters N. D. iii 19, 49–50; Fin. v 22, 62; p. Sest. 21, 48. Erechtheus, King of Athens, at war with Eumolpus of Eleusis, was promised victory by an oracle if he should sacrifice one of his daughters. He offered his youngest daughter Agraulos, whereupon her sisters Pandrosos and Herse slew them-

uita ciuium; Codrum <commemorant>, qui se in medios inmisit hostis ueste famulari, ne posset adgnosci, si esset ornatu regio, quod oraculum erat datum, si rex interfectus esset, uictricis Athenas fore. Menoeceus non praetermittitur, qui item oraculo

27. inmisit V G. 28. hostis V G B 1–3 P R 6 G 3 O 2 5. || famulari indutu/ ne posset V *manu antiqua superscr.* || a gnosci V *una littera erasa.* 29. sic si rex V (ic *in rasura*). || uictricis R V B 1–3 W 2 M 2 G 3 C O 3 4 9. 30. menoeceus non V B 1 2 E L W 2 M 1 2 D J O 1 6 7 10 12. menoęceus non R. menęceū ñ K. meneceus non G 2 3 B 3 O 2–5 8 9. menoeceus uero non R 6 G 4 O 11. miceneus uero non W 1. || qui item oraculo V *at item multa in litura.* quideoraculo P. qdēoraculo K. qui de oraculo L O 11. quidē oraculo S E R 2 10. qui deioraculo R 4. qui dei oraclo O 7. quidem oraculo R 1 2 G 1 3 4 B 1 2 E 7 O 1. qui denique oraculo O 3 4 12. qui ∞∞ oraculo O 10. qui oraculo W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 7 G 2 B 3 E 2 L 4 6 D C II J O 2 5 6 8 9.

selves, as the three had made a vow to die together. Cf. Aristides, Panath. i p. 191 ed. Dind.; Apollodorus Biblioth. iii 15, 4 ed. Herscher.

For the antiquity of the Erechtheus-legend, and the various allusions to it in Gk Lit., see Grote's Hist. of Greece vol. I c. 11.

etiam filiae: Mo. compares p. Sest. 21, 48 'mortem quam etiam uirgines Athenis, regis, opinor, Erechthei filiae, pro patria contempsisse dicuntur.'

mortem expetiuerunt: the conj. *oppetiuerunt*, characteristic of Bentley's less happy style, is well refuted by Bouh. 'Conspirat scilicet *cupide* melius cum uerbo *expetiuerunt*. neque fuit necesse uerbo proprio id significare quod ex tota loci serie satis intellegitur, Erechthei filias mortem obiisse: neque uoluit Cic. de morte illarum, sed de alacritate moriendi, admonere.'

Codrum: Küh. supplies *laudant*, *commemorant* 'quod facile ex antecedenti *repetunt* elici potest,' but this seems anything but *facile*. Mo. takes a similar view 'anacolouthon esse equidem cum Or. dixerim.' Dav. reads and punctuates 'repetunt ab Erechtheo (cuius...ciuium) Codrum: qui se in medios...' but Mo. objects that Dav. would thus (unintentionally no doubt) make Codrus a contemporary of Erechtheus 'although he lived three hundred years later.' TS. on the authority of Morstadt *Rh. Mus.* XVII p. 475 brackets 'Codrum...Athenas fore.' Morstadt objects to this clause that it interrupts the historical order and that it lacks its proper verb and is somewhat long, having subordinate clauses, whereas the other parallel clauses are brief and each has its proper verb—*repetunt*, *non praetermittitur*, *iubet*. Erechtheus is ante-Homeric: Homer Il. ii 546 calls the Athenians δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος. Codrus, the last king of Athens, belongs to a period later than the return of the Heracleidae. Mähly (*Philol.* XXIII p. 676) contended that if this clause were cut out the following words *qui item oraculo edito largitus est patriae suum sanguinem* would have nothing to which to refer. But (though not mentioned in the text) there was an oracle as well as self-sacrifice in the legend of the daughters of Erechtheus.

Sff. reads *et Codro*: *et* might fall out before *c* as he says, but the instance (*iuste cum fide* for *iuste et cum fide* § 98) with which he supports his view is badly chosen, as the preceding *e* probably had more to do with the omission there than the following *c*. A good sense is obtained from Sff.'s emend. *repetunt ab Erechtheo,...et Codro.... Menoeceus non praet..., Iph...iubens.... ueniunt inde ad propiora.*

Against cutting out the passage it may be further noted that in the similar passages in Fin. v 22, 62 and N.D. iii 19, 50 Cic. takes the case of Codrus in immediate connexion with that of Erechtheus.

An anacolouthon within such short compass, where the verb to be supplied has little in common in meaning with the verb from which it is to be supplied, seems impossible. That an early copyist should have forgotten to write down the word *commemorant* (or some similar verb) after *Codrum* is much more conceivable. Hei. inserts *commemorant* after *Codrum*.

si esset ornatu regio: compressed for *id quod poterat fieri* (or *id quod factum esset*) *si esset ornatu regio.*

ornatu regio: abl. of accompanying

edito largitus est patriae suum sanguinem. Iphigenia Aulide duci se inmolandam iubet, ut hostium eliciatur suo. ueniunt inde ad propiora.

XLIX. Harmodius in ore est et Aristogiton; Lacedaemonius Leonidas, Thebanus Epaminondas uiget. nostros non norunt, quos enumerare magnum est; ita sunt multi, quibus

32. ut hostium eliciatur suo *habent*, sanguis *non habent* R 1 2 16 G 1 3 Gr B 1 2 E 13 W 1 P 4 D C J O 7 11. sanguis *superscr. habent* V (*manu antiqua*) P Π; *in margine scriptum habent* W 2 E 2; sandguis *ut uid. superscr. habet* K; sanguis *in contextu habent* M 1 2 R 6 G 2 B 3 E 3 5 7 8 10 L 4 O 1–6 8 10 12. sanguinem eliciat L. ut hostium sanguine eliciatur suo O 9. 33. propiora B 1 3 K E W 1 D Π O 2. propriora R V G P B 2 O 3 8. pp̄ora S. ppiora W 2. XLIX. 1. est *post* ore *non habent* R 1 6 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P 1 4 S E L W 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1–12 ed. H. est in ore W 1. 2. uiget R 1 16 V G 1 3 4 B 1 2 K P 1 4 E 1 2 7 L O 1 3 4 8–10. uigēt S *at linea al. atr. superscr.* uigēt W 2 G 2 B 3 E 3 L 4 Π. uigent W 1 M 1 2 R 6 D C J O 2 5–7 11 12. 3. magnum est R V G B K P S E L O 1–12 *plerique.* longum est W 1 D C G 4.

circumstances, cf. 5, 10 n. 'maxima corona.'

Menoeceus: Tiresias had promised victory to the Thebans if Menoeceus, the son of Creon, should devote himself to Ares. Menoeceus accordingly slew himself in front of one of the city gates. The legend belongs to the story of the Seven against Thebes. Cf. Apollod. iii 6, 7 § 7 quoted by Mayor on Juv. xiv 240, and other reff. cited there. *uero* read by the vulg. after *Menoeceus* is absent from most MSS.

qui item: this reading, introduced by Dav. as an emendation, is found in V by correction. It has been generally accepted and is probably right. Mo. reads 'qui oraculo.' *qui deorum oraculo* may occur to some one as a probable conjecture, and *qui deo4 oraculo* would very easily be corrupted by haplography into *quideoraculo*; but *deorum* would bear an unnatural emphasis since *oraculum* without *deorum* has just preceded. *item* on the other hand refers naturally back to *oraculo*, and the corruption from *qui item* to *quitem*, which being meaningless would be changed into *quidem*, would be one of the most usual kind.

Aulide, 'in Aulis'; abl. of place where.

duci se...: cf. Eur. Iph. Aul. 1475 sqq. ἄγετέ με τὰν Ἰλίου καὶ Φρυγῶν ἑλέπτολιν, but Ribbeck, *Scaen. Rom. Poesis Frag.* I p. 43 (2nd edn), with more probability refers the words in the text to Ennius' Iphigenia.

iubet: Sff. alters to *iubens* putting a comma only before *Iphigenia*—a slight change; but the constr. resulting is harsh, and in finding the finite verb *iubet* 'uitiosissimum' his objection can only be that it introduces a new subject *Iphigenia*, while *rhetores* is the subj. before and after. Against such an objection it may be pointed out that a change has begun in *praetermittitur* though *rhetores* is still virtually the subject of the action; this change is only carried a little further in *Iphigenia...iubet*, for this is equivalent to *Iphigeniam iubentem proferunt*. Somewhat similar is Juv. vii 151 'cum perimit saeuos classis numerosa tyrannos.'

ut hostium: sc. *sanguis* which, though read by the vulgate, is absent from the best MSS, and cannot, *pace Kühneri*, be supplied from *sanguinem* of the previous sentence. But may not *sanguis* have formed part of the unquoted context of the extract?

XLIX. **in ore est**: sc. *rhetoribus*, implied in *ueniunt*. *est* (ē) fell out between *e* in *ore* and *e* in *et* and was restored by Rath; it has since been found in W 1 before *in ore*.

uiget: vulg. *uigent*. The sing., dealing with each name separately (Küh.), is more appropriate here. For the meaning ('is celebrated') cf. Or. iii 28, 110 'Philonem, quem in Academia uigere audio.'

non norunt: subject *rhetores*.

magnum est: for the indic., which is always used in this and similar expressions, cf. Madv. § 348 obs. 1. The subj. is only used when an expression of

uidemus optabilis mortes fuisse cum gloria. **117.** quae cum ita sint, magna tamen eloquentia est utendum atque ita uelut superiore e loco contionandum, ut homines mortem uel optare incipiant uel certe timere desistant. nam si supremus ille dies non exstinctionem, sed commutationem adfert loci, quid optabilius? sin autem perimit ac delet omnino, quid melius quam in mediis uitae laboribus obdormiscere et ita coniuentem somno

4. optabilis R G B M 2. obtabilis V. i *in* e *mut.* P.
§ **117**, 6. superiore e *ante* loco R 1 6 V G B 1 3 K P 1 4 E 1 2 L W 2 M 1 2 Π J O 5 7 8 10 11. superiore ex B 2. ^e^superiore S. e superiore D C O 6. ex superiore W 1 O 3 4 12. superiore ÷ (*i.e.* est) G 3. superiore R 2 16 L 4 O 2 9. superiori O 1. || concionandum V. 9. peremit V G E B 2. per(i)emit R. perimit B 1 3 K P L W 2 M 1 2 G 3 D O 4 5 8. 10. coniuentem B 1 2 E 1 7 G 3 P 4 D C. coniuentum R 2. coni(u)~~bu~~entem R. conibentem V. conhibentem G. coniuentem P *at* u *ex* b *mut.* conibente L. (coniuentē) c̄ibentē K. conniuentem R 6. cōniuentem W 1 M 1 2 L 4 J O 1 2 5 6 8 11. ɔniuentem E 9. conuiuentem E 2 B 3. *omittunt* O 3 4. conuenientem W 2 G 2. conuenienter G 4 O 9 ed. H. *et* (*in marg.*) O 12. coniuētium E 13. cōuiēdū R 16. cumbentem O 7. oculos claudentem O 10.

this kind *depends upon a mental conception*, e.g. ii 5, 14 'magis esset pudendum si in sententia permaneres.'

optabilis: *optare*, though more common in the sense of 'to wish,' meant originally 'to choose.' Mo. compares p. Rosc. Am. ii 30 'hanc condicionem misero ferunt, ut optet, utrum malit....' Cf. *optimus*.

cum gloria: editors generally take these words attributively with *mortes* = *gloriosas*. For this use cf. 22, 51 n. on 'animum sine corpore.' But it seems to me that here the words are not merely attributive but mark the *condition* on which death was in their eyes worthy of choice. *cum gloria* here may be compared with *sine doctrina* of 21, 48, the meaning being *mors eis optabilis uidebatur accedente gloria*.

§ **117. quae cum ita sint**: for *cum* = 'although' cf. 17, 39 n.

quae: the plural in view of the number of examples cited. Kl.

atque ita, 'and so,' i.e. *si magna eloquentia utare*. So Küh., who compares a little lower down *et ita coniuentem*. Wes. *Em.* 1 p. 5 *prob.* Bai., referring *ita* to the following *ut*, held that it should be struck out.

superiore e loco: this phrase was used of the well-weighed opinions of a judge, delivered from the bench, as contrasted with less deliberate opinions, delivered elsewhere (*de plano*), cf. Munro on Lucr. i 411; Cic. Verr. ii 2, 42, 102 'primum ipse in Sicilia saepe et palam de loco superiore dixerat...'; Fam. iii 8, 2 'et ex superiore et ex aequo loco.' The phrase was also used of speaking from any eminence, e.g. from the rostra, cf. Verr. ii 1, 5, 14; and so the idea here is that impassioned and authoritative exhortation (not logical argument) is required to produce this effect. Cf. our expression 'six feet above contradiction.'

non exstinctionem: Sff. thought *nostri* (*n̄ri*) necessary after *non* to prevent *loci* from seeming to apply to *exstinctionem* as well as to *commutationem* and to avoid the absolute use of *perimit* and *delet*. But the idea of taking *exstinctionem* with *loci* is too absurd to puzzle any reader; *perimit* and *delet* give good sense if taken absolutely; and an object is suggested by the context (*hominem* or *unumquemque*, since *supremus ille dies* applies to all mankind) and this object is the subject of *obdormiscere*; and, whereas *nostri* would require this object to be *nos*, *coniuentem* shews that it is not so.

coniuentem, 'closing one's eyes.' For this use of the participle to denote a person whose existence is only assumed to state a thing in general terms cf. 38, 91 'licet etiam mortalem esse animum iudicantem aeterna moliri' and exx. there quoted.

consopiri sempiterno? quod si fiat, melior Enni quam Solonis oratio. hic enim noster:

Nemo me lacrimis decoret, inquit, nec funera fletu
Faxit!

at uero ille sapiens:

Mors mea ne careat lacrimis; linquamus amicis
Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

118. nos uero, si quid tale acciderit, ut a deo denuntiatum uideatur ut exeamus e uita, laeti et agentes gratias pareamus emittique nos e custodia et leuari uinclis arbitremur, ut aut in aeternam et plane [in] nostram domum remigremus aut omni

11. enni V G K. enni7 P *7 al. atr. add.* ennii R B S E W 1 2 M 1 2 *alii multi.* 13. lacrimis R V G B 1 2 K P M 2. lac̄mis S W 2. lacrymis W 1. ‖ nec funera fletu faxit R 1 2 6 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P E 1 5 8 L W 2 D C Π J O 1–5 8–10. nec‸ funera ~~fletu~~ faxit S, *marg.* fletu (*i.e* fletu *ante* funera *ponendum esse*). nec fletu funera faxit O 1 2 6. ne funera fleri fas sit O 7. 15. at uero ille sapiens R 1 2 V G 1–4 B 1–3 P 1 4 S E L 1 4 W 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1 3–10. *clausulam omisit* O 11. at uero sapiens ille R 6 O 2 12. at uir ille sapiens W 1. 16. nemo careat lacrimis O 11 *cet. om.* 17. mȩrorem V S B 1–3 E. merorem G. moer orem P *litura post* oer. memorem (r *supra* m) R.
§ **118**, 21. plene in nostram R 1 2 G 1–3 B 1 2 K S E 1 2 L P 4 D C Π J O 1 5 8 11 12. plene (a *supra* e) in nostram V P. plene (l'pla *supra*) in nostram B 3. plane in nostram W 1 M 1 R 4 6 E 7 O 2–4 6 9 10. paene in nostram M 2. plenam nostram O 7.

quod si fiat: i.e. if one or other of these alternatives holds. In Cato M. he gives these two alternatives (19, 66), the former in a more limited form, and declares that there is no *tertium* to them.

melior Enni quam Solonis oratio: in Cato M. 20, 73 Cic. draws the same contrast between these two views of Ennius and Solon, but there he states what was, no doubt, Solon's real motive, *uolt, credo, se esse carum suis*, whereas here the suggestion is that Solon wished his friends to mourn his death *as an evil in itself*.

hic.. ille: *hic* not the nearer in order of mention, but the nearer in respect of time and national connexion, cf. ii 21, 49.

nemo me lacrimis...: cf. 15, 34.

sapiens: not substantival but = 'the other, sage though he was.'

mors mea...: the Greek original is found in Plut. compar. Solonis c. Poplicola c. 1

μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς·

and in Stobaeus Serm. 121 p. 612, but with καλλείποιμι θανὼν in the second line, a version which Cic. seems to have followed, as Dav. suggests.

§ **118. nos uero, si quid tale**...: cf. Plato Phaed. c. 66 p. 117 e καὶ γὰρ ἀκήκοα, ὅτι ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χρὴ τελευτᾶν· Eurip. Kresphontes χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας cited on § 115 above. The precept is attributed to Pythagoras, cf. Iamblich. life of Pythag. 35, § 257 κατὰ τὸν ὕστατον καιρὸν παρήγγελλε μὴ βλασφημεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγωγαῖς οἰωνίζεσθαι μετὰ τῆς εὐφημίας.

acciderit ut...ut...: for the *ut*-clause depending upon an *ut*-clause cf. Lael. 17, 61.

ut a deo denuntiatum uideatur...: for the thought cf. 30, 74 'uetat enim' and exx. quoted there.

emittique...uinclis: cf. Plat. Phaed. c. 12 p. 67 d ψυχὴν...ἐκλυομένην ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος.

plane nostram: the MSS have *plene* or *plane in nostram*. Schütz struck out *in*, rightly as Mo. thought, though the latter retained the word owing to the consensus of the MSS. Küh. notes '*in* maxime offendit; nam uerba *aeterna et plane nostra domus* significant *unam* domum. quare Wes. 1 p. 6, cui Bait. aliique

sensu molestiaque careamus; sin autem nihil denuntiabitur, eo tamen simus animo, ut horribilem illum diem aliis nobis faustum putemus nihilque in malis ducamus, quod sit uel a dis inmortalibus uel a natura parente omnium constitutum. non enim temere nec fortuito sati et creati sumus, sed profecto fuit quaedam uis, quae generi consuleret humano nec id gigneret aut aleret, quod cum exanclauisset omnis labores, tum incideret in mortis malum sempiternum; portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus. **119.** quo utinam uelis passis peruehi liceat!

23. eum diem R 6. illē diem G 2. diem illum D C. illum diem *ceteri*. 24. diis R V G B 1–3 P E W 1 2 M 1 2. dis S *at fuerat fortasse* dijs. 25. uel a natura V G 1–4 B 1 2 K E W 1 2 R 2 16 P 4 D C II J O 2 3 8 9 12. uel[a]. natura R. 26. nec fuito (ort) V. 28. exanclauisset R 1 2 6 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P E L W 1 2 M 2 J O 2–8 10. exanclauisset S *in marg. alio atram. scripto, incertum an alia manu*: cum *lineam claudit*. exanelauisset D G 2 4 O 9. exanhclauisset C. exanhelauisset O 12. exenclauisset O 1. exclamauisset O 11. exaudiuisset E 8. exantlauisset II *at* a *ante* n *in litura*. || omnes V G. omẽs B 2. oms K. ōis W 2.

§ **119**, 30. pásis V P. pá/is (pansis) K. pansis L D O 3 4. passis E.

assensi sunt, delendum censet, siue ex *-en* natum, siue ex superiore *in* frequentissimo quodam errore repetitum.'

horribilem...aliis nobis faustum: I follow A. Frederking (*Philol.* LX p. 636) in omitting the comma usually inserted after *aliis* and taking *horribilem aliis* as attributive to *illum diem*: 'that day so terrible to others.'

nihilque: *nihil* is more emphatic than *nec quidquam*. Küh. For the force of *-que* cf. 34, 82 n.

uel...uel: i.e. whether we take the popular or a philosophic view of its origin.

nihilque in malis...sempiternum: Hei. compares Cato M. 2, 4 'qui...omnia bona a se ipsis (with J.S.R. ipsi) petunt, eis nihil potest malum uideri, quod naturae necessitas adferat.' Kern (in Küh.) Hei. and TS. think that Cic. here merely takes passing notice of a proof of immortality which he might have developed with advantage, viz., the argument based upon the love and wisdom of the deity.

natura, parente omnium: the union of the ideas of a deity permeating the world and directing all things with special providence (πρόνοια) is especially Stoic. But the germ of the doctrine is older than the Stoics or even Socrates; cf. Eurip. Tro. 886

Ζεὺς εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν.

For *natura sentiens* cf. N.D. ii 30, 75 'omnes res subiectas esse naturae sentienti' and Mayor's note there; Zeller, *Stoics*, etc. c. vi pp. 142–3 and notes (E.T.) For the origin of the identification of the original framer of the universe with nature, which was at first conceived of merely as carrying on the work of the universe, compare the remarks of Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* vol. II, on Anaxagoras especially sec. 2 subsec. 3, pp. 350–4 (E.T.), and Eurip. quoted above.

cum exanclauisset: the *cum* clause depends upon the *incideret* clause, which itself expresses a mental conception; *incideret* is subj. of quality.

exanclauisset: *exanclare* = ἐξαντλεῖν, probably borrowed early from the Greek, as so many words connected with shipping were (e.g. *gubernare*, *aplustre*, *nausea*), cf. Momms. *R.H.* I. p. 206 n. The word is the more altered because taken by ear by uneducated men from uneducated men, not taken from books. The change from *tl* to *cl* is slight, cf. *periculum* (Giles, *Manual* § 390); somewhat similarly *clever*, originally *deliver*. But Reid on Ac. ii 34, 108 thinks *exanclare* a genuine Lat. word. For the metaphor cf. 35, 86 n.

portum: cf. 44, 107 'portum corporis'; Cato M. 19, 71 'ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram uidere uidear aliquandoque in portum ex longa nauigatione esse uenturus.'

sin reflantibus uentis reiciemur, tamen eodem paulo tardius referamur necesse est. quod autem omnibus necesse est, idne miserum esse uni potest? habes epilogum, ne quid praetermissum aut relictum putes.

A. Ego uero, et quidem fecit etiam iste me epilogus firmiorem.

M. Optime, inquam. sed nunc quidem ualetudini tribuamus aliquid, cras autem, et quot dies erimus in Tusculano, agamus haec et ea potissimum, quae leuationem habeant aegritudinum, formidinum, cupiditatum, qui omni e philosophia est fructus uberrimus.

31. sin reflantibus V *at liturae uestigia post* n. sinere flantibus R E 3. sinereflantibus P. sinereflantibus K. sinere flantibus E. sine reflantibus S *marg.* sin aūt. sine reflantibus B 1 2 G 1–3 L R 2 P 4 E 13 D C. sine reflentibus R 16. siue reflantibus E 7. sin reflantibus M 1 2 R 4 7 V 13 B 3 O 2 5–7 9 10 12. sin perflantibus O 3 4. siñ reflantibus W 2. sñ reflantis J. si non reflantibus E 8. si non sine reflantibus Π. si uero (*uel* ŭô) reflantibus E 5 L 4 O 11 ed. H. sin autem reflantibus W 1 G 4 O 1 8. ‖ eadem (o *superscr.*) R. eadem W 2. eodem V P. 35. et quidem V B 13 K P W 1 2 M 2 O 8. et quiidem R. et qui idem G 1 3 E L B 2 D. equidem O 9. 38. et quos dies R 1 2 16 V G 1 3 B K E 1 13 L 1 4 P 4 O 1 7 11 ed. P. et quos dies S *i.e.* quos *in* quot *mut.* *marg.* quot. et quos (l' qt *superscr.*) dies P *al. atr. superscr.* et quot dies W 1 2 M 1 2 R 4 6 7 G 2 4 B 2 3 E 2–5 7 8 D C Π J O 2–6 8–10 12. 40. quiomni philosophiaest R E 2. q (i) omī (ex) philosophia K. qui omni/ philo(so)phiaest V *ſ post* omni *in rasura, deinde spatio relicto.* qui omī (in) philosophia B. qui (i) omni philosophia est S *alia manu superscr.* qui omni philosophia est G 1–4 W 2 R 16 B 2 P 4 L 4 J O 2–4 7 8 12. qui omni philosophia ē E. qui in omni philosophia est L W 1 R 4 E 5 D C O 9 11. qui omni (e) philosophia est Π O 10 *al. ut uid. manu superscr.* qui omni e philosophia est M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 1 5 6. qui omino philosophia est R 2.

§ **119.** **sin**: *sin* regularly refers back to a preceding *si*. But this *si* is often merely *implied* in the preceding words. So here the *utinam* clause='*si* uelis passis in portum nobis paratum peruehi licebit, eo citius eum adsequemur; sin...' Cf. Küh. *Gr.* II § 220, p. 951.

reflantibus: Mo. compares Off. ii 6, 19 'nam et, cum prospero flatu eius (=*fortunae*) utimur, ad exitus peruehimur optatos, et, cum reflauit, adfligimur'; Att. vi 7, 2 'etesiae ualde reflant'; Att. xii 2, 1 'naues delatas Vticam reflatu hoc.'

et quidem: usually ironically expresses divergence from the view of the person addressed. So here M. had disparaged his *epilogus*, as being only inserted to round off the dialogue; A. replied 'Indeed I have (the epilogue), and let me tell you that it has actually served to fortify me,' i.e. it has furthered the main purpose of the dialogue. Cf. Küh. *Gr.* II § 145 p. 606, Draeger *H. S.* II p. 23.

optime, inquam, 'capital, say I.' *inquam* often emphasizes the word which it follows. This use is most common where the emphasized word is repeated.

quot: the best MSS read *et quos dies*. Most MSS of the β group read *quot*, but V has no correction. Mo. and Tr. retain *quos* and Bouh. compares Nep. Milt. 8 'Chersonesi omnes...*quos* habitarat annos perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem.' Editors generally read *quot*, comparing 4, 8 'itaque dierum *quinque* scholas, ut Graeci appellant, in *totidem* libros contuli,' *quot* serving better to denote *continuous* days.

agamus haec: cf. 'id agere' 20, 46 n.

leuationem habeant, 'which tend to lessen.' Cf. Fin. v 10, 27 'dubitationem

non habet' ('does not admit of a doubt'); Verr. ii 3, 9, 23 'tantamque habebat morum similitudo coniunctionem atque concordiam.' For *habere* with abstract nouns with the force of *containing, involving, implying, admitting*, etc. see Nägelsbach, *Stilistik* § 110 p. 299.

habeant: class-subjunctive.

omni e philosophia: it is difficult to decide between this reading and 'omnis philosophiae.' Both readings are almost equally near that of the best MSS. *s* final may have been omitted or *e* may have fallen out after *i*. The latter however is the more common occurrence and the best MSS have *philosophia est* with the two words run together. Also V[1] had evidently some letter after *omni* which was not *s*. [*In philosophia* is possible (*fructus* with *in* Parad. § 47, Lael. 22), and *in* would more readily fall out.]

M. TVLLI CICERONIS

TVSCVLANARVM DISPVTATIONVM

LIBER SECVNDVS.

I. **1.** Neoptolemus quidem apud Ennium philosophari sibi ait necesse esse, sed paucis; nam omnino haud placere. ego autem, Brute, necesse mihi quidem esse arbitror philosophari: nam quid possum, praesertim nihil agens, agere melius? sed non paucis, ut ille. difficile est enim in philosophia pauca esse ei nota, cui non sint aut pleraque aut omnia. nam nec pauca

Verba de tolerando dolore *non habent* R 1 2 16 V B 1 2 K S E 1 5 7 13 L W 1 2 M 1 D C O 1–4 7–9 11 12. *haec aut simile aliquid habent* M 2 E 3 Π J O 5 6 10.

I. § **1**, 2. haut K. 5. enim philosophia R 1 2 G 1 3 B 1 2 E 1 2 W 2 J O 7. enī philosophia K. enim in philosophia V P *alia manu sed antiqua superscr.* S Π *alia manu superscr.* enim in L W 1 M 1 2 G 4 B 3 E 5 O 3–6 8–10. enim est in R 6. enim philosophiae O 2. •N• phię O 12. enim philosophie D C O 11.

I. § **1. apud Ennium**: the passage in Ennius is also referred to in Or. ii 37, 156; Rep. i 18, 30; Gellius v 15, 9. From these passages, Ribbeck, *Scaen. Rom. Poes. Frag.* 1 p. 65 thus restores the line of Ennius (as G. J. Vossius did before him, see Mo.):

'Phílosophari est míhi necesse, at paúcis:
nam omnino haút placet.'

Dav. compares Callicles in Plat. Gorg. 484 e *φιλοσοφία γάρ τοί ἐστι χάριεν ἄν τις αὐτοῦ μετρίως ἅψηται ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ· ἐὰν δὲ περαιτέρω τοῦ δέοντος ἐνδιατρίψῃ, διαφθορὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.* Küh. refers to Tac. Agr. c. 4 *ad fin.* 'memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare, se in prima iuuenta studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris...coercuisset.'

Ribbeck conjectures that the line belongs to the *Andromacha Aechmalotis.* Cf. for the occasion on which the sentiment is supposed to have been expressed Plato Hipp. Mai. 286 b *ἐπειδὴ ἡ Τροία ἥλω λέγει ὁ λόγος ὅτι Νεοπτόλεμος Νέστορα ἔροιτο ποῖά ἐστι καλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἃ ἄν τις ἐπιτηδεύσας νέος ὢν εὐδοκιμώτατος γένοιτο.*

paucis: Roby § 1237; Wilkins on Or. ii 37, 156.

omnino, 'entirely,' cf. i 1, 1.

nihil agens agere melius: i.e. 'in re publica nihil agens,' cf. Diu. ii 2, 6 'cum in armis ciuilibus nec tueri meo more rem publicam nec nihil agere poteram'; also n. on i 1, 1. For a similar oxymoron cf. Off. iii 1, 1 'numquam se minus otiosum esse quam cum otiosus.'

in: this word fell out after *enim* in some early MSS. Cf. i 40, 97 where the converse error occurred. But the word is here present in a large class of MSS.

cui non sint: class subj.; the subject is a mental conception.

nisi e multis eligi possunt nec, qui pauca perceperit, non idem reliqua eodem studio persequetur. **2.** sed tamen in uita occupata atque, ut Neoptolemi tum erat, militari pauca ipsa multum saepe prosunt et ferunt fructus, si non tantos, quanti ex uniuersa philosophia percipi possunt, tamen eos, quibus aliqua ex parte interdum aut cupiditate aut aegritudine aut metu liberemur. uelut ex ea disputatione, quae mihi nuper habita est in Tusculano, magna uidebatur mortis effecta contemptio, quae non minimum ualet ad animum metu liberandum. nam qui id, quod uitari non potest, metuit, is uiuere animo quieto nullo modo potest; sed qui, non modo quia necesse est mori, uerum etiam quia nihil habet mors quod sit horrendum, mortem non timet, magnum is sibi praesidium ad beatam uitam comparat. **3.** quamquam non sumus ignari multos studiose contra esse dicturos; quod uitare nullo modo potuimus, nisi nihil omnino

7. perceperit R 1 2 V G 1 3 B K P S E 1 2 L W 1 M 1 C Π O 1–4 12. preceperit B 3. percepit W 2 M 2 R 6 B 3 J O 6 8 10 11. percipit O 5 7. percipiet O 9.

§ 2, 8. tamen in uita R 1 2 V G B 1–3 K S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1–10 12. in uita tamen R 6 O 11. 10. sed non tantos R 1 6 G 1 3 4 B 1–3 P S E 1 5 L W 1 M 1 2 Π O 1–4 6–12. set G 2 C. ſ9 (=sed) K. ſʒ (=sed) W 2 R 16 D J. ſ; (=sed) R 2 E 1 2 O 5. ſi non tantos V *litura cum spatio post* ſi. 12. liberentur R 1 2 7 8 10 16 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 L 1 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 2–8 10–12. liberantur O 9. libenter O 1. liberemur R 6 L 4. 15. namquijd R. namquid V. nam quid E. 19. comparat G K P. comparabit V (bit *multa in litura; fuerat* comparat). comparat R B S E L *ceteri*.

perceperit: *percepit* could only refer to a definite instance. The fut. perf. is alone possible here.

§ **2. si non tantos**: the MSS and early editions support the reading *sed non tantos*, which cannot however be right as *sed* is irreconcilable with *tamen* below. Mo. thinks the error due to a copyist's attempt to emend, but his theory seems rather far-fetched. s̄ was in the 6th and 7th centuries a symbol for both *sed* and *si*; *sed* was later represented by ſ: and either abbreviation might well give rise to the error. [The confusion of *set* and *si* (*sei*) is found even earlier owing to the similarity of T and I.]

liberemur: this reading is not found in duo Oxx. or in Aug. (*pace Or. et Kuehneri*). To *liberentur*, the reading of MSS generally, Bent. (*not. inedit.*) supplied a subject by suggesting *animi* (*ai̅*) before *aliqua ex parte*, objecting to *liberemur* that Cicero's life was at that time neither *occupata* nor *militaris*. But *liberemur* refers to men generally, not to Cic. particularly, and the difference between the two words in form is extremely slight. See Introd. § 3 subsec. iv c *ad fin.*

uelut: as often, brings in a particular instance. See Lewis and Short, *sub uoce* II B.

ex ea disputatione: the expression is compressed. Hei. compares Brut. 97, 332 'ex te duplex nos adficit sollicitudo.'

mihi: dat. of the agent; for the diff. between this use and that of the abl. with *a* see Küh. here, and Madv. 250 a.

comparat: this reading has been needlessly altered by H. Wolf, Ern. Bai. (*prob. Wes.*) Sff. Hei. and TS. to *comparauit*. Trans. 'he holds a great security for happiness of life.' See i 20, 45 n.

§ **3. uitare nullo modo potuimus**: 'it was not in my power by any means to avoid.' Madv. 348 obs. 1.

scriberemus. etenim si orationes, quas nos multitudinis iudicio probari uolebamus—popularis est enim illa facultas, et effectus eloquentiae est audientium adprobatio—sed si reperiebantur nonnulli, qui nihil laudarent, nisi quod se imitari posse confiderent, quemque sperandi sibi, eundem bene dicendi finem proponerent et, cum obruerentur copia sententiarum atque uerborum, ieiunitatem et famem se malle quam ubertatem et copiam dicerent, unde erat exortum genus Atticorum iis ipsis, qui id sequi se profitebantur, ignotum, qui iam conticuerunt paene ab ipso foro

§ 3, 24. adprobatio G E. approbatio V p *post* a *in litura, fuerat* d. 29. exortum B 1 3 S E 1 2 L W 1 R 2 D C Π O 2 4 5 8 9 12. exortū W 2 J. exortūs V. exortus R G B 2. exorτ⁹ K (*-cum* ⁹ *confuso*). ‖ his ipsis R V G B 1–3 M 1 J O 1 9–11. hiis O 5. his qui S *marg.* ijs ipsis. iis ipsis E L W 1 2 M 2. is ipsis O 7. ‖ qui id S. quid G (i *superscr.*). quid id E (d *deleted*). quid L d *leuiter inpresso et alia ut uid. manu.* 30. conticuerant R G 1–3 B 1 2 S E 1 2 L W 1 2 D C Π J O 1 2 7–9 12. coticuerunt V. continuerunt O 11. *caret* O 6 *pagina amissa.* conticuere M 1 2 B 3 O 3–5 10. ‖ poene V.

etenim si orationes: the construction should strictly have run somewhat as follows: *etenim si orationes ... nonnulli reprehenderunt...quid futurum putamus cum adiutore populo, quo utebamur antea, nunc minime nos uti posse uideamus?* but the intervention of a parenthesis has, as often, resulted in an anacolouthon, cf. i 13, 30 n.

effectus eloquentiae: well explained by Hei. as 'id quod efficit eloquentia' and therefore 'id quod efficere studet e.' 'the aim of eloquence.' The verbal has, in fact, a conative force, as the pres. and imperf. tenses often have.

sed: often like *igitur* (i 13, 30 n.) resumes after an interruption; Madv. § 480; Draeger *H. S.* § 333, 5.

laudarent, confiderent: class subjunctives.

imitari = *imitando consequi.* Cf. i 25, 63; Or. 7, 24 'nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum se posse sperat imitari.'

quemque sperandi ... proponerent, 'and regarded the highest eminence within their hopes as the highest attainable in oratory.'

finem = *extremum, ultimum, summum*, cf. Fin. iii 7, 26 and the title of the work *de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum.* For Cicero's critics and for his style see Sandys, Introd. to Orator lx–lxi; and Quintil. xii 1, 22; xii 10, 12–15; Tac. Dial. d. Orat. 18.

obruerentur, 'were oppressed,' 'overwhelmed,' cf. Verr. ii 1, 7, 20 'criminibus obrutus atque oppressus.'

sententiarum, 'thoughts,' cf. Or. 24, 80 'acutae crebraeque sententiae ponentur.'

unde: i.e. from this seeking after *ieiunitatem et famem.*

genus Atticorum: three styles were distinguished in Greek oratory: the ἁδρόν or ὑψηλόν, the ἰσχνόν and the μέσον γένος: the grand, the plain, and the intermediate styles; or the Asiatic, the Attic, and the Rhodian styles (cf. Brut. 13, 51). For the characteristics of these three styles cf. Or. cc. 5–6, §§ 20–21, and for the origin of the division and full notes on all points see Sandys there. For the Roman Atticists see Sandys, Introd. to the same work, pp. xliv–xlviii.

iis ipsis: the best MSS have *his*, but the deictic pronoun cannot be right here, where no persons have been mentioned, and this is a point upon which the evidence of the MSS is of very little value, cf. i 3, 5 n.

iis ipsis...ignotum: cf. Brut. 82, 284; Quintil. xii 10, 16 foll.

[**qui...id.** The matter of this section is not easy. I strongly suspect that *qui id* is an error for *quos.* The new style of *Attici* was unknown to the Attics themselves whom these new men professed to follow. With the MS reading it is hard to assign a satisfactory sense to *id.*]

ab...foro: by the *people* there, cf. i 44, 106 n. on *theatris.* They are derided by the *corona*, cf. Brut. 84, 289 quoted on i 5, 10.

inrisi: quid futurum putamus, cum adiutore populo, quo utebamur antea, nunc minime nos uti posse uideamus? **4** est enim philosophia paucis contenta iudicibus, multitudinem consulto ipsa fugiens eique ipsi et suspecta et inuisa, ut, uel si quis uniuersam uelit uituperare, secundo id populo facere possit, uel si in eam, quam nos maxime sequimur, conetur inuadere, magna habere possit auxilia a reliquorum philosophorum disciplinis.

II. Nos autem uniuersae philosophiae uituperatoribus respondimus in Hortensio, pro Academia autem quae dicenda essent, satis accurate in Academicis quattuor libris explicata arbitramur; sed tamen tantum abest, ut scribi contra nos nolimus, ut id etiam maxime optemus. in ipsa enim Graecia philosophia tanto in honore numquam fuisset, nisi doctissimorum

31. inrisi R V G B 1 2 E L. irrisi S W 1 2 M 2 D.
§ 4, 37. auxilia reliquorum R 1 2 6 8 10 16 G 1–3 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 L M 2 II O 1–5 7–10 12. consilia reliquorum W 2 J. *caret* O 6. auxilia [e]reliquorum V *manu corr. antiqui superscr.* auxilia e reliquorum D C. auxilia[a] reliquorum W 1 *al. ut uid. atram. superscr.* auxilia a reliquorum O 11. II. 2. achademia R V G B 1 2 S E W 1 2 *et infra* achademicis. 3. quattuor R V B E L W 1 M 2. quat[t]uor S *alia manu superscr.* iiii[or] W 2. quatuor *h.l.* G. 5. obtemus V. 6. numquam R V G E L.

cum: causal, 'seeing that.'

§ **4.** **est...fugiens** = *fugere solet*, but Cic. would scarcely have used this construction if the clause *est...contenta* had not preceded. Mo. compares Diu. i 25, 52 'est apud Platonem Socrates...dicens'; de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 3, 7 'adpetentes gloriae...fuistis.'

ipsa, 'on her part,' as contrasted with the attitude of the multitude *qui eam suspiciunt eique inuident*.

uniuersam: philosophy as a whole, as contrasted with one of its sub-divisions *eam, quam nos maxime sequimur*, i.e. the Academic school, cf. § 5 'nos qui sequimur probabilia.' For Cicero's philosophical opinions see Reid's Academics Introd. § 2, pp. 10—19.

secundo...populo = *adiutore populo*, cf. Att. i 19, 4 'secunda contionis uoluntate'; Q. Fr. ii 1, 3 'multis et secundis admurmurationibus cuncti senatus'; de Leg. Agr. ii 37, 101 'quis enim umquam tam secunda contione legem agrariam suasit, quam ego dissuasi?' Hor. Epp. i 10, 9 'rumore secundo,' where see Orelli's n.

auxilia a: *a*, omitted by the best MSS owing no doubt to the preceding *-a*, was restored by Turnebus and Lamb. Bent. *not. inedit.* conj. *disciplinas*. *a* is read by W_1 (*manu secunda*) and O_{11}. *e*, which could fall out almost as easily after a preceding *-a*, is read by V^2 DC, and may be right.

II. **in Hortensio**: this dialogue, composed between the middle of March and the middle of April 45 B.C. (cf. O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, p. 426), was written to justify the series of philosophic writings projected by Cicero. In it the rôle of disputing the value of philosophy was assigned to Hortensius, cf. Fin. i 1, 2; Diu. ii 1, 1. The work, though still extant in the 11th and 12th centuries (cf. Teuffel, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* I § 173, 5), is now lost. Several fragments survive, preserved by Nonius and other grammarians and by St Augustine, who in his Confessions III 4, 1, states that the reading of this treatise produced a complete change in his life and views. For the contents of the lost work see O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, pp. 53–4. For Hortensius cf. i 24, 59 n.

essent... explicata arbitramur: for the sequence cf. i 4, 7 n. on 'dedimus... auderemus.' *explicata arbitramur* = *explicauimus, ut arbitramur*, i 13, 30 n.

Academicis quattuor libris: Cicero published two editions of the Academics, the earlier in two books, the later in four books. Twelve chapters of the first

contentionibus dissensionibusque uiguisset. **5.** quam ob rem hortor omnis, qui facere id possunt, ut huius quoque generis laudem iam languenti Graeciae eripiant et transferant in hanc urbem, sicut reliquas omnis, quae quidem erant expetendae, studio atque industria sua maiores nostri transtulerunt. atque oratorum quidem laus ita ducta ab humili uenit ad summum, ut iam, quod natura fert in omnibus fere rebus, senescat breuique tempore ad nihilum uentura uideatur, philosophia nascatur Latinis quidem litteris ex his temporibus, eamque nos adiuuemus

§ **5**, 8. omnis R V G B 1 3 P E W 2 M 1 2 C O 5. omnes S L W 1 B 2. 9. graecia R. greciae V *at* e *leuius inpresso*. grecia B 2. grętiae K P. grecię B E W 1. grecie C Π B 3 O 5 8. 9. praeferant R 1 12 G M 2. pręferant P. preferant (tran*s* superscr.) V *manu corr. antiqui superscr*. trafferrant R 7. p̄ferant K E 1 5 W 2 R 2 8 10 17 B 3 D C J O 7 12. *caret* O 6. preferant L R 16 G 2 B 2 E 2 3 13 Π O 5. preferrant O 9 11. & p preferant M 1. proferant E 4. preferant (per superscr.) O 8. perferant B S W 1 R 4 6 G 4 L 4 O 1–4 10 11 ed. P. perferent ed. H. 10. omnis R V G B 1 3 W 2 M 2 O 2. om̄is E O 5 *i.e.* omnis *in* omnes *mut*. ōms S L. omnes W 1 M 1 *plurimi*. 13. fere senescat rebus R V G B 1–3 K P S E W 1 2 M 2 *ceteri, quod sciam*.

book of the later edition and forty-eight chapters of the second book of the earlier edition survive. There are also some fragments of the later edition. For all details with ref. to the history and contents of the two editions see Reid, Acad. Introd. § 4, pp. 28—51.

contentionibus: abl. of cause; 'had it not been stirred to activity by the contests and disputes of the most learned men.' For **uiguisset** cf. Aen. iv. 175 'fama...mobilitate uiget.'

§ **5**. **transferant**: Bai. and Sff. follow Wes. *Em.* I p. 7 in reading *traferant*, claiming support from Boetius' comm. on Cicero's Topica where, towards the end of Bk v, this passage *sed tamen tantum abest ut scribi...maiores nostri transtulere* (sic) is quoted, as are also the words *nos qui sequimur probabilia...sine iracundia parati sumus*. The form *traferant* is found in the Med. MS in Fam. i 4, 1, v 20, 3 etc. Cf. also Küh. *Gr.* I § 210 p. 626, 28. The support of Boetius is not of much value as his quotation is inaccurate in several particulars, but the early corrector of V reads *transferant*. So far as meaning is concerned, *transferant* is quite suitable, cf. 'transtulerunt' below, 'traducta' § 6 etc.

quae quidem erant: the indic. is correct where definite things (as here def. branches of literature) and not indeterminate members of a class are referred to.

ita...ut: lit. 'on such terms...that,' for this limiting use of *ita* with *ut* cf. Hand, *Tursell.* III p. 475.

ab humili...ad summum: the substantival use of *summum* is usual, cf. Caes. B.G. vii 73, 6 'stipites...ab summo praeacuti'; the similar use of *humili* here is due to the balance of clauses.

uenit ad summum: cf. Hor. Epp. ii 1, 32 'uenimus ad summum fortunae.'

senescat: cf. Or. ii 2, 7 'ut laudem eorum iam prope senescentem...ab obliuione...uindicarem.'

philosophia nascatur: following upon *oratorum quidem* we should have expected a contrasted main clause *philosophia autem nascitur* (and Bent. proposed *phil. nascitur*) but Cic. has inaccurately allowed the latter clause to become dependent upon *ut* (cf. i 36, 88 n. on 'confirmato illo'), and this he has done the more readily because this rise of philosophy and the assistance lent thereto by him were intimately connected with the decline of oratory. To put a semicolon after *uideatur* and take *nascatur...adiuuemus ...patiamur* as 'imperative' ('jussive') with Or. Sff. Hei. and TS. would give a balance of clauses deficient in symmetry. Cicero would have used a *cum-* or *quoniam*-clause and not a coordinate clause along with these verbs if that had been the meaning intended.

nascatur Latinis quidem: *quidem*, by emphasizing *Latinis*, serves to contrast

nosque ipsos redargui refellique patiamur. quod ii ferunt animo iniquo, qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententiis quasi addicti et consecrati sunt eaque necessitate constricti, ut etiam, quae non probare soleant, ea cogantur constantiae causa defendere: nos, qui sequimur probabilia nec ultra quam id, quod ueri simile occurrit, progredi possumus, et refellere sine pertinacia et refelli sine iracundia parati sumus.

6. Quod si haec studia traducta erunt ad nostros, ne bibliothecis quidem Graecis egebimus, in quibus multitudo infinita librorum propter eorum est multitudinem, qui scripserunt. eadem enim dicuntur a multis, ex quo libris omnia referserunt. quod accidet etiam nostris, si ad haec studia plures confluxerint.

16. quod hi R V G B S E W 1 2 M 1 J *alii.* quod hii B 2 C Π O 7 9. quod ii M 2 O 2. 20. propabilia R. (b written above p) probabilia V *at* b *post* o *in litura*, *fuerat* p. probalia E B 2. || quam id R 1 6 V G 1–4 K P S E 1 7 L W 1 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 1–5 8 10 12. ultra quidem id O 7. ultra quam ueri simile O 11. *caret* O 6. nec ultra id quod O 9 ed. H. *Boetius*, *Comm. in Top. Cic. V ad finem.* 21. occurrit R 1 2 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 L W 2 C Π J O 1 7–9. occurrt R 16. occurrit W 1 (e written above the line). *caret* O 6. credimus *pro* occurrit O 3 4. occurrerit M 1 2 O 5 10 11. occurreret O 12. occureret O 2. || possumus V G B 1 2 E L W 1 2 C J O 4 8 9. possimus P M 2 B 3.

§ 6, 27. confluxerint R (*sic*). confluxerunt G E L B 2 R 16. confluxert (=runt) R 2. confluxer ınt V *cum rasura*, *fuerat* -unt. confluxerınt P (*sic*). confluxerint B 1 3 K S W 1 2 M 2 R 6 G 2 3 O 2 5 8 12.

Latin literature with other literature in which philosophy had already arisen.

ex his temporibus, 'as a result of the present political difficulties.' For *temporibus* cf. i 1, 1 n.

quod ii: Ti. and Kl. read *quod si ii*, misled by Davies' assertion that *si* was read by R.

quod: sc. *redargui refellique se pati.*

addicti: an insolvent debtor was *addictus* when made over as bondman to his creditor by sentence of a judge; hence the metaphorical use here, cf. Sest. 17, 38 'quos improbitas tribuno plebis constrictos addixerat.'

consecrati = *deuoti* 'ut in formula deuotionis quae refertur a Macrobio Saturn. lib. iii (c. 9, p. 27 ed. Bip.) "exercitumque hostium, urbes agrosque, capita aetatesque eorum deuotas consecratasque habeatis."' Camerarius, in Mo.

constricti, 'bound hand and foot,' cf. p. Sestio quoted above, and Phil. ii 38, 97 'tu non constringendus,' and Mayor's n.

constantiae, 'consistency.'

nos, qui sequimur probabilia: cf. i 9, 17 n. on 'probabilia coniectura sequens.'

ultra quam id: Bai. Sff. Hei. TS. Ml. Schiche, after Wes'. conj. *ultra quam ad id*. *ad* might very easily fall out before *id*. I have not however adopted this conj. of Wes., because constructions with *ultra*, *supra*, may not always have been strictly grammatical any more than those with *plus* and *amplius*.

occurrit: Or. against the weight of MSS reads *occurrerit*. But this, if fut. perf. indic., would refer to a single case instead of stating a general rule, and there is no reason why it should be subj. (perf.). We have the perf. indic. in the same construction as *restiterunt* ii 23, 54, where see n. and reff.

refellere sine pertinacia: Manutius wished to read *et refelli sine pertinacia et refellere sine iracundia*, and this is the reading of Boetius *l.d.* (Dav. erroneously asserts the contrary). But the text is sound; as the Academic philosophers avoided positive assertions (cf. *sequimur probabilia*) they would not be dogmatic in refuting an opponent. Dav. compares Plutarch de prof. Virt. sent., Tom. ii p. 80 b ed. Par. τὸ μηδ' οἷον ἐφυβρίζειν ἐλέγξαντας, ἢ χαλεπαίνειν ἐλεγχθέντας ἱκανῶς προκόπτοντός ἐστι.

§ 6. [**ex quo**: sc. *tempore*.]

sed eos, si possumus, excitemus, qui liberaliter eruditi adhibita etiam disserendi elegantia ratione et uia philosophentur.

III. **7.** Est enim quoddam genus eorum, qui se philosophos appellari uolunt, quorum dicuntur esse Latini sane multi libri; quos non contemno equidem, quippe quos numquam legerim; sed quia profitentur ipsi illi, qui eos scribunt, se neque distincte neque distribute neque eleganter neque ornate scribere, lectionem sine ulla delectatione neglego. quid enim dicant et quid sentiant ii, qui sunt ab ea disciplina, nemo <ne> mediocriter quidem doctus ignorat. quam ob rem, quoniam quem ad modum dicant ipsi non laborant, cur legendi sint nisi ipsi inter se, qui idem

29. eligentia V. || philosophantur R 1–8 10–17 V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E 12 L 1–6 W 12 M 12 D C Π J O 1–5 7 8 10–12. philosophentur E 7 13 O 9. *caret* O 6.

III. § **7**, 2. apellari V. a^{p}pellari G. 3. numquam R V G E L. 6. neglego V G B. negl^{i}ego R *al. atr. superscr.* negl^{i}ego E *i.e.* e *in* i *mut.* 7. nemo mediocriter R 16 V G 13 B 1–3 K P S E 1–3 5 7 8 13 L W 12 M 12 Π J O 1–5 7–12. *caret* O 6. nemo quidem mediocriter D C. 9. inter se quidem G S L O 8 12. qu^{i}idem V *al. atr. superscr.* quiidem R. qui idem B P E D C Π J *ceteri.*

liberaliter eruditi: cf. ii 11, 27; Or. iii 32, 127 'has artes quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitionem et poetarum'; Seneca Ep. 88, 2 'quare liberalia studia dicta sint uides; quia homine libero digna sunt.'

disserendi elegantia, 'dialectic precision.' For *disserendum* = 'dialectic' cf. Ac. i 2, 5 'artem...disserendi' and i 5, 19 'tertia de disserendo,' and Reid's n.; for *elegantia* cf. 'eleganter' § 7 and i 23, 55 n. 'tam eleganter.'

ratione et uia, 'methodically,' 'systematically.' TS. notes that this ἓν διὰ δυοῖν is due to the fact that there was no adverb from *ratio* (*rationaliter* belongs to Silver Age Lat.). For this point cf. Giles, *Manual of Comp. Phil.* § 283—'the adverbial suffix *-iter* is really the substantive *iter*, and *breuiter* is but *breue iter* "short-ways."'

philosophentur: Sauppe's emendation, adopted by Küh. and TS., for *philosophantur* of nearly all MSS. Küh. notes 'excitandi sunt non ei, qui iam philosophantur, sed ei, qui ita sunt comparati, ut philosophari possint.'

III. § **7**. **eorum**: gen. of contents (definition) i 4, 8 n. on 'disserendi.'

qui se philosophos...: cf. i 3, 6 n. The Epicurean prose writers, Amafinius etc., are referred to.

qui...quorum: cf. i 25, 61 n. on 'quae ...quae.'

quos non contemno: cf. i 31, 77 'quos equidem non despicio.'

neque distincte...scribere, 'since even the writers themselves profess to disregard definition, distribution, precision and style.' Cf. Ac. i 2, 5 'nihil definiunt, nihil partiuntur...' and Reid's n.; Fin. i 7, 22 and Madv.'s n. Epicurus' only care was to make his meaning clear, cf. Diog. L. x 13.

lectionem sine ulla delectatione: for the attributive use of the prep. and its case cf. i 22, 51 n. [Cic. conveys a wrong impression of Epicurus' style; see Usener, *Epicurea*, pref. pp. 41 sq.]

ab ea disciplina: *ab* has the same meaning as in § 8 'qui ab his profecti sunt'; cf. Fin. iv 3, 7 'Zeno et qui ab eo sunt'; and in Greek οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας.

ne mediocriter quidem: no exact parallel to *nemo mediocriter quidem doctus* of MSS is to be found in Cicero. *ne* readily fell out before *me*—especially as *nemo* preceded.

nisi ipsi inter se: supply, from *legendi*, *legant*, wh. Bent. wished to insert after *nisi* (on the authority of Davies' 'Eliens. tertius'). 'Why they should be read, unless those writers who hold the same views themselves read one another, i.e.

sentiunt, non intellego. **8.** nam, ut Platonem reliquosque Socraticos et deinceps eos, qui ab his profecti sunt, legunt omnes, etiam qui illa aut non adprobant aut non studiosissime consectantur, Epicurum autem et Metrodorum non fere praeter suos quisquam in manus sumit, sic hos Latinos ii soli legunt, qui illa recte dici putant. nobis autem uidetur, quidquid litteris mandetur, id commendari omnium eruditorum lectioni decere; nec, si id ipsi minus consequi possumus, idcirco minus id ita faciendum esse sentimus. **9.** itaque mihi semper Peripateticorum Academiaeque consuetudo de omnibus rebus in contrarias partis disserendi non ob eam causam solum placuit, quod aliter non posset, quid in quaque re ueri simile esset, inueniri, sed etiam quod esset ea maxima dicendi exercitatio. qua princeps usus est Aristoteles, deinde eum qui secuti sunt. nostra autem

10. intellego V G B. intell^{i}ego R *al. atr. superscr.*
§ 8, 12. adprobant R G E. approbant V *at* p *post* a *in litura.* 16. lectioni decere R 1 2 16 V G B E 1 2 5 8 13 L D C Π O 1 7. lectioni dicere B 2. lectioni dicere *in* lectioni decere *mut.* P O 9. lectione decere S *at fuerat fort.* lectioni, *utique non ut plerumque* scriptum est. lectione decere K W 1 M 1 2 R 6 7 G 2–4 B 3 E 7 O 2–5 8 10–12. lectioni debere W 2 J. lectione debere E 3. *caret* O 6. 17. si id ipsi R V B 1 2 K E 1 7 L W 2 G 2–4 Π J O 1 2 7 9 11 12. *caret* O 6. si ipsi S id *marg. alia manu.* si ^{id}ipsi G *alia manu superscr.* si ipsi P M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 3–5 10. id ipsi si O 8. si id ipsum W 1. ‖ minus id R 1 6 7 V P S E 1 2 7 L W 1 M 1 2 G 3 4 B 3 J O 1–5 8–12. id minus C. *caret* O 6. minus ita B 2 O 7 (id *abest*).
§ 9, 20. partis V G B 1 2 E. 21. in quaque re R 1 2 7 16 V G 1 2 4 B 1 2 K S E 1 5 L W 2 D C J O 1 7–9 11. ^{una}quaque P *alia manu superscr.* in unaquaque re W 1 M 1 2 R 6 G 3 B 3 O 2–5 10 12. *caret* O 6. ‖ inuenire R S L B 2. inuenir^{i}e V K. inuener^{i}e P. inueniri B E *alii.*

one another's books, I fail to see.' *ipsis* the conj. of Joh. Clericus, quoted with approval by Dav. and accepted by Ern., is unnecessary.

§ **8. Platonem**... = *Platonis libros*, similarly *hos Latinos* below.

Socraticos: cf. Or. iii 16, 61 sqq. Mayor N.D. Introd. pp. xxii sqq.

illa: sc. the doctrines of those writers. For the neut. cf. i 24, 56 'haec enim.' In i 2, 4 'discebantque *id* omnes' and i 3, 6 'e quibus etiam *illa* manabant,' compared by F.A.W., the principle is the same, but more obvious.

Metrodorus: of *Lampsacus* (to be distinguished from M. of *Scepsis*, for whom see i 24, 59 n.), a pupil of Epicurus, during whose lifetime he died. M.'s definition of the happy man, given below in § 17, was famous. He is also quoted in v 9, 26. Cic. in Fin. ii 28, 92 calls him *paene alter Epicurus*. See also Zeller, *Stoics, etc.*, c. xv p. 386.

decere: for this reading, supported by all except three second-rate MSS which read *debere*, cf. i 14, 32 n.

minus id ita: Bai. TS. Hei. eject *id* following a conj. of Bake. The meaning is 'nor, if I am imperfectly fitted to succeed in this (i.e. in commending my writings to the reading of the learned), do I think it the less my duty to make the attempt.' The objection of Hei., that the second *id* cannot have the same ref. as the first *id*, does not seem well-grounded.

§ **9. consuetudo...in contrarias partis disserendi**: see Reid on Ac. ii 3, 7 'contra omnis dicere.'

quod esset: his own reason reported, Madv. 357 obs. 1.

Aristoteles: F. A. Wolf points out that the ref. is to ἐπιδείξεις, continuous

memoria Philo, quem nos frequenter audiuimus, instituit alio tempore rhetorum praecepta tradere, alio philosophorum; ad quam nos consuetudinem a familiaribus nostris adducti in Tusculano quod datum est temporis nobis in eo consumpsimus. itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissemus, sicut pridie feceramus, post meridiem in Academiam descendimus; in qua disputationem habitam non quasi narrantes exponimus, sed eisdem fere uerbis, ut actum disputatumque est.

IV. **10.** Est igitur ambulantibus ad hunc modum sermo ille nobis institutus et a tali quodam ductus exordio:

A. Dici non potest, quam sim hesterna disputatione tua delectatus uel potius adiutus. etsi enim mihi sum conscius

27. in eo R V G B P S E L *ceteri.*

IV. § **10**, 2. et ãliquodam V. ‖ inductus R V G B K P S E L *ceteri.*

discourses composed in pairs, one to set forth the arguments in support of any proposition, the other to set forth the arguments against it. Cf. Fin. v 4, 10 'ab Aristoteleque principe de singulis rebus in utramque partem dicendi exercitatio est instituta, ut non contra omnia semper, sicut Arcesilas, diceret, et tamen ut in omnibus rebus quidquid ex utraque parte dici posset expromeret.' Or. iii 21, 80; 27, 107.

Philo quem...audiuimus: Philo, who succeeded Clitomachus about 110 B.C. as head of the Academic school, fled, on the outbreak of the Mithridatic war, from Athens to Rome, where Cicero forthwith wholly surrendered himself to his teaching, Brut. 89, 306.

frequenter: rare but classical in the sense of 'often.' Cf. (with *audio*) Fin. i 6, 16; v 3, 8; N.D. i 21, 59; (with *dico*) Fin. ii 4, 12.

alio tempore rhetorum...: Beroaldus (in Mo.) notes that a similar practice was attributed to Aristotle. Hei. compares Aulus Gellius xx 5, 5.

in eo consumpsimus: *in eo* cannot, as Küh. asserts, refer to *quod datum est temporis nobis*. It must refer to *in contrarias partis disserendi*, wh. has been the subject of this whole paragraph. Sff. adopts Bent.'s conj. *in ea*, which is possibly right.

dictioni: cf. *rhetorum praecepta*, above.

in Academiam descendimus: at Cicero's Tusculan villa there were two gymnasia, an upper one called *Lyceum* (cf. Diu. i 5, 8 'in Lyceum...id enim superiori gymnasio nomen est') and a lower one (cf. *descendimus* here) called *Academia.*

non quasi narrantes: cf. i 4, 8 'non quasi narretur.' [Imitated from the opening of the Theaetetus; cf. Lael. § 3 n.]

IV. § **10**. **nobis**: ii 1, 2 n. on 'mihi... habita est.'

a tali quodam = 'a tali *fere* exordio.' *quodam* renders the meaning of *talis* more vague. The principle is the same as in *singularis quidam*; cf. n. on i 12, 27 'quasi quidam.'

ductus: MSS *inductus*, wh. Dav. Klotz and Tr. retain. Modern editors generally read *ductus*, *in* being accounted for by the *-m* in *quodam*. *ductus* is read in the ed. of Crat. (but *inductus* in the margin) and in the marg. of Lamb. Gothofredus, Verburg. The passages cited in support of *inductus*, Att. xiii 19, 4 'puero me hic sermo inducitur' (by Kl.) and p. Domo 34, 92 'homo facetus inducis etiam sermonem urbanum ac uenustum' (by Or.), are dissimilar, as *inducere* there refers to introducing a dialogue or remark of set purpose, while here the conversation is supposed to *flow on* from (lit. *be drawn out from*) the introductory words, a meaning impossible with *inductus*, but natural with *ductus*, cf. Brut. 60, 218 'omnisque ille sermo ductus est e percontatione filii'; 6, 21 'hinc tum...*ductus* est sermo, quod erat a me mentio facta..."scio" inquit "ab isto initio *tractum* esse sermonem..."'

adiutus: assisted towards despising death, i.e. 'fortified.'

numquam me nimis uitae cupidum fuisse, tamen interdum obiciebatur animo metus quidam et dolor cogitanti fore aliquando finem huius lucis et amissionem omnium uitae commodorum. hoc genere molestiae sic, mihi crede, sum liberatus ut nihil minus curandum putem.

11. *M.* Minime mirum id quidem. nam efficit hoc philosophia: medetur animis, inanis sollicitudines detrahit, cupiditatibus liberat, pellit timores. sed haec eius uis non idem potest apud omnis: tum ualet multum, cum est idoneam complexa naturam. fortis enim non modo fortuna adiuuat, ut est in uetere

5. numquam R V G E L. || me~~nimis~~ (minus *suprascr.*) R. mei nimis G L R 2 16 B 3 E 13. *caret* O 6. me nimis V *at* i *fort. post* e *eraso*. meį nimis K. mee nimis P S *at uid*. mee *ex* mei *mut*. mee uite nimis R 7. meae nimis O 2. meȩ nimis G 4. mee nimis W 2 E 3 J O 1 3 4 8. me nimie O 10 *at rasura in unius litt. spatio post* me. me nimis B E 1 2 W 1 M 2 R 6 G 2 O 5 7 9 12. mi nimis G 3. me minus D Π E 5. me mínus B 3 *i.e.* minus *in* nimis *mut*. me nimium O 11 *at litt. post* e *erasa*. 6. obiciebatur R 1 2 16 V G 1–3 B 1 3 P S E L W 2 M 1 2 D C J O 1 3–5 7–9 11. obiiciebatur R 6 O 2 10. obiicebatur (i *suprascr.*) W 1. *caret* O 6. obijebatur (c *suprascr.*) O 12. || animo metus R V G B K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D *ceteri*. || cogitantis R 1 2 16 G 1–3 B 1 2 K P E 1 5 13 L O 1 8 9 11. *caret* O 6. cogitantis W 2 *litt.* s *ex parte erasa at plane conspicienda*. cogitanti V S *at rasuram habent post* ti. cogitationis O 12. cogitanti W 1 M 1 2 G 4 B 3 E 2 3 D C Π J O 3–5 7 10 ed. H. cogitandi O 2.

§ **11,** 11. solitudines (ci *suprascr.*) V. 13. omnis V P. || tum R V G 1–3 B 1 2 K P S E L C Π O 1–4 7–12. dum J. *caret* O 6. tñ M 1 B 3 O 5. tamen M 2 R 6 D. 14. fortis R V G 1–3 B 1 2 K P S E L M 1 D C O 2. fortes W 1 M 2 *alii*.

me nimis: from the fluctuation of MSS it might be suspected that *me meae nimis* was the true reading. But *meae* is unnecessary and the expression would scarcely be usual. It is better to suppose either that the insertion of a stroke too many caused the error (cf. the reading *minus*) or that the copyists tended to bring in the possessive pronoun *meae* instead of *me* to agree with *uitae*.

obiciebatur animo metus quidam, 'an *alarming thought* at times presented itself to my mind.' *metus* is, as often, *cause of fear*. *quidam* strengthens *metus*, cf. i 12, 27 n.

cogitanti: the reading *cogitantis* is supported by all the best MSS. V and S have been altered by erasure. Dav. Sff. Mo. Hei. TS. Schiche, with the vulgate, read *cogitanti*. Yet it seems strange that the easy and natural reading *cogitanti* should have been corrupted in the best MSS into *cogitantis*. Küh. retains *cogitantis* and inserts *meo* between *animo* and *metus*; either the ending of the one word or the beginning of the other might well have occasioned the loss. We should then have the same constr. as in Ov. Am. i 8, 108 'ut mea defuncti molliter ossa cubent'; Madv. 297 a gives Ciceronian exx. If *cogitanti* be read it refers back to *animo* = *mihi*. E. Goebel (*Philol.* LVIII p. 148) would read *cogitanti*, thinking the final *s* to have arisen from the following *f*.

mihi crede: i 31, 75 n.

§ 11. medetur...detrahit, cupiditatibus...timores: chiasmus, i 3, 5 n.; ii 24, 59 n.

tum ualet: *tum* of the best MSS and several old editions is intrinsically better than *tamen*.

idoneam: sc. *ad philosophiam percipiendam*. So *idoneus* often where the ref. is easily supplied, e.g. Off. ii 15, 54 'idoneis,' sc. *quibus impertiamur*, ii 18, 62 'in deligendis idoneis' sc. *quos adiuuemus*.

fortis fortuna adiuuat: cf. Ter. Phorm. 203 'tanto magis te aduigilare aequomst: fortis fortuna adiuuat'; Livy viii 29, 5 'sed euentus docuit fortes fortunam iuuare'; xxxiv 37, 4; Menander frag.

prouerbio, sed multo magis ratio, quae quibusdam quasi praeceptis confirmat uim fortitudinis. te natura excelsum quendam uidelicet et altum et humana despicientem genuit, itaque facile in animo forti contra mortem habita insedit oratio. sed haec eadem num censes apud eos ipsos ualere nisi admodum paucos, a quibus inuenta, disputata, conscripta sunt? quotus enim quisque philosophorum inuenitur, qui sit ita moratus, ita animo ac uita constitutus, ut ratio postulat? qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientiae, sed legem uitae putet? qui obtemperet ipse sibi et decretis suis pareat? **12.** Videre licet alios tanta leuitate et iactatione, ut iis fuerit non didicisse melius, alios pecuniae cupidos, gloriae non nullos, multos libidinum seruos, ut cum eorum uita mirabiliter pugnet oratio. quod quidem mihi uidetur esse turpissimum. ut enim, si grammaticum se professus

24. ipsi sibi R 1 6 V G 1 2 B 1–3 K P S E L M 1 2 D C Π O 2 5 7 10 12. sibi ipsi G 3. ipsi tibi O 1. *caret* O 6 *pagina omissa*. ipse sibi W 1 2 J O 8 9 11. ipse (sibi *omisso*) O 3 4.

§ **12**, 25. ut iis G B S M 2. uti is L. uti(h)is R *i.e.* ut iis *in* uti his *manu ant. mut.* uitiis (ut iis) E *alio atram. superscr.* uti his W 2 J O 11. ut hiis G 2. ut his M 1 G 3 O 10. ut his V *at* his *in litura*. ut eis W 1 O 1. ita is O 7. his ut B 3. || alios (l' multos) pecuniae V. 28. grammaticum V G. gramaticum R W 2. gram̄aticum W 1. grāmaticum B 1 3 L M 2. gramaticū K E G 2 B 2 D Π J. gram̄m̤aticū S *linea supra* m *et fortasse etiam linea transuerso calamo per alterum* m *transducta alio atram. scriptae sunt: tria puncta prima manu facta uidentur.*

in Stobaeus Serm. vii (Meineke p. 214) τόλμῃ δικαίᾳ καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει. Soph. frag. in Stobaeus (Dindorf 666) οὐ τοῖς ἀθύμοις ἡ τύχη ξυλλαμβάνει.

ratio = *animus philosophia excultus* F.A.W.

quibusdam quasi praeceptis: for the order of words cf. i 12, 27 'quandam quasi migrationem'; more usually *quasi* precedes *quidam*.

excelsum quendam: *quendam* here intensifies, cf. i 27, 66 n., but M. speaks with a certain irony, as *uidelicet* shows.

insedit: so often: Mo. quotes p. Balb. 1, 4 'orationi quae...in animis omnium penitus insederit'; Att. i 11, 1 'habet quiddam profecto quod magis in animo eius insederit.'

quotus enim quisque, 'how few.' *quotus* = a fraction with 1 for the numerator and 'many' for the denominator; hence a very small fraction; cf. πολλοστός.

ita moratus: cf. Ac. i 9, 33 'Theophrastus...ita moratus, ut prae se probitatem quandam et ingenuitatem ferat.'

constitutus: cf. ii 6, 17 'corpus bene constitutum'; Lael. 13, 47 'animi bene constituti.'

ipse sibi: the best and nearly all MSS have *ipsi sibi*, but the nom. alone is right. Küh. on i 30, 73 lays down the rule that where subject is opposed to subject the nom. *ipse* is used, and where object is opposed to object *ipse* is put in the same case as the object, and that sometimes even in this latter case the nom. (as in i 30, 73) is used for the sake of emphasis. Here the subject *ipse* is contrasted with those *alii* whom he wishes to comply with his directions.

decretis: Cic. thus translates the Greek δόγματα, cf. Ac. ii 9, 27 'de suis decretis, quae philosophi uocant δόγματα' and Reid's n. Also *decernere* 6, 16 below, 'si id summum malum esse decreuerit.'

§ **12**. **tanta leuitate et iactatione**, 'so empty and vainglorious.' Küh. takes this as an instance of ἓν διὰ δυοῖν similar to *ratio et disciplina* in i 1, 1.

oratio: emphatic by position; similarly *in uita* below.

grammaticum: for the learning required of the *grammaticus* cf. Juv. vii

quispiam barbare loquatur, aut si absurde canat is, qui se haberi uelit musicum, hoc turpior sit, quod in eo ipso peccet, cuius profitetur scientiam, sic philosophus in uitae ratione peccans hoc turpior est, quod in officio, cuius magister esse uolt, labitur artemque uitae professus delinquit in uita.

V. *A.* Nonne uerendum est igitur, si est ita ut dicis, ne philosophiam falsa gloria exornes? quod est enim maius argumentum nihil eam prodesse, quam quosdam perfectos philosophos turpiter uiuere?

13. *M.* Nullum uero id quidem argumentum est. nam ut agri non omnes frugiferi sunt, qui coluntur, falsumque illud Acci:

29. haberę R E *i.e.* e *in* i *mut.* habere (i superscr.) V. habere G. 31. profitetur R 1 2 9 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E L W 1 2 M 2 D C Π J O 1 3–7 10. *clausulam omittit* O 11. profitetur (a superscr.) V *alio atram. superscr.* ‖ in uitae ratione (*uel* uitę *aut* uite) R V G 1–3 B 1 2 K P S E L W 1 2 D C Π J O 1 2 6–9 12. in ratione uitae M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 3–5 10. *om.* O 11. 32. uult (*hoc loco*) R V G B 1–3 E L.

V. **§ 13**, 6. illud ac ī, plr O 11. illud acīpbe K. illud ac īprobe O 8 12. illud acinprobe V. illud ac in probo B 2. illud ac inprobe G 1 2 B R 2. illud acimprobe R P E 1 13 W 2. illud ac improbe S L M 1 2 R 6 G 3 4 B 3 E 2 5 8 D C Π J O 1 2 5–7 9 10. illud atque improbe O 3 4. falsumque est et improbe dictum etsi W 1.

230–6, and the note of Duff who compares Quintil. i 2, 14 'grammaticus...de loquendi ratione disserat, quaestiones explicet, historias exponat, poemata enarret.'

absurde, 'out of tune,' cf. Or. iii 11, 41 'uox...absona atque absurda.' For the derivation see Reid on p. Sulla 10, 31.

uelit: class subjunctive: the subject is not a definite person but a mental conception. It seems incorrect to set this down, as Küh. does, to attraction of mood, since attraction could not have brought in the subjunctive if the subject had been definite, e.g. 'si absurde canat Gaius qui se haberi *uolt* musicum' could not be changed by attraction into 'si absurde canat Gaius qui se haberi *uelit* musicum.'

profitetur: so MSS generally: *profiteatur* V *manu secunda.* Ern. conj. *profiteatur*, which Wes. approved and Kl. adopted. If the subj. stood here it would come under the same head as *uelit* above. Küh. thinks the indic. right on the ground that *in eo...cuius profitetur scientiam = in ipsa sua scientia.* I take the reason for the indic. to be that the thing in wh. he would err is definite; its existence does not depend upon the *si*-clauses.

in uita: emphatic by position.

V. **nihil eam prodesse**: this is the object clause to *est argumentum* (*maius est argumentum = magis arguit*), and *quosdam perf. phil. turp. uiuere* is subject to the same words.

perfectos: Bentley, against Gebhardt, shewed the conjecture *professos* to be doubtful Latin (for *professos se philosophos* or *professos philosophiam*) and inferior to *perfectos* of MSS generally, for wh. he compared Diu. ii 72, 150 'nisi somniorum patrocinium philosophi suscepissent nec ei quidem contemptissimi, sed in primis acuti et consequentia et repugnantia uidentes, qui prope iam *absoluti et perfecti* putantur.'

§ 13. **nullum uero**: *uero = re uera* or *profecto*, as often in Cic. in rejoinders. Mo.

Acci: **probae**: Muretus' correction (*Var. Lect.* XVI c. 20) for *illud ac inprobe* of the best MSS. The lines are from Accius' *Atreus*, cf. Th. Mommsen in *Rh. Mus.* XVI 443 who quotes Schol. Laur. on Virg. Geo. i 1 'nec sane segetes simpliciter pro terra ponuntur (sed) pro terra arata: Accius in Atreo: si in segetem deteriorem datae sunt fruges.' *probae* is necessary to the sense and improves the metre, which without it would present hiatus after *etsi* unless *in* were transposed so as to follow *sunt.* See Mur. in Mo.

Probae étsi in segetem súnt deteriorém datae
Frugés, tamen ipsae suápte natura énitent,

sic animi non omnes culti fructum ferunt. atque, ut in eodem simili uerser, ut ager quamuis fertilis sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest, sic sine doctrina animus; ita est utraque res sine altera debilis. cultura autem animi philosophia est; haec extrahit uitia radicitus et praeparat animos ad satus accipiendos eaque mandat iis et, ut ita dicam, serit, quae adulta fructus uberrimos ferant. agamus igitur, ut coepimus. dic, si uis, de quo disputari uelis.

14. *A.* Dolorem existimo maximum malorum omnium.

M. Etiamne maius quam dedecus?

A. Non audeo id dicere quidem, et me pudet tam cito de sententia esse deiectum.

9. ipsae V G. ipsæ M 2. ipsę B. ipę W 1. ipse R P S L. 15. mundat R 1 6 13 V G 1 2 4 B 1 2 K P S E 1 2 13 L W 1 O 9 ed. H. ^m undat W 2. mūdat G 3 D O 12. m̄dat C. mn̄dat E 5 8. mandat B 3 Π O 2 4. ‖ his R 1 6 V G B 1 3 S W 1 2. is B 2.

§ **14**, 18. maxumum R V G B K Π. maximū P i *ex* u *mut.* 20. ^de decus R K. ^decus decus G B 2. dedecus V *at* dec *multa in litura.* delectus E *alio ut uid. atram.* ^dedecus ^de decus P. decus L de *extra marg. alia manu adscripto.* dedecet J. dedecus B 1 3 S W 1 2 M 1 2 R 2 D Π O 1–3 6 7 11. 21. id dicere quidem *codd. omn.*; id quidem dicere TS. *de* Wesenbergii *coni.*; id dicere equidem Sff. Hei. Schichius *de* Halmii *coni.*

segetem: cf. Schol. on Geo. i 2 quoted above, and Geo. i 47; so often.

suapte: dissyllabic by synizesis.

ut in eodem simili uerser, 'to continue the same illustration.' Mo. compares Or. ii 78, 316 'eos ipsos unde hoc simile ducat'; Fin. iii 16, 54 'hoc simile ponitur.'

debilis, 'incomplete,' cf. Juv. x 227 'ille umero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis'; Sen. Ep. 101 § 11 'debilem facito manu, debilem pede, coxa'; Aen. v 271 'ordine debilis uno.'

eaque mandat: *ea* is acc. antecedent to *quae*. For *mandat* Billerbeck compares Columella i 7 *ad fin.* 'mandare semen terrae.'

§ **14. id dicere quidem**: Mo. and Küh. retain the MS reading; if this be correct Cic. has expressed himself loosely so that the emphasis falls on the wrong word, on *dicere* instead of on *id*, cf. ii 18, 42 n. 'ne hoc quidem uellem.' The emendation of Halm, *id dicere equidem*, would involve practically no departure from the MSS. *equidem* usually applies to the whole sentence while *quidem* emphasizes the single word wh. it follows. It is true that *equidem*, in Cic., very commonly stands first in its clause, but cf. ii 6, 25 'nolim equidem...sed...'; iv 5, 10 'faciam equidem: tu tamen...' and 'enitar equidem, sed...'; Fam. xii 30, 3 'non dubitabam equidem... uerum tamen....' Where *equidem* is concessive the concession is usually, as in the exx. just cited, qualified by a following clause, with *sed*, *tamen* etc.; here, if Halm's emendation is correct, the concession is unqualified, cf. iii 15, 31 'qua re accipio equidem a Cyrenaicis haec arma contra casus et euentus.' Ml. reads *non audeo dicere id quidem*. [The position wh. the emendation gives to *equidem* is unusual. *equidem non audeo* or *non eq. audeo* or *non audeo eq.* would be expected. The misplacement of *quidem*, very common in MSS, is the preferable supposition here.]

de sententia esse deiectum: cf. i 32, 77 'de inmortalitate depellet.' The metaphor is from a combatant forced to

M. Magis esset pudendum, si in sententia permaneres. quid enim minus est dignum, quam tibi peius quicquam uideri dedecore, flagitio, turpitudine? quae ut effugias, quis est non modo recusandus, sed non ultro adpetendus, subeundus, excipiendus dolor?

A. Ita prorsus existimo. quare ne sit sane summum malum dolor, malum certe est.

M. Videsne igitur, quantum breuiter admonitus de doloris terrore deieceris?

15. *A.* Video plane, sed plus desidero.

M. Experiar equidem; sed magna res est, animoque mihi opus est non repugnante.

A. Habebis id quidem. ut enim heri feci, sic nunc rationem, quo ea me cumque ducet, sequar.

24. minus te dignum V *at* te *multa in litura.* 25. non modo recusandus R 1 2 16 V G 1 3 4 B 1 2 K P S E 1 13 L C Π J O 1 3 4 6–8 11. non modo (non superscr.) recusandus W 2 O 10 *alio atr. superscr.* non m (o superscr.)—— recusandus E 2 *cum rasura.* non modo non W 1 M 1 2 R 6 G 2 B 3 O 2 5 9 12 ed. H. 26. sed non ultro R 1 2 16 G 1 3 4 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 13 L W 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 1 5–7 10. sed (n̄ superscr.) ultro V. sed (nō superscr.) ultro E 3. sed etiam ultro O 9 ed. H. sed non ultro non O 2. sed etiam non ultro W 1. sed ultro R 6 G 2 O 3 4 8 11. sed non O 12 ultro *omisso.* || adpetendus R G. appetendus V *at fuerat* adpetendus. appetendus P *at* p *post* a *in litura.* 31. deiceris (e superscr.) V *alio atram. superscr.*
§ 15, 36. me cumque R V G L C O 12. cumque *in* cunque *mut.* S. me cūque B 1–3 K G 2 Π O 5. mecū quę E. mecū ꝙ J. me cunque W 1 M 2 G 3 O 8.

give ground, cf. *de gradu, de statu deici, demoueri*; § 16 below 'oppositoque dedecore sententia depellerere'; ii 24, 58 'de dignitatis gradu demoueri'; Off. i 23, 80 'de gradu deici'; p. Caec. 15, 42 'loco et certo de statu demouet'; Livy xxxiv 39, 3.

magis esset pudendum: for the subjunctive *esset* see note on i 49, 116 'quos enumerare magnum est.'

quid enim minus est dignum quam =*quid enim indignius est quam? indignum* is sometimes used absolutely in Cic., cf. v 16, 46 'quas cum quiuis quamuis indignus habere possit in bonis non numero'; Diu. in Q. Caec. 12, 38 'acerba et indigna'; p. Rosc. Amer. 3, 8 'nonne cum multa indigna tum uel hoc indignissimum est...?' Similarly *dignus*, when negatived, cf. Lael. 21, 78 'ne nimis cito diligere incipiant neue non dignos'; and even though not negatived, Off. i 26, 92 'quam plurimis, modo dignis, se utilem praebeat.' Küh. while admitting this use as regards *indignus* denies it to Cic. as regards *dignus*, and here supplies in thought, from *tibi*, *te*, wh. Lamb. actually inserted before *dignum*. But *te* is not naturally supplied in thought from *tibi* nor is it required; the view expressed by A. is a view unworthy of any one, unworthy in the abstract.

non modo...sed: i 7, 13 n. Most early editions read *non modo non* against the MSS.

ne sit: the subj. is concessive, cf. Cato M. 11, 34 'ne sint in senectute uires'; Ac. ii 32, 102 'ne sit: illa certe debemus effugere'; Livy xxxi 7, 8 'ne aequaueritis Hannibali Philippum ... Pyrrho certe aequabitis.' The positive expression of wh. this is the negative would be *sit sane summum malum dolor*; cf. i 36, 87 'concedatur'; ii 14, 34 'uel fodiat sane'; iv 28, 60 'abluatur.'

The concessive use of *ut* with the subjunctive has nothing to do with this use. In it the subj. is a subj. of *result* (Madv. 440 a obs. 4) and the negative is *ut non*, cf. i 8, 16 'ut enim non efficias.'

quantum...deieceris: cf. i 8, 15 'ecquid ergo intellegis quantum mali de humana condicione deieceris?'

§ 15. quo ea me cumque: for the

VI. *M.* Primum igitur de inbecillitate multorum et de uariis disciplinis philosophorum loquar. quorum princeps et auctoritate et antiquitate, Socraticus Aristippus, non dubitauit summum malum dolorem dicere. deinde ad hanc eneruatam muliebremque sententiam satis docilem se Epicurus praebuit. hunc post Rhodius Hieronymus dolore uacare summum bonum dixit; tantum in dolore duxit mali. ceteri praeter Zenonem, Aristonem, Pyrrhonem idem fere, quod modo tu, malum illud quidem, sed alia peiora. **16.** ergo, id quod natura ipsa et quaedam gene-

VI. 1. inbecillitate V G. 3. aristiphus R G B 2. aristippus V *sed alt.* p *in rasura: fuerat* h. aristipypus B E. 6. hieronimus R V G. hieronymus S. || dolore uacare G 1–4 B 1 3 S E L 1 4 W 1 2 M 1 2 Π O 1 2 6 10 11. dolore uaccare B 2. uacare V *at litura et spatio post* ua. uácare dŏlore R. 8. quomodo R V G 1 3 B 1 2 K E W 1 2 M 1 C J O 4 5 9. quo tu Π. a quo modo M 2.

tmesis cf. p. Sest. 31, 68 'quod iudicium cumque'; Diu. ii 3, 7 'qua re cumque'; Leg. ii 18, 46 'quod ad cumque legis genus me disputatio nostra deduxerit.'

VI. **de uariis disciplinis**: this clause is attributive to *philosophorum* and coord. with *multorum*. Or. compares πολλοὶ καὶ καλοί. The words do not mean, as Sch. supposed, that Cic. will first speak of the folly and then of the systems of many philosophers; Or., besides pointing out the weakness of such a proceeding, notes that Cic. as a matter of fact does not here deal with the systems of the philosophers to whom he goes on to refer. Bent. followed by Dav. conj. *e* for *de*, and Cic. may have written *e*, but as *de* is used in the same sense (cf. 'de genere eodem' iv 7, 16) there is no need to depart from the MS reading.

disciplinis, 'schools' (αἱρέσεις Mo.), cf. Ac. ii 3, 7; Fin. i 4, 12; so often.

Aristippus of Cyrene, a pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cyrenaic school. He held pleasure to be the chief good. For differences between his view and that of Epicurus see Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* c. xix p. 448.

ad hanc, 'with reference to...'; i 4, 7 n. on 'ad id.'

hunc post: it is very doubtful whether Cic. placed a monosyllabic prep. after the case wh. it governed when that case was a demonstrative accusative. *qui* and *hic* are thus used, though rarely, at the commencement of clauses, followed by certain dissyllabic prepositions. Küh. notes that *post* does not elsewhere follow its case, but thinks that the emendation of Lamb. *post hunc* and that of Sff. *hunc post Rhodius Hieronymus secutus* are to be rejected, as the order 'quem ultra' found in iv 17, 38 is also unexampled either in Cic. or in other writers of the same period.

Hieronymus: cf. Ac. ii 42, 131; Fin. v 5, 14 'Hieronymum quem iam cur Peripateticum appellem nescio; summum enim bonum exposuit uacuitatem doloris.' See also Zeller, *Ph. d. Griechen* II 2 p. 923.

Zeno, of Citium in Cyprus, founder of the Stoic school. The Stoics held that virtue alone is good, vice alone evil; that all things else are indifferent (*media*, ἀδιάφορα): Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* c. 10 pp. 216–8; and that things indifferent are divided into three classes, things to be preferred (προηγμένα, *producta*, *praecipua*, *praeposita*), things to be rejected (ἀποπροηγμένα, *remota*, *reiecta*), and things absolutely indifferent, καθάπαξ ἀδιάφορα: Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* c. xi pp. 264 foll.; Ac. i 10, 36.

Aristonem Pyrrhonem: cf. Fin. ii 13, 43 and Madvig's n.; Ac. ii 42, 130 and Reid's n.; Zeller, *Stoics*, etc. c. 14 p. 366 for Aristo, and c. 22 pp. 492 foll. for Pyrrho. Aristo denied that the ἀδιάφορα were divisible into three classes, as held by the Stoics.

Pyrrho, of Elis, founded the school of the Sceptics, wh. a generation or so after his death became merged in the New Academy.

malum illud quidem: cf. i 3, 6 n. on 'optimis illis quidem.'

§ **16. id quod...in eo...permanet**: there is an anacolouthon here as *id* is not in construction with any following word,

rosa uirtus statim respuit, ne scilicet dolorem summum malum diceres oppositoque dedecore sententia depellerere, in eo magistra uitae philosophia tot saecula permanet. quod huic officium, quae laus, quod decus erit tanti, quod adipisci cum dolore corporis uelit, qui dolorem summum malum sibi esse persuaserit? quam porro quis ignominiam, quam turpitudinem non pertulerit, ut effugiat dolorem, si id summum malum esse decreuerit? quis autem non miser non modo tunc, cum premetur summis dolori-

§ **16**, 10. ne se dolorem R 1 2 7 16 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P E 1 2 3 (*manu prima*) 5 7 8 L W 2 M 1 2 ΠJ O 2 5 8 9 ed. H. *ſc i.e.* sc *aut* st (? sit) *ex ſ?* *i.e.* se *mut.* S. non se dolorem E 13. desine dolorem D C O 7. ne (ne se) esse dolorem E 10 O 12. ne dolorem W 1 O 1 11. respuit dolorem O 6 10. respuit dolorem G 4 O 3 4. 11. dicere R 1 2 7 16 G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E 1 3 (*manu prima*) 5 7 8 10 13 L 1 4 W 2 M 1 2 D C ΠJ O 2–12. diceres V *at* s *extra lineam excurrente et alio atram. adscripto.* dicere E 2 *at in rasura.* diceret W 1 O 1. ‖ sententia depellere R 1 2 6 7 16 V G 1 2 4 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 13 L M 1 D C Π O 6–8 ed. H. sententia se depellere O 1. senteńtia repellere E 5 O 10 11. sententia in eo O 3 4. sententiā depellere ÷ O 5 *at* ‾ *et* ÷ *alio atr. superscr.* sniā depellere W 2 *at linea supra* a *alio atram. add.* sententiaque depellere G 3. sniamque depellere O 2. sententiam depellere M 2 E 3 7 10 L 4 O 9 12. sententiam depelleret W 1 J.

the construction being lost owing to the intervention of the explanatory clause *ne scilicet dolorem*...and taken up by *in eo*, cf. Madv. on Fin. ii 33, 107. Küh. rightly points out that the anacol. cannot be got rid of, as Hand on Wopkens, *Lectt.* p. 81 proposed, by punctuating thus—'ergo, id quod...,' so that *id quod* should be merely equivalent to *quod*, as *id quod* is only so used when it introduces a parenthetic explanatory clause. Bent. found the statement that philosophy continues *in eo*, i.e. in the dogma that pain is the *summum malum*, untrue, since many philosophers held that, though an evil, it was not the greatest evil, while the Stoics held that it was not an evil at all. He therefore corrected the statement and at the same time removed the anacolouthon by striking out *eo*. But Cic.'s argument here is rhetorical. He has excepted the Stoics and he has referred to those who held that pain though an evil was not the greatest evil. The sweeping assertion with regard to the continuing belief of philosophers is therefore modified by the previous admissions. *philosophia* in fact means 'philosophers,' i.e. 'certain philosophers.'

quaedam generosa: *quaedam* serves to modify the metaphor in *generosa*, wh. strictly means 'high-born,' cf. Lael. 9, 29 'generosum, ut ita dicam'; Brut. 75, 261 'forma etiam magnifica et generosa quodam modo' (quoted by Küh.).

respuit ne = *recusauit ne*, 'did not permit you to pronounce pain the greatest evil, but caused you, when confronted with disgrace, to abandon your opinion.'

ne scilicet dolorem: MSS have *ne se dolorem*, whence Bent. made the certain emendation 'ne sc. dolorem.'

diceres...depellerere: the best MSS have *dicere...depellere*; the error may have arisen either, as explained by Klotz in *Add.* p. 72, through a copyist omitting one of the two syllables *re* in *depellerere* and *diceres* being afterwards altered to *dicere* in consequence, or, more probably, through *sc.* (*scilicet*) being mistaken for *se* and the construction being supposed to be acc. and infin.

oppositoque: with this clause we have zeugma, as we must supply from *respuit* some such word as *effecit*, and we must also supply the positive *ut* out of the negative *ne*. For *-que* continuing after the negative, an antithesis being implied in the contrast of clauses, cf. i 2, 4 n. 'iacentque'; i 29, 71 n. on 'adhibuitque.'

pertulerit, decreuerit: for these future perfects cf. i 30, 74 n.; for the meaning of *decreuerit* cf. ii 4, 11 n. on 'decretis.'

bus, si in his est summum malum, sed etiam cum sciet id sibi posse euenire? etsi quis est, cui non possit? ita fit, ut omnino nemo esse possit beatus. **17.** Metrodorus quidem perfecte eum beatum putat, cui corpus bene constitutum sit et exploratum ita semper fore. quis autem est iste, cui id exploratum possit esse?

VII. Epicurus uero ea dicit, ut mihi quidem risus captare uideatur. adfirmat enim quodam loco, si uratur sapiens, si crucietur—exspectas fortasse, dum dicat: 'patietur, perferet, non succumbet'; magna mehercule laus et eo ipso, per quem iuraui, Hercule, digna! sed Epicuro, homini aspero et duro, non est hoc satis; in Phalaridis tauro si erit, dicet: 'quam suaue est,

18. si in his R V G B K E L W 1 2 M 1 *plerique*. si in iis M 2. 19. et siquis est R 1 2 G 1–3 B 1–3 L. ꝛsiq̂sē K. & ṣịquis est V P M 2. & ~~si~~quis ē E. et si quis est W 2 M 1 O 6–8. et quis est S W 1 R 16 G 4 E 3 13 C J O 1–4 9 11. et^si^quis est O 5 10 12. sed quis est E 2 Π.
§ **17**, 20. eum beatum putat R V G 1–4 B 1–3 K P S E L M 1 2 C Π O 2–5 7 8 10 12. eum putat beatum O 9. eum perfecte ēē beatum putat W 2. eum perfecte beatum putat J. eum perfecte putat beatum O 11. eum putat esse beatum O 1. perfecte putat eum beatum O 6. 21. est *post* constitutum S. sit *ceteri*. VII. 2. adfirmat V G E. adfirmat *in* affirmat *mut.* R. 6. quam suaue est quam hoc R 1 7 V G 1 3 4 B 1 2 K S E 1 2 L W 1 D C Π O 6–9 11 12 ed. H. quam suaue hoc est O 1. quam suaue ÷ quam hoc P *marg.* ñ *post* ÷ *quae nota lineam claudit.* quam suaue est hoc W 2 M 1 2 R 6 G 2 B 3 J O 2–5 10 ed. P.

etsi quis est: for the sentiment Mo. compares Publilius Syrus (in Ribbeck *Scaen. Rom. poes. frag.* II p. 320) 'cuiuis potest accidere quod cuiquam potest.' The best MSS have *et si quis*. Schiche's *et sic quis* is not possible. Most editors omit *si*, which may have been erroneously repeated from the previous line. But *etsi* gives a good sense. E. Goebel (*Philol.* LVIII p. 148) proposes *et is quis est*, but thinks that perhaps *etsi*, corrective, is right. And this use of *etsi* is common.

ita fit ut: this formula serves not only *ad rem ueram confirmandam* but also *ad rem falsam refellendam*, see Jenzen in Mo.; cf. N.D. i 31, 88; iii 1, 1 etc. For *ita* in the same sense as here Küh. compares v 17, 50 'ita erit beata uita melius aliquid: quo quid potest dici peruersius?'

§ **17. Metrodorus**: cf. ii 3, 8 n.; v 9, 27; Off. iii 33, 117; Fin. ii 28, 92 Madv.'s n. For the definition here referred to cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii p. 417 C ἀγαθὸν ψυχῆς τί ἄλλο ἢ τὸ σαρκὸς εὐσταθὲς κατάστημα καὶ τὸ περὶ ταύτης πιστὸν ἔλπισμα;

quidem: i 48, 116 n. on 'Alcidamas quidem.'

VII. **adfirmat...si uratur sapiens... si erit, dicet**: owing to the intervention of parenthetic clauses we have an anacolouthon, the construction ceasing after *crucietur* to depend upon *adfirmat*; strictly we should have *si sit*, *illum dicturum*.

uratur, crucietur: for the presents cf. i 33, 80 n. on 'dicatur.'

exspectas...dum dicat: Küh. *Gr.* II § 126, Anm. 4 notes that *dum* and subj. is much more common than the acc. and infin. with *exspecto*. The subj. is one of purpose 'you are waiting for him to say,' cf. Roby § 1664 where see exx.

homini aspero et duro: irony.

in Phalaridis tauro: the date of Phalaris can be only approximately fixed. See the earlier portion of Bentley's *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris.* Clinton *Fast. Hellen.* places his accession to the throne of Agrigentum in B.C. 570, following one of Eusebius' two statements on the subject. The story of the brazen bull, in which Phalaris is said to have burnt his victims alive, seems well founded. The earliest ref. is in Pindar Pyth. i 185 foll.

(quam hoc non curo!') suaue etiam? an parum est, si non amarum? at id quidem illi ipsi, qui dolorem malum esse negant, non solent dicere, cuiquam suaue esse cruciari; asperum, difficile, odiosum, contra naturam dicunt, nec tamen malum. hic, qui solum hoc malum dicit et malorum omnium extremum, sapientem censet id suaue dicturum. **18.** ego a te non postulo, ut dolorem eisdem uerbis adficias, quibus Epicurus uoluptatem, homo, ut scis, uoluptarius. ille dixerit sane idem in Phalaridis tauro, quod, si esset in lectulo; ego tantam uim non tribuo sapientiae contra dolorem. si fortis est in perferendo, officio

8. ad id quidem R G B 1 2 K S E L. at id quidem (t, i superscr.) V *manu recentiore, non primi correctoris manu, superscr.* atidqui dē P. (t superscr.)

§ **18**, 16. sapientiae R G W 1 2 O 1 6 7. sapientię V B K S E L G 3 4. sapientie G 2 B 2 D C Π J O 3 4 8 9. sapientiae O 10 *at* ae *postea add.* sapientia[e] P. patientiae O 11. sapienti et M 1 2 R 6 B 3. sapienti ut O 5 *at* u *in litura.* sapienti contra O 2 12. patientie O 11. || si forte in R 1 2 6 16 V G 1–3 B 1 2 K S E 1 2 L W 1 D C Π J O 1 7–9 11 ed. H. ed. P. si fortis in W 2 M 1 2 G 4 B 3 O 2 5 12. si forte in P *at rasura supra* e. sit fortis in O 3 4 6 10.

τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλκέῳ καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾷ φάτις. Cic. Verr. iv 33, 73 says that the bull was carried to Carthage when the Carthaginians took Agrigentum and that it was restored to the Agrigentines by Scipio Afr. Minor after the fall of Carthage. Diodorus Sic. xiii 90 says that the bull was still extant in his time.

In Diog. L. x 118 Epicurus is represented to have said *κἂν στρεβλωθῇ ὁ σοφὸς εἶναι αὐτὸν εὐδαίμονα...ὅτε μέντοι στρεβλοῦται ἔνθα καὶ μύζει καὶ οἰμώζει.*

illi ipsi: the Stoics, 6, 15 n.

qui solum hoc malum dicit et: Bent. thought this passage corrupt, for if *solum* how, he asked, is it also *extremum*? He therefore inserted *non* before *solum* and changed *et* into *sed*. And this would give a direct contrast to *qui dolorem malum esse negant* and would be supported by v 9, 26 'cum dolorem non modo maximum malum sed solum malum esse dixerit'; v 26, 73 'cum constituerit non modo summum malum esse dolorem sed etiam solum'; but the reading of the MSS gives a good sense as taken by Hei., 'the only (real) evil and the greatest of all (reputed) evils.' [It is constantly said of the Stoics that their *summum bonum* was *uirtus*; in strictness it was their *solum bonum*.]

hoc = *dolorem*.

§ **18. quibus Epicurus uoluptatem**: i.e. that you should say of *dolor* '*quam suaue est*,' words wh. Epic., a man of pleasure, would use with ref. to pleasure; cf. Beroaldus and Bouhier in Mo.; and this may be inferred from the next clause *ille dixerit...lectulo*. Bent. held that *uoluptatem* should be struck out though present in all MSS, since Epic. declared *uoluptas* to be the *summum bonum*, and it would be absurd to declare *dolor* to be the *summum bonum*; hence Dav. Or. Ml. and others have bracketed and some, including Schiche, have ejected *uoluptatem*; but among other objections to the view of Bent. there is weight in that of Sff. that if *uoluptatem* were struck out *uoluptarius* would have nothing to wh. to refer. Mo. Küh. TS. Hei. retain the MS reading. The thought is the same as in v 10, 31 where the same charge of inconsistency is brought against Epicurus.

quod: supply *diceret* from *dixerit*.

lectulo, 'in his *own* bed': the dimin. probably originated in a notion of comfort associated with *lectus*. Cf. Cat. i 4, 9 'me in meo lectulo interfecturos'; N.D. i 35, 84 'in suo lectulo mortuus.'

si fortis est: this is Halm's conj., followed by Sff. Hei. TS. Ml. Schiche, as being implied in the reading *si forte* of the best MSS (*si forte* arising out of *si fortē ē*). Dav. Mo. Küh. read *sit fortis* with some inferior MSS. Lamb. in second ed. conjectured *esse fortem*. As subject supply *sapiens* from *sapientia* preceding.

satis est; ut laetetur etiam, non postulo. tristis enim res est sine dubio, aspera, amara, inimica naturae, ad patiendum tolerandumque difficilis. **19.** aspice Philoctetam, cui concedendum est gementi; ipsum enim Herculem uiderat in Oeta magnitudine dolorum eiulantem. nihil igitur hunc uirum sagittae, quas ab Hercule acceperat, tum consolabantur, cum

E uíperino mórsu uenae uíscerum
Venéno inbutae taétros cruciatús cient.

itaque exclamat auxilium expetens, mori cupiens:

Heu! quí salsis fluctíbus mandet

§ **19**, 19. aspice R V G B P E. || philotetam V E. 21. heiulantem V B K P E L. ḥeiulantem R *puncto alio ut uid. atram. notato.* heiulantem G *at* h *in rasura.* eiulantem S *litt. ante* ei *erasa.* 22. consolabantur R V G B K S L W 1 2 M 1 2 O 11 12 *plerique.* consolabuntur R 11 14 G 2. consolarentur R 13. consolantur R 3. 24. taetros R K. tetros V G B P S E L. || cient R V G B K P E L *plerique.* cierunt O 7. cierint O 11. cient S *marg.* cierent. cierent W 1 M 1 R 5 6. sētirent O 8. 25. expeçtens R. expectens c *eraso* G. expe tens K *una litt. erasa.* expectans P. expectens M 1. expetens V *at syllaba* pe *lineam claudit et unius litterae spatium superest; rasura etiam uidetur fuisse.* expetens B S E L W 1 2. 26. qui R 1 2 4 5 7 10 11 13 14 V B 1 2 K E 1 3 5 8 13 W 2 G 2 3 L 6 D C J O 2 9 ed. P. qui G *litt. ut uid.* s *erasa.* qui[s] P S. quis W 1 M 1 2 R 3 17 B 3 E 2 L 4 Π O 1 3–6 8 10–12 ed. H. quam L O 7. || salsis R V G K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1 2 5 6 11 *plerique.* falsis R 6 15 B 2 O 7–9 12 ed. H. salṣis B. salis R 14 O 3 4 10.

§ **19. Philoctetam**: the story was that Philoctetes, on his way to Troy, was wounded in the foot by the bite of a snake, or, acc. to another account, with one of the poisoned arrows wh. Hercules had given to him at his death, and that his companions, unable to endure his moanings and the stench from the festering wound, put him ashore on Lemnos, by Ulysses' advice, and abandoned him there.

cui: for he was an ordinary man, while Hercules was a demi-god.

gementi: the most usual constr. with *concedere* is *ut* with subj.; the infin. also is not uncommon; cf. ii 23, 55 'ingemiscere'; iv 31, 66 'si ridere concessum sit'; v 10, 31 'numerare concedi.' For the participle Küh. compares Off. i 21, 71 'eis forsitan concedendum sit rem publicam non capessentibus qui...,' and he notes that the construction is very common in Greek after *πρέπει, λυσιτελεῖ, ἄμεινόν ἐστιν, οὐκ ἀηδές ἐστι, φίλον ἐστί, συμφέρει* etc.

Herculem: Dav. quotes Ovid Metam. ix 231–4 and Diod. Sic. iv p. 243 *ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπογνοὺς τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πυρὰν παρεκάλει τὸν ἀεὶ προσιόντα ὑφάψαι τὴν πυράν· οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμῶντος ὑπακοῦσαι μόνος Φιλοκτήτης ἐπείσθη· λαβὼν δὲ τῆς ὑπουργίας χάριν τὴν τῶν τόξων δωρεὰν ἧψε πυράν.*

There were other versions of the story. Soph. Trach. 1158 foll. makes Hyllus perform this office for Hercules.

consolabantur: Bent.'s conj. *consolantur* has been adopted by Dav. and several subsequent scholars including Or. Sff. Hei. TS. Ml. Schiche. But Mo. points out that this alteration is not required by the sequence *cient* in the quotation that follows—'seruat metrum, ne uersum destruat,'—while the present *exclamat* is similar to *uolt* i 18, 42 n., and *inscribitur* i 24, 57 n.

e uiperino etc.: these lines are from the Philocteta of Accius; Ribb. 1 p. 207. The metre is iambic trimeter. The same two lines occur in Fin. ii 29, 94.

uenae uiscerum = *uenae.* Dav. on ii 14, 34 quotes Serv. on Aen. vi 253 *uiscera sunt quidquid inter ossa et cutem est.* Cf. also *uisceratio* 'a public distribution of flesh.'

heu qui: the metre is anapaestic dimeter, the line wh. ends the system, here the fourth, being catalectic as usual (*uersus paroemiacus*). Cf. ii 10, 23.

qui is the reading of the best MSS.

Me ex súblimo uertíce saxi?
Iam iam ábsumor, confícit animam
Vis uólneris, ulceris aéstus.

difficile dictu uidetur eum non in malo esse, et magno quidem, qui ita clamare cogatur.

VIII. **20**. Sed uideamus Herculem ipsum, qui tum dolore frangebatur, cum inmortalitatem ipsa morte quaerebat. quas hic uoces apud Sophoclem in Trachiniis edit! cui cum Deianira sanguine Centauri tinctam tunicam induisset inhaesissetque ea uisceribus, ait ille:

O múlta dictu gráuia, perpessu áspera,
Quae córpore exancláta atque animo pértuli!

27. sublimo V B 1 2 E L O 1. sublimọ R *i.e.* o *in* i *recentiore manu mut.* sublim͜o G i *eraso* (*sic*). sublime K. sublimi P S W 1 2 M 1 2 O 4 12 *plerique.* 29. uolneris V G B.

VIII. § **20**, 2. ipsa R V G B 1–3 K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 C Π O 1 2 5–8 10–12. *perperam adfirmat Dauisius* ipsam *MS Cantabrigiensi* (*apud nos* C) *inesse: habet enim* ipa *quod ualet* ipsa. ipam mortem O 9. ipsam O 3 4. 3. in trachinis R V G B 1–3 K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 C Π J *alii.* 4. inhesisetque V S. 5. at ille R V G B 1 2 E L. at ille S *marg.* ait. 7. exanclata R V G 1–3 B 1 2 E 1 3 L 1 4 W 2 D O 8. exenclata O 1 7. exanclata *in* exanclato *alio atram. mut.* K. exanclato S *et* Π *at* o *alio atram. et in litura.* exancˡato W 1 *at fuerat* a *post* t. exanclato (ta) P *al. atram. superscr.* exanclato M 2 R 6 J O 2–6 12. exanclaᵗᵒ O 10. exhanclato M 1. exanelato O 9. exanhelato B 3. exanellato E 3. exane pangulos exqsito cacato O 11.

This form was sometimes interrog. in O.L. (cf. Plautus, Rudens 98 'qui nominat me?' and Sonnenschein there). Hei. Ml. and Schiche here and Ribbeck I p. 209 read *qui*. And this form is no doubt right though perhaps not interrogative here. Dr Reid takes it as in Virg. Geo. ii 488–9 'o qui me gelidis conuallibus Haemi sistat!' 'Oh! for a man to....'

sublimo: forms from *sublimus* occur several times in O.L.; cf. Munro on Lucr. i 340; Roby I § 405. Nonius 489, 5 quotes *sublima* pro *sublimis* from Accius' Phinidae (Ribbeck I p. 211) and also from Sall. Hist. Bk iii.

qui...cogatur: for the subj. cf. i 6, 12 n. on 'qui dimiserit.'

VIII. § **20**. **ipsa morte**, 'even at the moment when he was securing immortality by the very act of dying.'

in Trachiniis: ll. 1046 foll., ὦ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ θερμὰ καὶ λόγων πέρα κ.τ.λ.

Deianira: Hercules' wife, daughter of Oeneus, King of Aetolia.

sanguine Centauri: the Centaur Nessus, having insulted Deianira while ferrying her across the river Euenus, had been shot by Herc. with one of the arrows poisoned in the Hydra's blood, and as he died had in revenge persuaded D. to collect his blood, assuring her that it would serve as a charm to bring back Herc.'s love if it should ever stray from her. Subsequently Deianira, jealous of Iole, whom Herc. had taken captive, sent to Herc. a shirt steeped in the blood of Nessus. The shirt stuck fast to Hercules' body and the poison permeated his system, causing excruciating pain. In this state Herc. ascended Mt Oeta, raised a pyre of wood and called on such as came near him to set it on fire. The story forms the plot of Sophocles' Trachiniae. It is also well known from Ovid Met. ix 98—272.

uisceribus, 'to his flesh'; cf. § 19 n. 'uenae uiscerum.'

o multa dictu grauia: these lines are by Cic. himself, as was seen by Camerarius. Bouhier pointed out, against those who supposed them to belong to Accius, that when Cic. quotes the verses of another he quotes only a few bearing upon his particular point, and Or. notes

Nec míhi Iunonis térror inplacábilis
Nec tántum inuexit trístis Eurystheús mali,
Quantum úna uaecors Oénei partu édita.
Haec me ínretiuit uéste furiali ínscium,
Quae látere inhaerens mórsu lacerat uíscera
Vrgénsque grauiter púlmonum haurit spíritus;
Iam décolorem sánguinem omnem exsórbuit.
Sic córpus clade horríbili absumptum éxtabuit,
Ipse ínligatus péste interimor téxtili.
Hos nón hostilis déxtra, non Terra édita
Molés Gigantum, nón biformato ímpetu

8. inplacabilis B. 9. euristeus R V B 1 2 S E L W 1 2 C. $\overset{u}{e}$risteus G. 10. uęcors R K S. uaecors E. uecors V B L Π. 12. latere R 1 2 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K E 1 2 7 L Π O 7. $\overset{i}{\text{latere}}$ P *al. atr. superscr.* lateri E 3 *at* i *in litura.* corpore S. lateri W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 G 2 4 L 4 D C J O 1–6 8–12. 13. aurit V G. 14. exorbuit V G K P E 1 7 L 1 4 W 1 R 6 B 2 3 O 1–6 10–12. exhorbuit W 2. $\overset{s}{\text{exorbuit}}$ R *alia manu superscr.* exsorbuit B S M 2 D Π O 8 9. obsorbuit O 7. 15. si corpus V. si[c] corpus G. 16. interimor R V G B K S E. 18. gigantium R V G 1 2 B 1 2 K E W 2 D C J O 8. gigantum P S L W 1 M 1 2 R 3 6 G 3 B 3 E 2 Π O 1–7 9–12.

that the longest fragment of Accius quoted by Cic. (N.D. ii 35, 89) is only twelve lines long. Further, Cic. has as usual given a free rendering of the Greek.

exanclata: for the word cf. i 49, 118 n.; for the metaphor i 35, 86 n. The reading *exanclato*, of some inferior MSS and many old editions, is impossible, as the word was regularly applied to *labores* and not to *corpora*.

Iunonis terror inplacabilis: *terror* = *ira terrorem incutiens* F.A.W.; *inplacabilis* with *terror*, not with *Iunonis*, the former being more poetic and elegant, as Küh. observes.

tantum applies to *Iunonis terror* as well as to *Eurystheus*, F.A.W.

Eurystheus: the story of the hatred of Juno owing to the infidelity of her husband Jupiter, the father of Hercules, and of Hercules' enslavement by Eurystheus, and of the twelve labours imposed by the latter, is well known.

tristis Eurystheus, 'dark Eurystheus.' Soph. has *ὁ στυγνὸς Εὐρυσθεύς*.

partu: Bent., thinking this word inapplicable to the father, altered the reading to *patre edita*; but Dav. compares Quint. viii 6, 34 'et apud tragicos etiam leo pariet,' quoted as an instance of *κατάχρησις*, and Nonius s. v. *parere*, and *τίκτειν, τεκεῖν*, often in Greek. Küh. compares *satu* Off. i 32, 118 'Herculi, Iouis satu edito.'

uaecors, 'senseless.' Cic. does not keep close to the Greek wh. has here *δολῶπις*.

latere inhaerens: so the best MSS; Vulg. and Or. Kl. Bai. TS. *lateri*. *latere* is read by Dav. Mo. Hei. Sff. Küh. Ml. Schiche. For the abl. cf. Ovid Met. xi 403 'inhaerentem lacerae ceruice iuuencae.' *haerere* and *adhaerere aliqua re* are also found, cf. Virg. Aen. x 361; Ovid Met. v 38. TS. thinks *latere* may have arisen out of the old dat. form *laterei*. [It is very unlikely that Cic. would use *inhaerere* with dat. any more than *includere*—the one or two passages where texts give this are incorrect, I believe.]

uiscera: ii 7, 19 n. 'uenae uiscerum.' Soph. here has *βέβρωκε σάρκας*.

decolorem, 'discoloured.' Cic. has departed from the Greek which is *ἐκ δὲ χλωρὸν αἷμά μου πέπωκεν ἤδη*, where *χλωρὸν* means 'fresh,' 'vigorous.'

inligatus peste textili, 'entangled in destroying web,' cf. Soph.

καθῆψεν ὤμοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς Ἐρινύων
ὑφαντὸν ἀμφίβληστρον, ᾧ διόλλυμαι.

gigantum: the best MSS have *gigantium* but see Küh. *Gram.* I § 74 Anm. 6 p. 212.

biformato impetu Centaurus: hypallage, cf. Hor. Odes iii 3, 61 'Troiae renascens...fortuna'; Virg. Aen. 8, 526

Centaúrus ictus córpori inflixít meo,
Non Graía uis, non bárbara ulla inmánitas,
Non saéua terris géns relegata últimis,
Quas péragrans undique ómnem ecferitatem éx-
puli,
Sed féminea uir féminea interimór manu.
IX. O náte! uere hoc nómen usurpá patri,
Ne me óccidentem mátris superet cáritas.

19. infixit R 1 6 G 1–3 (*non ut Küh.*) B 1–3 P 1 (*non ut Küh.*) P 2 S E L W 1 M 1 D C Π J XII Oxx. infix̄ K. fix̄ W 2 *at rasura et spatium ante* f. infix̄ [l superscr.] V. inflixit M 2. influxit E 5. 22. icferitatem G. [h]icferitatem R *alio atr. ut uid. superscr.* ʌcferitatem B 2 *i.e.* ic- *at incertus erat librarius.* [hic] ʌferitatem O 12 *litura facta esse uid.* efferitatem V *at primo* f *in litura et* e *ex* i *mut.* hic feritatem B K P S E 1 2 7 13 L 1 2 R 2 3 7 D C Π O 5 7 9 11 12. h' feritatem G 3. hinc feritatem W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 G 2 B 3 P 2 E 3 5 10 L 4 J O 2–4 6 10 ed. H. hic omnem feritatem O 8. feritatem O 1 hinc *omisso.* || expulit R 1 2 7 G 1–3 B 1 2 K E 1 7 L 1 2 D O 6 7 9. expulit S t *ex parte eraso.* expuli V *at rasura post* i. expulit P E 13. expuli *ex* expulit *mut.* E 3. expuli W 1 2 M 2 R 3 6 B 3 P 2 E 2 5 10 L 4 C Π J O 1–5 8 10–12 ed. H. 24. uir R 1 2 4 8 11 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K S E 1 2 L 4 D C O 1 7 8 11. [ui] uir P *manu recentiore, non primi correctoris, superscr.* ui M 2 *et* O 12 *at spatio post* i *relicto.* ui O 10 *at ex* uir *mut. uid.* ui W 2 *at fuerat* uir. uis P 2 O 3 4 6. ui L 1 2 M 1 R 6 G 2 4 B 3 E 3 5 13 J O 2 5 9 ed. H. ed. P. [r] ui W 1 *manu recentiore ut uid. superscr.* || interimor B P E L. inter emor V B 2. [i] interemor R (*non ut Küh.*). [m] intereñor G *alia manu superscr.* IX. 2. ne R V G S B 2 *alii.*

'Tyrrhenusque tubae clangor'; and so often. Dav. notes that Cic. has here better understood Soph. (οὔτε θήρειος βία) than the scholiast, whose note is Λέοντος, Ὕδρας, Κερβέρου καὶ λοιπῶν. For the Centaurs as θῆρες Dav. compares Trach. 1095 διφυᾶ τ' ἄμικτον ἱπποβάμονα στρατὸν θηρῶν; Iliad i 267; ii 743 etc.

inflixit: the best and nearly all MSS have *infixit*, retained by Or. and Sff., but this reading is not supported by Aen. iv 689 'infixum stridit sub pectore uolnus.' *inflixit*, the emendation of Lamb., is found in M2 and in V by correction. 'Certe infigere ictus nemo dixerit at infligere ictus rectissime' Bent. Mo. compares Phil. ii 21, 52 'tibi uolnus inflictum est'; in Vatin. 8, 20 'plagam inflixisses'; in Pison. 14, 32 'inflixit uolnera.'

terris...ultimis, 'exiled at earth's utmost end'; Trach. 1090 ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις τόποις. The Pillars of Hercules are no doubt referred to. For these as marking the extreme west cf. i 12, 28 n.

ecferitatem: Klotz' conj. (*Add.* p. 75) indicated by the best MSS. Dav. Mo. Or. *hic feritatem*; several MSS and early edd. *hinc feritatem*. For *ecferitas* (*efferitas*) cf. Sest. 42, 91; Lact. Mort. Pers. 9, 2. The reference is to the destruction of monsters, e.g. the Hydra, the Stymphalian birds, etc.

feminea uir: Mo. points out that *ui*, read by the Vulgate with slight MS support, is unsuitable, since it is by Deianira's fraud, not by her force, that Herc. dies. The repetition of *feminea* seems effective, but Hei. Sff. TS. Ml. and Schiche read 'sed feminae uir feminea...' with Wes. *Em.* 1 p. 8. Bent. (*notae inedit.*) conjectured *sed feminae uir feminae interimor manu.*

IX. **nate**: Hyllus, son of Hercules and Deianira.

usurpa: lit. 'employ this name of son truly for thy father'; *patri* dat. of advantage: i.e. 'prove a true son for your father now'; cf. Trach. 1064 Ὦ παῖ, γενοῦ μοι παῖς ἐτήτυμος γεγώς.

ne me occidentem, 'let not affection for thy mother prevail over me (i.e. over my claims to affection) as I fall.' Roby

Huc árripe ad me mánibus abstractám piis;
Iam cérnam, mene an íllam potiorém putes.
21. Perge, aúde, nate, inlácrima patris péstibus,
Miserére! gentes nóstras flebunt míserias.
Heu! uírginalem me óre ploratum édere,
Quem uídit nemo ulli íngemescentém malo!
Sic féminata uírtus adflicta óccidit.
Accéde, nate, adsíste, miserandum áspice
Euísceratum córpus laceratúm patris!

3. arripe R V G B 1 2 K S E L.
§ **21**, 5. inlacrima V G B 1 2 K E L. inlacrima R. illacryma W 1. 8. ingemescentem V G B 2 O 6. ingemescentem R. ingemiscentem B S L W 2 C O 5 8. 9. sic feminata R 1 2 6 V G 1–3 K P L W 2 M 1 2 B 3 E 2 5 D C П J O 2 5 6 9. sic feminat O 7. sic feminate E. sic [ef]feminata B. sic feminata S *marg.* effeminata. sic geminata B 2. sic effeminata W 1 P 2 E 7 O 1 3 4 8 10–12. ‖ adflicta V G E. afflicta K. 10. adsiste V G S E B 3. 11. euisceratum *codd. omnes, quod sciam.* ‖ lacerati V *at litura post* i.

§ 1596; Gildersleeve and Lodge § 263 n. This is more natural than to take *ne* as final here, and it is also closer to the Greek καὶ μὴ τὸ μητρὸς ὄνομα πρεσβεύσῃς πλέον. It is not necessary to avoid the asyndeton by reading *neue* with F. A. W. and Wes.

piis: Bouh. corr. *tuis*, but Küh. well compares p. Rosc. Am. 24, 66 'uidetisne, quos nobis poetae tradiderunt, patris ulciscendi causa, supplicium de matre sumpsisse, ut eos agitent furiae...quod ne *pii* quidem sine scelere esse potuerunt?' Or. takes our passage as an instance of oxymoron, but in oxymoron there should be a sharper contrast than we have here. The effect is rather that all duty to the mother is rhetorically denied. In Ovid Met. viii 477 'impietate pia est' we have the required contrast.

§ **21.** **perge**: here = *age* intensified (*per*) as in Ecl. vi 13 'pergite, Pierides.' Cf. Soph. here ἴθ', ὦ τέκνον, τόλμησον.

pestibus = *cruciatibus*, cf. 10, 25 'pestes excipio anxias' Küh., who adds 'pluralis est qui appellatur *maiestaticus*, apud poetas frequentissimus.' Cf. Küh. *Gr.* I § 23, 3 p. 60.

uirginalem...ploratum: Greek ὅστις ὥστε παρθένος βέβρυχα κλαίων. The idea of Stephanus (who adopted the corr. of Lamb. and Fr. Fabricius, 'heu uirginali more...' against MSS) that the eye not the mouth is the source of *ploratus*, is refuted by Dav. who cites Livy xxii 14; xxiii 42; Senec. Ep. 63. As a matter of fact the meaning 'to cry aloud' was the original meaning of *plorare*, cf. SI PARENTEM PUER VERBERIT AST OLLE PLORASSIT, old law in Festus p. 320. Howling was an early means of invoking the aid of a court of law, and still continues to be so in India. Earlier still it was a means of appealing to public opinion, by shaming an over-powerful adversary (e.g. debtor), where no legal redress was obtainable.

me...edere: exclamatory infin. Madv. § 399, cf. i 41, 98 n.

sic feminata: so the most and best MSS; inferior MSS *sic effeminata*. Hence Klotz conjectured *ecfeminata* omitting *sic* which he thought due to a corruption of *ec*. Kl. has been followed by Sff. Hei. TS. Bai. (*prob.* Wes.) Ml. and Schiche, but it seems better to suppose with Mo. that *ecfeminata* originated in a gloss upon the ἅπαξ εἰρημένον *feminata*, and with Küh. to refer *sic* to the words *uirginalem me ore pl. edere*, cf. 10, 25 'sic me ipse uiduus pestes excipio anxias.'

euisceratum corpus laceratum, 'mangled and torn.' Early edd. read *lacerati*. Bent. rejected this as being against the MSS but proposed *euiscerati* equally against the MSS, and this reading was adopted by Dav. Or. Kl. Bai. Mo. Sff. Hei. and TS. Küh. and Schiche read as in the text, two epithets asyndetically used with one noun being common in O. L. poetry; cf. Davies' n.

Vidéte, cuncti! túque, caelestúm sator,
Iace, óbsecro, in me uím coruscam fúlminis!
Nunc, núnc dolorum anxíferi torquent uértices.
Nunc sérpit ardor. o ánte uictricés manus,
22. O péctora, o terga, ó lacertorúm tori!
Vestróne pressu quóndam Nemeaeús leo
Frendéns efflauit gráuiter extremum hálitum?
Haec déxtra Lernam taétra mactata éxcetra
Pacáuit haec bicórporem adflixít manum?
Erymánthiam haec uastíficam abiecit béluam?
Haec é Tartarea ténebrica abstractúm plaga
Tricípitem eduxit Hýdra generatúm canem?
Haec ínteremit tórtu multiplicábili
Dracónem auriferam obtútu adseruantem árborem?

12. caelestęum R. cęlestum V B K O 12. caelestum G. celestum B 2 Π O 9. celest(i)um E. caelestium M 2. cęlestium P L W 1 O 3. celestium S W 2 M 1 R 6 B 3 L 2 D J O 4 5 8.

§ **22**, 17. nemaeus R V G P L. nęmeus (*sic*) B. ~~nemēs~~ S *marg.* nemeus, *fortasse eadem manu.* 19. ta&trā R. taetram V P. taetra *litt. post* a *erasa* G. tętrā K. tetrā B 1 3 E D C J. tetram S L W 1 M 1 2 G 3 B 2 Π O 1–7 9 10 12. t(L)irim O 11. t'ram R 2. terram R 6. e t'ra O 8. 20. plac(a)uit R V. placaŭ K. placuit L G 3 B 2 O 7. pla(ca)uit G. placauit B 1 3 P S E W 1 M 1 2 R 2 6 G 2 L 2 D C Π J O 1–6 8–12. 25. optutū R E. optutum B. optutum V L. obtutum G E 2 13. obtutū W 1 V 7 B 2. obtutū S *marg.* obtutu. obtutum P m *atriore atram. exarato.* optatū G 3. optutu K *ex* optutū *ut uid. rasura mut.* obtutu W 1 E 3 C Π O 8 9. obt(i)utu O 12. obtuitu M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 2–5. ‖ adseruantem R 1 2 V 1 7 B 1 2 K P E L Π. asseruantem S M 1 2 B 3 C O 6 9. asseruantem O 10 *at primum* s *mut. uid.* adseruantem O 8 *marg.* asseruantem. seruantem W 1.

caelestum: for *-um* 'metri causa' instead of *-ium*, cf. Lucr. vi 1274; Aen. vii 432, and so often, especially in hexameters.

anxiferi: Cic. used this word also in the second book of his poem on his Consulship, cf. Diu. i 13, 22.

uertices: Trach. 1082 ἔθαλψεν ἄτης σπασμὸς ἀρτίως. Cf. αἱ ἀκμαί 'the crisis of a disease,' Hipp. Aph. 1245.

§ **22.** **pressu**: Herc. throttled the lion.

grauiter: with *efflauit*, not with *frendens*; 'terribly breathed its last.'

taetra: MSS *taetram*. The true reading, seen by Lamb., was revived by Bent.

excetra: apparently borrowed by ear from Greek ἔχιδνα and hence much altered. F.A.W. compares *Catamitus* = *Ganymedes*. May false analogy to Ὕδρα have been at the root of the change?

pacauit: Turnebus' emendation for *placauit* of the MSS; cf. Aen. vi 804 'Erymanthi (Alcides) pacarit nemora,' where some MSS also read 'placarit' (see Conington's n.); Ovid Met. vii 405 'qui uirtute sua bimarem pacauerat Isthmon,' of Theseus slaying the robbers; Hor. Odes iv 5, 19 'pacatum uolitant per mare nauitae.' Or. compares Seneca, Herc. Fur. 442 'pacatum manu (Herculis) quodcunque...Titan uidet.' Kl. *Add.* p. 78 defends *placauit*, but *placare* implies appeasing wrath and cannot apply to an inanimate and unpersonified object.

bicorporem...manum: the Centaurs, cf. Trach. 1095 quoted on § 20.

Hydra generatum: cf. Soph. δεινῆς Ἐχίδνης θρέμμα. According to Hesiod Theog. 295 foll. Cerberus and the Lernaean Hydra were both sprung from Echidna. But Cic. seems to have con-

Multa ália uictrix nóstra lustrauít manus,
Nec quísquam e nostris spólia cepit laúdibus.

possumusne nos contemnere dolorem, cum ipsum Herculem tam intoleranter dolere uideamus?

X. **23.** Veniat Aeschylus, non poeta solum, sed etiam Pythagoreus; sic enim accepimus. quo modo fert apud eum Prometheus dolorem, quem excipit ob furtum Lemnium!

Vnde ígnis cluet mortálibus clam
Diuísus; eum doctús Prometheus

27. coepit V G. cepit P. 29. intolleranter V. intolleranter G B 2 O 12. intoleranter K L. ‖ dolore B 2. dolore (e sup.) E. dolere K *alii*.

X. § **23**, 1. escylus R V G. escylus P *manu prima*. heschylus P *manu secunda*. aeschilus L M 2. aescilus B E. 3. excipit V G B 1 2 K S L D O 1 3 4 6–9 11 12. excepit W 2 M 1 2 B 3 O 2 5 10 ed. H. coepit W 1. 4. clu& B 2 *i.e.* cluet. cluet R 17. clu¢& V. clucet G R 7 9. lucet R *at fuerat* clucet. lucet P *at rasura ante* l, *fuerat fort. ut in* R[1]. elucet W 1 R 5 8 V 4 G 4 E 6 7 12 15 L 4 O 1 6 9 12 ed. H. lucet B 1 3 K S E 14 10 13 14 L 1 2 M 1 R 2–4 11 12 16 V 2 5 7 8 10 12 13 P 2 4 D (*non ut adfirmat* Mo.) C II O 3 4 7 8 10 11. luceat G 3. lucet V 6 *marg.* pluet. ducet V 11 d *in* l *mut.* ducet L 5. lucet W 2 E 3 5 O 5. eluc& V 9 *primum* e *fuerat fortasse* c *et tres ultimae litt. mut. sunt.* luceret M 2 R 15 P 3 L 3 6 O 2. duceret V 3 E 2 11 J. 5. doctus R V G K P S E W 1 2 M 1 2 *ceteri*. doctus (i sup.) B.

founded the Hydra with Echidna, just as Ovid speaks of '*Lernaeae* Echidnae,' Met. ix 69, 158. Cf. Or. and Küh. here.

tortu multiplicabili: not abl. of means, but abl. of concomitance (description) with *draconem*.

obtutu adseruantem: so with the best MSS Kl. Bai. (*prob.* Wes.) Küh. TS. Hei. Ml. and Schiche. Dav. Or. Mo., with the vulgate, *obtutu obseruantem*. Cf. Att. x 16, 2 'acerrime adseruabimur.'

lustrauit, 'encountered,' an extension from the meaning of 'going through,' cf. Aen. ix 96 'incerta pericula lustret Aeneas?'

nec quisquam laudibus: i.e. 'nec quisquam de laude nostra detraxit aliquid' Nissen in Mo. Cf. Soph. 1102 κοὐδεὶς τροπαῖ' ἔστησε τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν.

X. § **23**. **Pythagoreus**: Mo. compares Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae viii p. 347 φιλόσοφος δὲ ἦν τῶν πάνυ ὁ Αἰσχύλος. The statement that Aeschylus was a Pythagorean does not seem to be supported by any other evidence, and Cic. may be repeating a mere rumour, cf. *sic enim accepimus*.

excipit: for the tense cf. 'uolt,' i 18, 42 n.

furtum Lemnium: it may be inferred from this passage that the version of the myth followed by Aeschylus represented Prometheus to have stolen the fire from Lemnos, where the volcano Μόσυχλος was situated. For the connexion of Vulcan with Lemnos cf. Iliad i 594; Aen. viii 454 'pater...Lemnius'; Ovid, Met. xiii 313; Blaydes on Soph. Phil. 800, 986.

unde: *e Lemno* implied in *Lemnium* (Küh.); but rather *e Mosychlo* if *nemus* (=*Mosychlus*) be the true reading in the preceding context, which is quoted from Accius' *Philocteta Lemnius* by Varro L.L. vii 11 ed. C.O. Müller 'nemus expirante uapore uides unde ignis cluet mortalibus clam diuisus.' Cf. Ribbeck 1 pp. 204–5.

ignis: *s* final is disregarded in the scansion of this word and of *mortalibus*, cf. i 5, 10 n. The metre is anapaestic dimeter as in § 19.

cluet = *dicitur*; on this word *clepsisse* and *expendisse* also depend. Sff. considering a connecting particle essential would read *et hunc* for *eum*.

diuisus = *distributus*.

doctus: cf. Hor. Odes ii 18, 35 'callidum Promethea.'

Clepsísse dolo poenásque Ioui
Fato éxpendisse suprémo.

has igitur poenas pendens adfixus ad Caucasum dicit haec:

Titánum suboles, sócia nostri sánguinis,
Generáta Caelo, aspícite religatum ásperis
Vinctúmque saxis, náuem ut horrisonó freto
Noctém pauentes tímidi adnectunt náuitae.
Satúrnius me síc infixit Iúppiter,
Iouísque numen Múlciberi adsciuít manus.
Hos ílle cuneos fábrica crudeli ínserens
Perrúpit artus; quá miser sollértia
Transuérberatus cástrum hoc Furiarum íncolo,
24. Iam tértio me quóque funestó die
Tristi áduolatu adúncis lacerans únguibus
Iouís satelles pástu dilaniát fero.
Tum iécore opimo fárta et satiata ádfatim
Clangórem fundit uástum et sublime áuolans

6. clepsisse R V G B K P S E L W 1 2 D C Π J *plerique*. dēpsisse B 3 cl *in* d *al. atr. mut.* clēpsisse V 10. dēpsisse M 1 R 3. dempsisse M 2 P 3 O 9. clepisse B 2. || poenasquę R V. penasquae G. 8. dicit haec R V G S. dicit hęc B E L. dicit hoc O 8 9. h' dicit O 11. dicit haec *uel* hęc *uel* hec *ceteri*. 9. soboles R 1 3–8 11 12 14–17 V G 1–4 B 1–3 P S E 1–4 7 8 10 11 13 L 1 2 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J XII Oxx. ed. H. ed. P. sᴜboles K *h.e.* o *in* u *ex parte mut.* sobores P 2. proles R 13. suboles R 2 9 L 5. 11. uictūq· R. (N *superscr.*) uictūq· K. (n *superscr.*) uictumq; V. (n *superscr.*) uictumque G. uictūqȝ B 2. uīctūqȝ W 2. uinctūqȝ B S Π O 2 *alii*. uinctumq; E. 12. adnectunt R V G 1 3 B 1 3 K W 1 M 1 O 3 12. adnectunt S *at* d *multo atriore atram. quam ceterae litt.* 14. mulcebri R 1 2 17 V G P E 1 2 13 L W 2 B 2 Π O 1 7 11. mulcębri (i *superscr.*) B K S. mulcibri M 1 2 B 3 L 4 D C J O 5 12 (e *subscr.*). mulcibri R 4. mulciberi W 1 V 7 13 P 2 E 3 L 2 5 O 2 6 8-10. multiberi G 2. mulceberi E 7. mulcibris R 6. mulciber O 3 4. || adsciū R K. adsciuit V G B 1 3 P S E R 2 4 6 L 5 J O 5. assciuit L B 2 E 2 Π *alii*. asciu̅ G 3.

§ **24**, 21. iecor̹ (e *superscr.*) R. iecor G E. ieco^re B *at litura supra et post* o; *fuerat, ut opinor*, iecur. iecur L R 2 G 4 B 2 E 2 13. iecore P *at* o *et* e *atriore atram.; fuerat* iecur. iecur S *marg.* iecore. iecur^e Π *et* K *al. atr. superscr.* tumie cur^e opimo V u *post* c *aliqua ex parte mutato.* iecore G 2 3 B 3 D O 2 3 5 *alii*. 22. aduolans R V G B 1–3 S E 1 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 1–12.

supremo: with *Ioui* not with *fato*.

Titanum suboles: the following passage is translated from the Prometheus Λυόμενος of Aeschylus by Cicero himself, cf. § 26 below. The chorus of that play consisted of Titans, cf. Arrian, Periplus Ponti Euxini p. 19. The original of the present passage must have followed immediately upon the anapaests recited by the Titans at their entrance. Cf. Procopius, Hist. Goth. 4, 6 p. 336, 11 (quoted in Dindorf *Poet. Scaen.*, *Aesch.* frag. 191).

socia nostri sanguinis: Prometheus was son of the Titan Iapetus.

generata Caelo: sons of Ouranos and Gaia.

Mulciberi adsciuit manus: cf. Prom. Vinct. ll. 3 sqq.

§ **24.** **iam**: intensive, cf. i 1, 2 n.; i 41, 98 n.

sublime: i 17, 40 n.

Pinnáta cauda nóstrum adulat sánguinem.
Cum uéro adesum inflátu renouatúmst iecur,
Tum rúrsum taetros áuida se ad pastús refert.
Sic hánc custodem maésti cruciatús alo,
Quae mé perenni uíuum foedat míseria.
Namque, út uidetis, uínclis constrictús Iouis
Arcére nequeo díram uolucrem a péctore.
25. Sic me ípse uiduus péstes excipio ánxias
Amóre mortis términum anquiréns mali,
Sed lónge a leto númine aspellór Iouis.
Atque haéc uetusta saéclis glomerata hórridis
Luctífica clades nóstro infixa est córpori,
E quó liquatae sólis ardore éxcidunt
Guttaé, quae saxa adsídue instillant Caúcasi.

23. pinnata R V G 1 3 B 1 3 S W 2 M 2 O 2–4 6 10 12. pinata O 11. pamata M 1. pumata O 5. pennata W 1 O 1 7–9. ‖ adulat R 1–3 5–7 10 17 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K P E 7 L 2 4 5 J O 1 6 8–10 12 ed. H. adimat D. adunat C. adullat O 2. aduolat L M 2 R 4 G 2 4 B 3 O 3–5 7 11. adu lat Π, o *eraso*. aduolat *in* adulat *mut.* E 2. 25. taetros R V. tetros G B 1–3 P S E L. 26. hunc R V G B K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1–5 8–12. hc̄ O 6. huc O 7. 27. que O 7. qui R V G B K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 *ceteri.* 27. uiuū R S E W 2 M 1. uiuum V B 1 3 W 1 M 2.

§ **25**, 30. me ipse V G B 1 2 K P S E C Π J O 1–4 6 7 10–12. ne ipse G 3. me ipse R *i.e.* ipse *in* ipso *mut.* metipse O 1. ‸me ipse W 2 *marg. alia manu* in. in me ipse M 2 B 3 O 2 5 9. et ipse W 1. me ipso M 1. me uidetis O 8. 31. anquirens R G K. manquirens V B P. inquirens M 1 B 3 O 1–6 10 12. inquires M 2. adquirens S G 3. acquirens B 2 O 7 8 11. querens O 9. 32. l&o R K. leto E 1 13. l&o V o *alio atram. superscr.* lęto B. loeto L. 35. e quo R V G 1–4 B 1 3 K P S E 1 13 W 1 2 M 1 2 C J O 1–7 9 10. ex quo L B 2 Π O 8 11 12. 36. adsidue R V P E. assidue B 1 2 K L.

adulat, 'wipes off' (sc. *ut uolnus exsiccetur et rursum consanescat*, Küh.). For the active cf. Lucr. v 1070. The word was specially used of the fawning of a dog; cf. Nonius 17 (ed. Müller), s.v. *adulatio*: 'adulatio est blandimentum proprie canum: quod et ad homines tractum consuetudine est...Accius Prometheo: tum auolans pinnata cauda nostrum adulat sanguinem.' The testimony of Nonius as to the verses belonging to Accius is of no weight (see L. Müller *ad locum*); it is therefore unnecessary to suppose, as some have done, that Cicero worked into his version one or more lines from Accius. For a theory as to the derivation see Curtius, *Gr. Etym.* I § 361.

inflatu, 'by swelling.'

hanc...quae: Bentley's corr. accepted by Wes. and others seems necessary since *Iouis satelles* is fem. above; cf. *farta et satiata.*

nequeo: in prose Cic. uses *non queo*, cf. Colson on p. Mil. 28, 77.

§ **25. me ipse uiduus**, 'powerless,' lit. 'deprived of myself,' since he was fastened to a rock; cf. Hor. Odes i 10, 11 'uiduus pharetra.'

anxias: in active sense = *anxiferas*, cf. Aen. ix 89 'timor anxius'; Lucr. iii 993 'anxius angor.'

For the nom. **ipse**, cf. i 30, 73 n. on 'se ipsa intuens.'

amore, 'longing,' cf. Virg. Aen. ii 10 'si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros.'

anquirens: 'anquirere est circumquirere' Paul. ex Fest. p. 22 (Müller); *an* = *amb-* *ambi-* as in *anceps*, *ancile*, *ancisus*.

uetusta: cf. Aesch. P. V. 94 τὸν μυριετῆ χρόνον ἀθλεύσω.

glomerata: F. A. W. explains as = *aucta*, *intenta*. This may be an extension from the meaning of 'massed,' a sense in which the word is often used of storms, conflagrations, etc.

e quo: sc. *corpore*.

uix igitur posse uidemur ita adfectum non miserum dicere et, si hunc miserum, certe dolorem malum.

XI. **26.** *A.* Tu quidem adhuc meam causam agis; sed hoc mox uidero; interea, unde isti uersus? non enim adgnosco.

M. Dicam hercle; etenim recte requiris. uidesne abundare me otio?

A. Quid tum?

M. Fuisti saepe, credo, cum Athenis esses, in scholis philosophorum.

A. Vero, ac libenter quidem.

M. Animaduertebas igitur, etsi tum nemo erat admodum copiosus, uerum tamen uersus ab iis admisceri orationi.

A. Ac multos quidem a Dionysio Stoico.

M. Probe dicis. sed is quasi dictata, nullo dilectu, nulla elegantia, Philo et proprium numerum et lecta poemata et loco

XI. § **26**, 2. a gnosco V *rasura ante* g *et spatio relicto*. adgnosco K. a(d)gnosco G *ead. atram. superscr.* 3. abundare R V G K. (h)abundare B *i.e.* h *alio ut uid. atram. superscr.* abundare S h *ante* ab *eraso*. habundare P E M 1 B 2 O 5. 6. scolis V. sc(h)olis S. 8. (ego) uero ac V *et* S. 10. ab his R V G 1 3 B 1–3 P S E W 1 2 M 1 *alii*. 12. dilectu R V G Gr B 1 2 P E W 2 M 2 O 5–7 10 12. delectu K W 1 M 1 R 6 7 17 C O 1–4 8 9 11 ed. H. 13. et proprium nrt V G. et pp(i)um nũʒ E 12 O 11. et proprium numerum R 6 ed. P. et proprium nr̄ B P E 1 2 8 13 L R 2 9 10 Π O 7. ꝑpū (propriū) nr̄ K. et propru nr̄ R 17. et proprium noster R 1 4 B 2. et proprius noster O 1. et propius noster G 3 (*non ut Küh.*). et proprium et lecta S *marg.* etiam nr̄. et propria et lecta O 10 *spatio post* propria *relicto*. et proprius nostra G 4. et propria noster E 3. nr̄ et proprium nomen D C. nr̄ et propria ‸ et O 9 *marg.* numerum *al. atram.* nr̄ et W 1 2 M 1 R 7 8 12 G 2 E 4 11 J O 5 8. noster et M 2 R 3 5 11 14 15 B 3 P 3 E 5 10 L 2 3 5 6 O 2–4. noster delecta O 12 *at* de *in litura*. et proprium et lecta R 16. et propria et electa L 4. x̄ proprium et lecta O 6. et proprie et electa R 17 ed. H.

XI. § **26.** **uidero**: i 11, 23 n.

uidesne: Küh. notes that *-ne* asks a question without any accessory signification (affirmative or negative) and hence is appended both to *non* (*nonne*), in which case it prepares us for an affirmative answer, and to *num* (*numne*), in which case it prepares us for a negative answer, and that where *-ne* seems, as here, to have the force of *nonne* it lends a certain *irony* to the question.

quid tum? 'Very well, then.' Cf. Hor. Sat. ii 3, 230.

credo: politely avoiding positive assertion.

cum esses: i 1, 1 n.

scholis: i 4, 7 n.

uero: for *uero* affirmative cf. Diu. i 46, 104 'uero, mea puella, tibi concedo meas sedes'; Brutus 87, 300.

uersus...admisceri orationi: Or. notes that Plato and Arist. only avail themselves of this resource where the quotation serves to support their argument, but that later philosophers employ it freely for purposes of ornament.

Dionysius: not the same as Heracleotes Dionysius of ii 25, 60. Nor is there any proof that this Dionysius is Dionysius Magnes of Brutus 91, 316, or Διονύσιος Στωικός of Diog. Laert. vi 43.

dictata: three defects in Dionysius are opposed to three merits in Philo: D. ground out the verses in the monotonous accents in which a jaded teacher would dictate precepts to pupils, P. delivered

adiungebat. itaque postquam adamaui hanc quasi senilem declamationem, studiose equidem utor nostris poetis; sed sicubi illi defecerunt, uerti etiam multa de Graecis, ne quo ornamento in hoc genere disputationis careret Latina oratio.

27. Sed uidesne, poetae quid mali adferant? lamentantis inducunt fortissimos uiros, molliunt animos nostros, ita sunt deinde dulces, ut non legantur modo, sed etiam ediscantur. sic ad malam domesticam disciplinam uitamque umbratilem et delicatam cum accesserunt etiam poetae, neruos omnis uirtutis elidunt. recte igitur a Platone eiciuntur ex ea ciuitate, quam

16. uerti enim multa R 1 2 6 V 1 3 G 1–3 B 1 2 P S E 1 2 13 W 2 L 4 II J O 1 6–9. uerti ẹṇiṃ multa V *nigriore atram. subnotato.* uerti H multa K. uerti multa W 1 D C. uerti tñ multa O 11. uerti certe multa M 1 2 B 3 E 3 O 2–5 10. uerti c'te multa O 12 *at* c'te *in litura.*

§ **27**, 18. adferant R V G P E. || lamentantis V G B 1 2 P E. 22. omnis R V G B 1 3 E W 1 M 1 2 D O 4 5 8. 23. eiciuntur J. deiciuntur V 6 G 4 E 9 ed. H. ducuntur V 1 13 B 1 2 K E 1 14 15 L 1–5 M 2 R 2–4 6–9 14 17 G 2 P 3 O 6–8. ducut' B 3. dⱽicuntur R G E 10. dicūt' *aut* ducūt' *incertum* S; *marg.* expulsi dicūtur S. ḍ' ducuntur O 5 ḍ' *lineam claudit.* ᵉducuntur P *al. atram. superscr.* dicuntur R 10 11 16 V 7 E 8 12 13 L 6 O 1 ed. P. ᵉdicuntur O 9 *al. atram.* educuntur W 1 M 1 R 15 P 2 E 4 7 11 D C O 3 4 10. educuntur O 12 *in litura.* deducuntur O 11. abducuntur E 2 II. docentur G 3. expulsi dicuntur E 5. dicuntur expulsi R 5. dicuntur eiecti E 3 O 2. (*de codicibus similiter in* dici duci)(elici *uariantibus adeundus est Maduigius ad Fin. V. 19, 51.*)

them properly with due attention to rhythm; D. displayed little taste in his selection, P. displayed much; D. placed his quotations carelessly, P. appositely. Hence the symmetry of the sentence would be spoiled if, with Dav., we were to bracket the words *et proprium numerum.*

dictata: precepts given to pupils by teachers, 'non solum de litteris sed de aliis quoque rebus, ut dictata gladiatorum, lanistarum. Iuu. (v 122) "donec peragat dictata magistri omnia."' Beroaldus.

elegantia: i 23, 55 n. 'eleganter.'

Philo: ii 3, 9 n.

proprium numerum: sc. *exprimebat*, by a slight zeugma from *adiungebat*, which might even be taken strictly with *numerum* ('he not only gave the verses but gave them with their proper rhythm'), were it not that the intervention of the words *lecta poemata* (sc. *proferebat*) renders this awkward. It is not necessary, with Hei. Ml. Schiche and TS., to adopt Sff.'s corr. *et proprio numero.*

loco = *loco idoneo.* Küh. compares Fam. ix 16, 3 'etsi posuisti loco uersus Accianos.'

adamaui: *ad-* has the same force as in *addiscere*, *addocere* (cf. προ- in προμανθάνειν Soph. Phil. 538, προὔμαθον στέργειν κακά· *ibid.* 1015 προδιδάσκειν); the notion is that of *advancing by degrees* 'since I have taken to' 'come to love.' The prefix is not intensive as L. and Sh. suppose. In Sen. Ep. 71, 5 *amare uirtutem*)(*adamare* = instinctive as opposed to consciously thought out affection: see Scheller in Doederlein IV p. 99.

senilem declamationem: i 4, 7 n.

uerti etiam: the best MSS have *uerti enim. enim* (*enī* or ·*N*· or *ei* or *ė* or *ē*) would not readily be confused with *ipse* (*ipē*) but might be confused with *etiam* (often contracted to *ēt*) wh. Halm substituted. See Sff. on p. 43 for this substitution. The conj. of Sff., to insert *Graecis* before *uerti enim*, is very plausible.

§ **27. umbratilem et delicatam**, 'inactive and luxurious'; *umbra*)(*sol, puluis*, is often used of study or preparation as opposed to the activity of practical life. Compare the contrast in a different application, ii 15, 36.

cum accesserunt...elidunt: for the mood and tense see ii 23, 54 n. on 'qui autem restiterunt discedunt.'

finxit ille, cum optimos mores et optimum rei publicae statum exquireret. at uero nos, docti scilicet a Graecia, haec et a pueritia legimus et ediscimus, hanc eruditionem liberalem et doctrinam putamus.

XII. **28**. Sed quid poetis irascimur? uirtutis magistri, philosophi, inuenti sunt, qui summum malum dolorem dicerent. at tu, adulescens, cum id tibi paulo ante dixisses uideri, rogatus a me, etiamne maius quam dedecus, uerbo de sententia destitisti. rogo hoc idem Epicurum: maius dicet esse malum mediocrem dolorem quam maximum dedecus; in ipso enim dedecore mali nihil esse, nisi sequantur dolores. quis igitur Epicurum sequitur dolor, cum hoc ipsum dicit, summum malum esse dolorem? quo dedecus maius a philosopho nullum exspecto. quare satis mihi dedisti, cum respondisti maius tibi uideri malum dedecus

26. et discimus R V G B K P S E L O 1–7 10–12 *plerique*. discimus (et *omisso*) W 1. et didicimus W 2. et adiscimus O 9. et codiscimus O 8. et didiscimus E 5.

XII. § **28**, 3. adulescens R V G P 1 2 B 2 O 6. adolescens B 1 3 E W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1 7 10. doloscens O 11. 5. rogo (with a written above the o) V. rogo R G B K S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 *ceteri*. *omittit* O 5 *at in marg. habet*. 6. quamaxumum V. qua maxumum G.

neruos uirtutis elidunt: cf. iii 34, 83; Ac. i 10, 35 and Reid's n.

eiciuntur: cf. Plato Rep. iii 398 a ἀποπέμποιμέν τε ἂν εἰς ἄλλην πόλιν. Dav. quotes Aug. C. D. ii 14 'Platoni... qui...poetas censuit urbe pellendos,' and Minucius Felix, Octauius c. 22 'Plato ideo praeclare Homerum...de ciuitate *eiecit*.'

scilicet: admits the fact (*docti a Graecia*), but with a certain sneer at its worth. TS.

ediscimus: this, not *discimus*, gives the meaning required here, since it is not a question of exercising the reason but the memory. Sff. obtains a very symmetrical sentence by two slight corrections, each of which is very plausible in itself. He reads *legimus ediscimus* and cuts out *et* before *a*, thinking it due to dittography of *ec* in *haec*. Küh. thinks it only inaccurately placed.

XII. § **28**. **adulescens**: i 5, 9 n.

paulo ante: § 14.

uerbo: abl. of cause, 'at a word' sc. from me.

rogo: changed to *roga* by some early editors and Ern. Tr. Kl. Bai. Hei. TS. Ml. and Schiche, and to *rogaro* by Sff. following Wes.' conj. *roga* would give us another instance of the common constr. *tolle...sustuleris*, for which cf. i 13, 30 n.; but the change from the first person (*a me rogatus*) to the second person *roga* is scarcely natural. As Cic. preferred the uncontracted forms of the tenses formed from the perf. stem (cf. i 30, 72) we should expect *rogauero* not *rogaro*. Instances of the present used as in the text occur even in classical Latin (see Sonnenschein on Rudens 179) and are common in the colloquial language of Pl. and Ter. Our instance occurs in dialogue and is softened by the absence of *si*. Further, Epicurus was long dead; *rogo* transplants him from the past to the present; the sense would not be improved by *rogaro*, wh. would transplant him into the future.

quis...dolor, 'what pain?' (of all the pains that are); *qui dolor* would mean 'what sort of pain?' cf. Küh. *L. Gr.* § 119 Anmerk. 2.

sequitur, 'attends,' 'overtakes'; for *sequi* and *consequi* with an acc. = *in aliquem incidere*, cf. Madv. on Fin. i 10, 32.

The thought seems to be 'but the Epicurean need never fear that pain will attend upon disgrace, since the supreme disgrace of making this assertion does not occasion any pain to Epicurus.'

dedisti = *concessisti*, cf. i 11, 25 'dasne?'

quam dolorem. hoc ipsum enim si tenebis, intelleges, quam sit obsistendum dolori; nec tam quaerendum est, dolor malumne sit, quam firmandus animus ad dolorem ferendum. **29**. concludunt ratiunculas Stoici, cur non sit malum; quasi de uerbo, non de re laboretur. quid me decipis, Zeno? nam cum id, quod mihi horribile uidetur, tu omnino malum negas esse, capior et scire cupio quo modo id, quod ego miserrimum existimem, ne malum quidem sit. 'nihil est,' inquit, 'malum, nisi quod turpe atque uitiosum est.' ad ineptias redis. illud enim, quod me angebat, non eximis. scio dolorem non esse nequitiam; desine id me docere, hoc doce, doleam necne doleam, nihil interesse. 'numquam quicquam,' inquit, 'ad beate quidem uiuendum, quod est in una uirtute positum; sed est tamen reiciendum.' cur? 'asperum est, contra naturam, difficile perpessu, triste, durum.'

XIII. **30**. Haec est copia uerborum, quod omnes uno uerbo 'malum' appellamus, id tot modis posse dicere. definis tu mihi, non tollis dolorem, cum dicis asperum, contra naturam, uix quod ferri tolerarique possit, nec mentiris; sed re succumbere non oportebat uerbis gloriantem. 'nihil bonum, nisi quod honestum,

11. intelleges R V G B.

§ **29**, 14. ratiunculas R 1–4 7 16 17 V 1 7 13 G 1–4 B K P 1 2 S E 1 2 13 L W 1 2 D C Π J O 1 3 4 7–9. rationunculas O 11. ratiunculis M 1 R 6 V 9 B 3 E 5 7 8 L 6 O 2 10. ratiunculis (*at* is *in litura*) O 6; (-is *multa in litura*) O 5 12. rationunculis M 2 P 3. ratiunculi B 2. 15. decepis R 1 2 G. deci pis V *at* i *post* c *mut. uid.* 16. malum negas esse R V G B 1–3 K P E 1 5 13 L W 2 M 1 2 Π J O 2–12. malum esse negas R 6. negas malum esse S W 1 G 3 D C O 1. 22. numquam R V G E.

XIII. § **30**, 1. haec est copia uerborum R V G B K S E *plerique*. haec copia uerborum est R 6 O 10 11. 5. gloriantem dum nihil R 1 2 6 7 16 17 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P 1 2 S E 1 2 5 13 L W 1 2 M 1 2 V 9 Π J O 1–12 ed. H. gloriantem du꞉ nihil V, du꞉ *in rasura*. gloriantem dum dicis nihil D C.

quam sit obsistendum: for the order of words cf. i 13, 30 n.

§ 29. **concludunt ratiunculas**, 'draw up silly syllogisms!' For *concludere* cf. i 32, 78 n. on *concluso*. For the thought ii 18, 42 and n. there.

capior, 'I am attracted.'

id quod...existimem, 'a thing which I think to be'; subj. of quality.

inquit: i 39, 93 n.

redis: *re-* here = 'away,' not 'back'—'*now* you are talking nonsense.'

numquam quicquam: sc. *interest*. Lamb. conj. *nihil quicquam*, but Dav. cites several instances of *numquam quicquam* from Pl. and Ter.

reiciendum: ii 6, 15 n.

XIII. § 30. **uix quod**: *uix* gains emphasis by being placed before a word wh. usually stands first in its clause, cf. i 8, 16 'mors ut malum non sit efficies.'

re succumbere: since by admitting that pain is *contra naturam* the Stoics practically (*re*) admit that it is *malum*, a fact which they theoretically (*uerbis*) deny, since they boast that nothing is *malum* except what is *turpe*.

nihil bonum: Sff. TS. Hei. and Schiche put a full stop after *gloriantem* and take *nihil bonum* etc. to be the exact words attributed to Zeno, and this seems in harmony with the context, whereas to supply *esse* would be harsh.

oportebat: Madv. 348 e.

nihil malum, nisi quod turpe.' optare hoc quidem est, non docere. illud et melius et uerius, omnia, quae natura aspernetur, in malis esse, quae adsciscat, in bonis. hoc posito et uerborum concertatione sublata tantum tamen excellet illud, quod recte amplexantur isti, quod honestum, quod rectum, quod decorum appellamus, quod idem interdum uirtutis nomine amplectimur, ut omnia praeterea, quae bona corporis et fortunae putantur, perexigua et minuta uideantur, ne malum quidem ullum, nec si in unum locum conlata omnia sint, cum turpitudinis malo comparanda. **31.** quare si, ut initio concessisti, turpitudo peius

7. aspernatur (e *over* a) V. aspernantur O 7. aspernat R 2 10. aspernatur R G B P K S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J xi Oxx. *ceteri.* 9. excellet R 1 6 7 16 17 V G 1 3 B 1 3 K P 1 2 S E 1 13 L W 2 M 1 2 D C J O 1–5 7 8 10 11. expellet B 2. excellat G 4. excellit W 1 G 2 E 2 L 4 Π O 6 9 12. 12. furtunae R V. furtunę K. fortunę B. fortunę V *at* o *ex* u *mut.* fortune P *i.e.* u *in* o *mut.* futuie (fortunę *above*) S W 1. 13. pexexigua et minuta R (*i.e.* pex *in* per *mut.*) perexigua et Pminuta S O 10. perexigua et minuta V G 1–4 B 1 2 K P 1 2 E L 1 4 W 1 2 R 2 7 17 D C Π J O 3 4 6–9 11. perexigua et muta O 1 perexigua et perminuta M 1 2 R 6 12 B 3 O 2 5 12. || ne malum quidem R V G B 1 2 P E O 1 3 4 6 7 9–12. nec malum quidem S *at* c *postea additum uid.* e *utique linea tenui cum* m *connexum est.* nec malum quidem W 1 2 M 1 2 R 6 B 3 C J O 2 5 8. 14. sunt R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 L W 2 M 1 2 O 1–7 9–12. sint W 1 R 6 D C O 8.

§ **31,** 15. ut initio R G 1 3 K P S E 1 2 11 13 L M 2 B 3 Π O 2–12. "ut "si initio V. ut inicio C. sicut initio B. sic ut initio B 2. ut in initio W 1 R 6 G 2 O 1. ut ab initio M 1. si ī uuo W 2. si ī uno J. (*et praepositio inculcata Ciceronis sermoni repugnat, cf.* Merguet *s. u.* initium.) || peius R 1 6 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E W 2 Π J O 1 2 5–11. peior W 1 O 3 4 12. potius est malum quam D C.

optare, 'this is mere theory, not proof,' cf. de Fato 20, 47 'optare hoc quidem est, non disputare.' So εὔχεσθαι, εὐχή in Greek, cf. Plato Rep. v 450 d μὴ εὐχὴ δοκῇ εἶναι ὁ λόγος.

For *optare* with ref. to what is Utopian, visionary, ideal, as opposed to *sperare* used of what is practicable, see Reid on p. Balbo 4, 9 and on Ac. ii 38, 121, and Sandys on Or. 18, 59.

hoc quidem = *si quid aliud, profecto hoc*, Beier on Off. i 10, 33. *quidem* emphasizes *hoc*.

aspernetur: the subj. is necessary with the co-ordinate *adsciscat*.

hoc posito: if we take this (the Peripatetic) view, and (so) end the merely verbal difference, we shall still find the honourable so pre-eminent that all else seems very slight and microscopic, (and similarly we shall find) the dishonourable so bad that we cannot compare with it any other evil or even all other evils combined.

excellet: for the future cf. i 22, 53 n.; ii 15, 35 'efficiet.'

isti = *Stoici.*

amplectimur, 'invest with,' 'comprehend under'; cf. N. D. ii 36, 91 'hunc (aera) rursus amplectitur inmensus aether.'

perexigua et minuta: the repetition of *per-* is more usual: see Madv. on Fin. iii 11, 36; and Küh. notes that it is necessary when the two adjectives denote unconnected ideas as in Brut. 43, 158 'perornatus et perbreuis,' but parallels to our passage are presented by the best MSS in Q. Fr. i 1, 6, 18; Or. 5, 18; Att. xiv 12, 2.

turpitudinis malo: gen. of contents, i 4, 8 n. on 'disserendi.'

comparanda: plur. by attraction to *omnia*; *ut* is carried on from above and the constr. is compressed. In full it would be *ut ne malum quidem ullum cum turp. malo comparandum uideatur nec omnia mala, si in unum locum conlata sint, cum turp. malo comparanda uideantur.* For a parallel cf. Off. i 40, 145 'sed *ea*, quae

est quam dolor, nihil est plane dolor. nam dum tibi turpe nec dignum uiro uidebitur gemere, eiulare, lamentari, frangi, debilitari dolore, dum honestas, dum dignitas, dum decus aderit, tuque in ea intuens te continebis, cedet profecto uirtuti dolor et animi inductione languescet. aut enim nulla uirtus est aut contemnendus omnis dolor. prudentiamne uis esse, sine qua ne intellegi quidem ulla uirtus potest? quid ergo? ea patieturne te quicquam facere nihil proficientem et < frustra > laborantem?

17. eiulare V G P B 2. heiulare B 1 3 E. || lamentare[i] R V. lamentari *at* i *ex* e *mut.* S. lamentari K P J. lamentare G B 1 2 E L. 18. dolore V P R 3 6 11 L 2 5 O 9. dolere O 6 *at fuerat* dolore. dolere R 1 2 4 5 7–10 12 14–17 G 1–4 B 1–3 K S L 1 4 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 E 2 3 7 13 D C II J O 1–5 7 8 10–12. dol re E *charta pertusa deest littera.* cf. *uu. ll.* 15 § 35. || tum *pro* dum *ter* R 1 6 V G 1–4 Gr B 1–3 P S L W 1 2 M 1 2 C II J O 1–7 9–12, *bis* O 8 *et marg.* tum decus. 19. tuque R 1 6 17 V G 1 3 4 B 1 2 P E 1–3 7 11 L 1 4 D C II O 11. tūque W 2 R 7 9 E 13 L 3 J O 12. tumque W 1 R 2 O 1 6 7. cūque B 3 P 2 O 5 8. cumque M 1 2 O 2 9 10. cum quae O 3 4. tumque S *in* tunque *rasura mut. marg.* quom S. cum in ea intuebis G 2. || intuens W 1 R 17 G 4 E 3 7 11 L 4 O 6. intue[n]ris R *alia manu mut.* intueris *in* intuens *mut.* V. intueris G B 1 2 S E 1 2 L R 2 D C II O 8. moueris G 3. intueberis[te], continebis P *at* beris[te], *in litura et alio atram. scriptis.* intueberis W 2 M 1 2 R 6 7 9 B 3 P 2 E 13 L 3 J O 1–5 7 9 10 12. in ea contineberis O 11 ed. H. 22. intellegi V G B.

multum ab humanitate discrepant, ut si qui in foro cantet aut si qua est alia magna peruersitas, facile adparet.' The conj. of Bake *nec malum ullum, ne si in unum locum...*, adopted by Ml., gives a simpler reading, but does not seem necessary.

conlata...sint: *erunt* is not required by the future *excellet* of the principal sentence, as Sff. imagines, nor would the indic. suit the fanciful supposition contained in the text.

§ **31. peius**: in Cic. the adj. in the predicate agrees with the subst. except in a few words which are established in use as nouns, e.g. *extremum*, *commune*, *proprium*, cf. Fam. vi 21, 1 'cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum.' In poetry the use is extended, e.g. Virg. Ecl. 3, 80, Aen. iv 569. Ern. thinks the use of the neut. here due to the following *nihil.*

nihil = *nullius momenti.*

debilitari dolore: cf. v 27, 76 'dolor ..patientiam se debilitaturum minatur'; Fin. ii 29, 95 'uiri non esse debilitari dolore, frangi, succumbere.' *dolere* of most MSS would introduce a bathos.

animi inductione, 'reflection'; the expression refers to the intellect, not to the will, cf. *prudentiamne* below, and Fam. i 8, 2 'tantum enim animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me ualet ut...' (i.e. reason and affection combine); Q. Fr. i 1, 11, 32 'non est enim positum in labore aliquo, sed in quadam inductione animi et uoluntate' (i.e. taking a certain view and forming a certain resolution). [*animi inductione* accords with Cicero's custom to say *animum* (not *in animum*) *inducere.*]

prudentiam: one of the four cardinal virtues, cf. i 26, 64 n. He takes the parts of virtue in detail to shew that they severally forbid giving way to *dolor.*

uis, 'you hold I presume that wisdom is a reality?' cf. i 18, 42 n.

frustra: most editors follow Lamb. and Bent. in inserting *frustra* before *laborantem.* Bent. cites in support ii 24, 57 'cum uero gemitus nihil inminuat dolores, cur frustra turpes esse uolumus?'; iii 28, 66 'quid est autem quod plus ualeat ad ponendum dolorem, quam cum est intellectum *nihil profici*, et *frustra* esse susceptum?'; iii 32, 77 'summam esse stultitiam *frustra* confici dolore, cum intellegas *nihil* posse *profici.*' Sff. conjectured *temere* (*temē*) to have fallen out by haplography between *proficientem* and *et*; F.A.W. proposed 'et laborantem tamen' (tn̄ or tm̄).

an temperantia sinet te inmoderate facere quicquam, an coli iustitia poterit ab homine propter uim doloris enuntiante commissa, prodente conscios, multa officia relinquente? **32.** quid? fortitudini comitibusque eius, magnitudini animi, grauitati, patientiae, rerum humanarum despicientiae quo modo respondebis? adflictusne et iacens et lamentabili uoce deplorans audies: 'o uirum fortem!'? te uero ita adfectum ne uirum quidem quisquam dixerit. amittenda igitur fortitudo est aut sepeliendus dolor.

XIV. Ecquid scis igitur, si quid de Corinthiis tuis amiseris,

24. sine(te) inmo(de)rate V *post* sine *et* te *et* de *alio atram.* 26. relinquente~~m~~ R (*sic*) V (*sic*). relinquentē B 2. relinquentem P. relinquente E. relinquente S m *post* te *eraso.* relinquentē G (*sed uid. signum interrogationis esse ut adnotat Sff.*).

§ **32**, 27. grauitate(i) R V K P. grauitate G B 2. grauitati B E. 29. adflictusne R V G. ‖ audiens R 1 2 10 V G 1 3 B 1 2 K P 1 4 E 1 13 L D C O 6 7. audiens S. audiēs G 2 *linea nigriore atram. superscr.* audiēs R 16. audies W 1 2 M 1 2 R 2–4 7–9 17 V 6 B 3 P 2 E 2 5 8 L 2–4 II J O 1–5 8–10 12. audieris Gr G 4 ed. H. audis R 6. audietis O 11. 30. adfectum V G E. ad(f)fectum R. 31. quisquam dixerit R V G 1–3 B 1–3 K S E L M 1 2 C II O 1 3–6 8 9. quisquam dixit E 2. quisquam quidem dixerit W 1. quisquam dixerat O 7 10. dixerit quisquam W 2 R 6 O 2 11 12. XIV. 1. ecquid R 16 V G 1 2 B K W 2 J O 2. ec quid B 2. et quid S *i.e. ut uid.* et quid *in* ecquid *mut.* et quid P 1 2 E 1 2 13 L W 1 M 1 2 R 2 4 16 G 3 D C II O 1 3 4 6 8–10 12 ed. H. et quidē O 7. h' quid O 11. et qui O 5. ‖ si quis(d) V *al. atram. superscr.* si quis(ē) R. si quis S *marg.* quid. si quid B *at* d *mut. est.* si quis G B 2 E 2. si quem C. si quē K. si quid J.

§ **32. respondebis,** 'answer their claims.'

adflictusne et iacens, 'overthrown and prostrated,' cf. ii 23, 54 'abiciunt se atque ita adflicti et exanimati iacent.' *iacere* is strictly used of a warrior thrown down and unable to rise, cf. κεῖσθαι.

audies: cf. Fin. iii 17, 57 'bene audire a parentibus, a propinquis'; T. D. v 40, 116 (with double meaning) 'erat surdaster M. Crassus; sed aliud molestius quod male audiebat.'

dixerit: fut. perf. indic. with a notion of assurance, cf. i 13, 30 n. on *sustuleris*. *ita adfectum = si ita adfectus eris*. What might have been treated as an ideal conditional sentence ('if you were to fall into such a state') is rhetorically made a logical conditional sentence ('if you fall into such a state').

amittenda, 'we must abandon.' Mo. compares (Cornificius) ad Herenn. iv 44 (57) 'amisit uitam, at non perdidit' (of Decius); and N. D. ii 49, 124 'usque eo premere earum capita mordicus, dum illae captum amitterent, in quod ipsa inuaderet.'

sepeliendus, 'we must extinguish,' cf. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 11, 30 'bellum... sublatum ac sepultum.' Prop. i 17, 19 'illic si qua meum sepelissent fata dolorem.'

XIV. The same argument is continued—'you cannot have fortitude unless you despise pain; but fortitude is a part of virtue, therefore you cannot have virtue, for if you lack part of virtue you lack all virtue.'

ecquid: i 8, 15 n. Madv. 451 b, obs.

Corinthiis: sc. *uasis*. For Corinthian vases see Seyffert, *Dict. Class. Antiq.* by Nettleship and Sandys, s.v. *Vases*, and cf. Pliny H. N. xxxiv 2, 3 'quondam aes confusum auro argentoque miscebatur, et tamen ars pretiosior erat.' There was a theory that the blend was accidentally produced at the burning of Corinth, but Pliny l.c. says that the famous artists whose works were known as Corinthian were dead many generations before the sack of Corinth.

posse habere te reliquam supellectilem saluam, uirtutem autem si unam amiseris, etsi amitti non potest uirtus, sed si unam confessus eris te non habere, nullam esse te habiturum? **33.** num igitur fortem uirum, num magno animo, num patientem, num grauem, num humana contemnentem potes dicere aut Philoctetam illum—? a te enim malo discedere; sed ille certe non fortis, qui

iacet in lecto úmido,

4. confessus eris V Gr B 1 2 E 1 2 13 L R 10 11 16 G 2 3 Π O 6 9. confessus eris S *marg.* fueris. confessus es O 8. confessus fueris R 1 2 4 6–8 17 G 1 4 P 1 4 W 1 2 M 1 2 B 3 E 3 5 8 11 L 2 4 D C J O 2–5 7 10 12 ed. H. confessus te O 1. conferus fueris O 11. confessus fueris (l' eris) K. || esse te R V G P S B 2 O 2 9. te esse W 1 M 1 C E 2. nullam te habiturum W 2.

§ **33**, 6. philoctetam R B 1 2 M 2. philote tam (c) V. philotetam (c) G. philotectam E. 7. discere R 1–4 6 7 10 V G 1–3 B 1–3 K S E 1 7 13 L 1 4 W 2 P 4 D C J O 1 2 5 6 8 9 11 12. discē G 4. dicere R 16 E 2 Π O 3 4 7 10. *codicum Oxoniensium et Gud. II 2 (= G 3 2) et Duisb.* (D) *lectiones perperam reddiderunt* Küh. *et* Or. discedere *in codd. nusquam inueni. coniecit* Bentleius *in* Dauisii *ed.* 1709 *in Museo Brit. seruata* (679 d 5). *uide illius editionis paginas primam et antepaenultimam.* 8. umido O 1. umido G *at* umi *in rasura.* (h)umido R V K. in lecto scilicet lachrimis madefacto humido O 3 4. humilique W 1. humido B S E L *ceteri.*

etsi: i 42, 99 n.

amitti non potest uirtus: cf. Diog. L. vii 127 *καὶ μὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν*...Κλεάνθης ...*ἀναπόβλητον*...*διὰ βεβαίους καταλήψεις.*

sed: resuming, ii 1, 3 n.

confessus eris: as this clause is in or. obl. one might expect *sis*, but Hei. notes that where a conditional clause with fut. exactum is brought into or. obl. and depends upon a verb in the present, the fut. exact. is, as a rule, unchanged. He cites Fam. iii 2, 2 'hoc uelim tibi persuadeas, si rationibus meis prouisum a te esse intellexero magnam te...uoluptatem esse capturum.' Fam. ii 6, 5 'unum hoc sic habeto, si a te hanc rem inpetraro, me paene plus tibi...debiturum.' [Hei. makes the practice too common. *As a rule* the fut. perf. goes into the perf. subj. in such instances, or, if dependent on a past tense, into the plup. subj.]

The views here put forward are Stoic. Dav. fully illustrates. Cf. Diog. L. vii 125 *τὰς δὲ ἀρετὰς λέγουσιν ἀντακολουθεῖν ἀλλήλαις καὶ τὸν μίαν ἔχοντα πάσας ἔχειν.*

Ac. i 10, 38 'cumque illi (superiores) ...genera uirtutum seiungi posse arbitrarentur, hic (Zeno) nec id ullo modo fieri posse disserebat'; Or. i 18, 83; Zeller, *Stoics, etc.*, pp. 249—252.

§ **33. humana contemnentem**, 'superior to the vicissitudes of life'; cf. i 40, 95 'in omnium rerum humanarum contemptione ac despicientia ponamus'; iii 16, 34 'humana humane ferenda.'

aut Philoctetam illum: the constr. is an anacolouthon, as was first seen by Or., whom Mo. Hei. and Küh. follow. Instead of going on to say *aut te*, Cic. gracefully breaks off and says *a te enim malo discedere.* Hei. compares p. Cluent. 45–6, 127–8 'aut illud adferant, aliquid sese, quod de his duobus habuerint compertum, de ceteris non comperisse. nam illud quidem minime probandum est, adnotationes...,' instead of *aut illud fateantur, adnotationes....* Bent. proposed *potes te dicere aut Phil. illum.* [For the expression cf. Acad. 2 § 115 'discedamus a nobismet ipsis.']

in lecto umido: probably from Accius' Philocteta, where these lines are placed by Ribbeck just before the lines cited in ii 7, 19. For *lecto* many read *tecto* owing to the following *quod*; but Bent. cited Dig. xxxiv 2, 19 (§ 8) for the neuter, 'lectum plane argenteum argenti appellatione non continetur,' and Dav. adds Dig. xxxii 1, 52 § 9; Or. notes that the fact that the word is thus used in late Latin makes it probable that it had been in use from early times. The passage is also quoted in Fin. ii 29, 94 'saxum illud Lemnium clamore Philocteteo funestare quod eiulatu, questu, gemitu, fremitibus resonando mutum flebilis uoces refert.' Bouhier could not

Quod éiulatu, quéstu, gemitu, frémitibus
Resonándo mutum flébilis uocés refert.

Non ego dolorem dolorem esse nego (cur enim fortitudo desideraretur?), sed eum opprimi dico patientia, si modo est aliqua patientia; si nulla est, quid exornamus philosophiam aut quid eius nomine gloriosi sumus? pungit dolor—uel fodiat sane: si nudus es, da iugulum; sin tectus Volcaniis armis, id est fortitudine, resiste; haec enim te, nisi ita facies, custos dignitatis relinquet et deseret. **34**. Cretum quidem leges, quas siue

9. quod R 1 2 16 V G 1 2 3 B K L 1 3 E 2 5 7 13 II J. ꝙ W 2 O 6. ꝗ ed. H. quod (i *superscr.*) P *al. atram. superscr.* quid E O 8. qui S R 3 4 6 L 2 4 D C O 1 3 4 7 9 11. quem O 2. humidoque M 1 2 B 3 L 6 O 12. q; *al. atram. superscr.* O 5. O 4 B 2. ꝗ G 4. q; O 6. q; *superscr.* O 5. quem O 2. ‖ eiulatu R 1 6 V G 1–4 K P S L 1 3. heiulatu B. 10. multum R V G B K S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C H J O 1–12. ‖ flebilis R V B 1 2 K. 12. oprimi (p *superscr.*) R. opprimi V *i.e.* oprimi *lineae initio scriptum in* opprimi *mut.* o *extra lineam scripto.* opprimi G B. 13. sed ^ nulla est S *marg. alia manu* si. *ceteri* si nulla est. ‖ quid exornā philosophiā E. 15. uolcaniis R V G B K P E. uolcanus B 2. uulcaniis S E *plerique.*

§ 34, 17. quas siue minos R 1 2 4 7 16 17 G 1 3 B 1 2 K P E 1 2 5 7 8 13 L W 2 D C J O 7 8 11 ed. H. quas si nō minos G 2. quas minos E 11 O 1 9. quas minos (siue iupiter siue minos *superscr.*) E 6. quas ~~siue~~ (seu *superscr.*) minos S seu Rhadamanthus *marg.* S. quas siue minos seu Rhadamanthus W 1. quas ^ siue minos E 3 *marg.* siue iuppiter. quas siue ^ (iupiter siue *superscr.*) minos V H. quas siue iuppiter (*aut* iupiter) siue minos M 1 2 R 6 G 4 B 3 L 4 6 O 2–6 10 12.

reconcile the στιπτὴ φυλλάς of Soph. Phil. 33 with this *saxum Lemnium* or with *lecto umido*, and hence read *tecto*, a conj. adopted by Ml., but a bed of leaves laid in a cave of a rock (πέτρα, cf. Soph. Phil. 16) would probably be damp. Cf. also Soph. l.c. 1456 sqq. οὗ πολλάκι δὴ τοὐμὸν ἐτέγχθη κρᾶτ' ἐνδόμυχον πληγαῖσι νότου (the following lines also illustrate our passage). The conj. of Schiche *iacet in saxo Lemnio* does not seem necessary. The whole cave is called *lectum* ('a lair'), not the floor only, and the whole cave re-echoes Philoctetes' groans.

mutum, 'the dumb rock re-echoes my sad tones.' The antithesis was with justice praised by Bent. The reading, though not supported by MSS of the Tusculans, is strongly supported in the passage in the de Finibus.

dolorem dolorem esse, 'the reality of pain.'

cur enim: for if there were no pain, fortitude would not be required.

exornamus: cf. ii 5, 12 'nonne uerendum...ne phil. falsa gloria exornes?'

uel: corrective and intensive, cf. Brutus 70, 246 'nec hebes in causis, uel dicam plus etiam quam non hebes'; Fin. iv 5, 13 'pauca mutat uel plura sane'; even though one adopt the stronger term, the argument still holds.

fodiat: there is no reason, with Bent., to change to *fodicet* against the MSS, cf. Phil. ii 34, 86 'num exspectas dum te stimulis fodiam? haec te...lacerat, haec cruentat oratio.'

nudus, 'defenceless,' i 35, 86.

da iugulum: if the people were not favourably disposed towards a defeated gladiator they shouted *recipe ferrum*, whereupon the victim usually, by way of meeting his death with coolness, presented his throat, cf. ii 17, 41 'ferrum recipere'; p. Sestio 37, 80 'num, ut gladiatoribus imperari solet, ferrum non recepit?' Also p. Mil. ii 31; p. Rosc. Amer. 12, 33; Hor. Sat. i 3, 89.

Volcaniis: like the arms of Achilles (Homer Il. xvii 478—617), and of Aeneas (Virg. Aen. viii 383—453). Dav. quotes Augustin. adu. Acad. ii 1 'arma inuicta et quasi Volcania dicit.'

relinquet et deseret: these two verbs are often joined; *deserere* adds the idea of abandoning, leaving in difficulties.

Iuppiter siue Minos sanxit de Iouis quidem sententia, ut poetae ferunt, itemque Lycurgi laboribus erudiunt iuuentutem, uenando currendo, esuriendo sitiendo, algendo aestuando. Spartae uero pueri ad aram sic uerberibus accipiuntur,

Vt múltus e uiscéribus sanguis éxeat,

19. lygurgi R G B 2. 21. accipiuntur R 1 2 4–6 10–12 14–16 V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E 1–3 6–8 10 11 13 L 1 3 4 6 W 1 2 M 1 2 Π J O 2–10 12 ed. H. afficiuntur G 2 4 D C O 11. accipiuntur (afficiuntur) R 13 E 5 *alia manu superscr.* excipiuntur R 3 L 2 O 1. 22. multus R 1 3–6 14 15 17 V G 14 K P 14 W 1 M 1 2 B 3 E 10 13 L 3 4 6 D C O 2 7–12 ed. H. multum O 3 4. multis (multus) O 6. multis (multus) E 5 O 5. multus Π *at fuerat* multis. multis B 1 2 Gr E 1 2 L W 2 R 2 10 13 G 2 3 J O 1.

§ 34. **Cretum quidem**: for *quidem* cf. i 48, 116 n., 'Alcidamas quidem.' For the institutions of the Cretans cf. Hermann, *Pol. Ant. of Greece*, §§ 20—22. Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Gk Antiquities*, pp. 432—440 and 560—574.

quas siue Iuppiter siue Minos sanxit: Dav. quotes Lactant. Diu. Inst. i 22 'Minos se in antrum Iouis recondebat et, ibi diu moratus, leges tamquam sibi a Ioue traditas adferebat'; Hom. Odyss. xix 178 Μίνως...Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής· Plato, Minos pp. 46, 47.

Minos: few now have doubts as to the reality and power of Minos. For the latest notice of the discoveries at Cnossus, which have helped to convince the most sceptical, see D. G. Hogarth in *Quarterly Review*, No. 400 (Oct. 1904).

ad aram: cf. Plutarch Inst. Lacon. p. 239 d:—once a year at Sparta a flogging competition (διαμαστίγωσις) was held in which boys endured the whole day long to be torn with whips (ξαινόμενοι μάστιξι) at the altar of Ἄρτεμις Ὀρθία, persisting in some cases until they died under the lash, the object of the contest being to determine who should longest and best hold out. In Lycurg. 10 Plut. says that he saw them dying under the lash, and Lucian in Anacharsis c. 38 says that statues were set up to those who so died. The victor bore the title of βωμονίκας. In Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 1364 b, the honours of one Tib. Claudius Sophron are set forth, the first mentioned being that he was βωμονίκας. Tertullian ad Mart. c. iv says the practice was regularly maintained in his day (about 200 A.D.).

The meaning of the custom is very clear from Philostratus and Pausanias:—Philostratus (Apoll. Tyaneus vi 20) says that the flogging was in honour of the Scythian Artemis and that it was said to have been ordered by oracles; that the order was that the altar should be sprinkled with blood of men, but that the Lacedaemonians cleverly turned the cruel institution into a test of endurance which did not involve death. The pertinacity of the competitors accounts for the deaths, which were not, it seems, originally contemplated.

Pausanias, iii 16, 7, says that earlier a man chosen by lot was sacrificed in obedience to an oracle which declared that the altar ought to be stained with human blood and that Lycurgus changed the practice. See also Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hypot. iii 24; and Müller, *Dorians* I 398 (E.T.); Seyffert, *Dict. Class. Ant.* s.v. *Artemis*. The practice of offering human sacrifices to a goddess with the attributes of Artemis was very widespread, but, just as in the case of the worship of Diana at Aricia, this Spartan worship was fabled to have been transplanted from the Tauri. For the human sacrifices there cf. Eurip. I.T. *ad init.* and Frazer's *Golden Bough*, *ad init.*

As the object of the proceedings was to cover the altar with blood, all or nearly all the competitors must have bled, hence *multus* rather than *multis* gives the meaning required.

uerberibus accipiuntur: usually, when this verb is used of unpleasant things, there is irony; *afficiuntur* (a reading weakly supported) is more what we should expect from Cicero; but Cic. may here have in view the cheerfulness and exultation (ἱλαροὶ καὶ γαῦροι, Plut. Inst. Lac. l.c.) displayed by the victims. Moreover the word seems seriously used in iv 36, 78 'quo te modo accepissem, inquit, nisi iratus essem.' There is even room for a shade of irony in both passages.

ut multus...exeat: an iambic trimeter. Moser thinks unintentionally

non numquam etiam, ut, cum ibi essem, audiebam, ad necem; quorum non modo nemo exclamauit umquam, sed ne ingemuit quidem. quid ergo? hoc pueri possunt, uiri non poterunt? et mos ualet, ratio non ualebit?

XV. **35**. Interest aliquid inter laborem et dolorem. sunt finitima omnino, sed tamen differt aliquid. labor est functio quaedam uel animi uel corporis grauioris operis et muneris, dolor autem motus asper in corpore alienus a sensibus. haec duo Graeci illi, quorum copiosior est lingua quam nostra, uno nomine appellant. itaque industrios homines illi studiosos uel potius amantis doloris appellant, nos commodius laboriosos; aliud est enim laborare, aliud dolere. o uerborum inops interdum, quibus abundare te semper putas, Graecia! aliud, inquam, est dolere,

24. uno modo R 1 2 10 G 1 3 B 1 2 K E 1 2 13 L D C O 9. non modo V *at* non *multa in litura.* uno *in* nō *mut.* II. uno modo S *marg.* non. uno modo P *marg.* ñ m̊. ullo m̊ O 8. non modo W 1 G 2 B 3 L 4 O 2 5 12 ed. H. *omittunt* W 2 J.

XV. § **35**, 2. differt R 1 2 10 V B 1–3 K P S E L W 2 M 2 G 3 J O 2–6 8 10 O 12 *at in litura.* differt G ert *in rasura.* differunt W 1 R 6 G 2 E 2 C II O 1 7 9 11. 7. amantis R 1 2 V G B E 1 2 L C. amantes (i *above* e) S. 8. aliud dolδre K o *in* e *alio atram. mut.* aliud dolore B 2. 9. est dolere R G B. est dolδre V o *in* e *eod. ut uid. atram. mut.*; *idem* K *alio atram. mut.* est dolere P *linea alio atram. transducta.*

made rather than taken from some unknown poet. Ribbeck prints this line as a fragment immediately after the fragment contained in § 36.

uisceribus: ii 7, 19 n.

audiebam: though Cic. saw other rigours of Spartan training (cf. v 27, 77) he was probably not in Sparta at the time of the annual *διαμαστίγωσις*. Hence Bentley's conj. *uidebam* is unwarranted.

possunt...non poterunt: ualet...non ualebit: i 14, 31 n.

XV. § **35**. **differt aliquid**: this verb is used both personally, as in iii 34, 84 'aliquid differunt,' and impersonally as here and often, e.g. Diu. ii 36, 76; Off. i 28, 99; N.D. i 29, 80; Or. iii 51, 197; Fin. iii 15, 50, where see Madv.

functio...animi...muneris: *animi* and *corporis* are subjective genitives, i 3, 5 n. on 'litterarum,' *operis* and *muneris* objective genitives (Roby § 1318). *functio animi, functio corporis* coalesce each into a single idea 'mental or bodily performance,' and upon this the objective genitives depend in each instance.

alienus a sensibus = *sensibus repugnans.*

amantis doloris: sc. *φιλοπόνους*, but *πόνος*, *sensu stricto*, was the Greek word for *labor*, not for *dolor*, to which several Greek words correspond, e.g. *λύπη*, *ἄλγος*, *ὀδύνη*, *ἀλγηδών*, *πάθος*. And, just as *πόνος* was used metaphorically for *λύπη*, *labor* was used metaphorically for *dolor*, cf. p. Mil. 2, 5 'laboriosius'; Dav. quotes Plaut. Curc. ii 1, 4 'ualetudo decrescit, adcrescit labor'; Cas. ii 3, 63 'de labore pectus tundit.' Cic. makes somewhat similar assertions elsewhere, e.g. Fin. iii 2, 5 'saepe diximus nos non modo non uinci a Graecis uerborum copia sed esse in ea etiam superiores'; N.D. i 4, 8 'quo in genere tantum profecisse uidemur ut a Graecis ne uerborum quidem copia uinceremur.' From a different cause he falls into a similar error with regard to the word *ineptus* in Or. ii 4, 18, where see Wilkins' n. See also Fam. ix 24, 3 and Muretus' criticism in Mo. 11 p. 380. As a matter of fact the *patrii sermonis egestas* felt by Lucr. was so far present in Quintilian's time that the latter confesses *copia nos a Graecis uinci*, but Cic. is carried too far by his desire to recommend the Latin language as a vehicle for philosophic discussion.

aliud laborare. cum uarices secabantur C. Mario, dolebat; cum aestu magno ducebat agmen, laborabat. est inter haec quaedam tamen similitudo; consuetudo enim laborum perpessionem dolorum efficiet faciliorem. **36.** itaque illi, qui Graeciae formam rerum publicarum dederunt, corpora iuuenum firmari labore uoluerunt. quod Spartiatae etiam in feminas transtulerunt, quae ceteris in urbibus mollissimo cultu parietum umbris occuluntur. illi autem uoluerunt nihil horum simile esse

ápud Lacaenas uírgines,
Quibus mágis palaestra, Euróta, sol, puluís, labor,
Milítia in studio est quám fertilitas bárbara.

12. quaedam tamen R V G 1–3 B 1–3 K P S E L M 1 2 Π O 2–5 7 10 11. tamen quaedam W 1 2 O 1 8 9 12. quaedam mihi O 6. 13. dolorem (u superscr.) R K. dolorem V G L B 2. dolorem (um superscr.) P *al. atram. superscr.* dolorum S W 1 2 C Π. ‖ efficiat V G B K E 1 2 13 L R 2 3 10 16 B 2 Π O 7. efficiạt R. efficiet B 1 3 M 1 2 R 6 O 2–5 10. efficit W 1 2 G 2–4 L 4 C O 1 6 8 9 11 12. efficitịạt S (*sic*).

§ **36**, 13. illi qui B P. illi quae (i superscr.) R. illi que (i superscr.) S. illi quae G. illi quę V E. illi q3 B 2. 20. eurota V G 1 3 B 1 2 K S E 1 2 13 L W 2 R 2 3 16 C Π J O 8 12 ed. H. eurota (s superscr.) P *alio atram. superscr.* seurota R. seu rota R 7. et rota O 1 6 9. europta O 7. enitota O 11. eurotas W 1 M 2 R 6 V 6 B 3 O 2–5 10. 21. facilitas M 2 V 6 O 2. feritas O 12. fertilitas *ceteri*. facilitas O 6, li *in litura*.

uarices, 'varicose veins.' Plutarch, Marius vi 5, says that Marius had *uarices* (ἰξιῶν μεγάλων ἀνάπλεως ἄμφω τὰ σκέλη γεγονώς). Unbound he endured the operation on one leg, silent and unmoved, but when the surgeon was about to operate upon the other leg he said that the remedy was not worth the pain.

efficiet: for the future cf. i 22, 53 n.

§ **36**. **Spartiatae**: i 43, 102 n.

in feminas transtulerunt: cf. Becker, *Charicles*, pp. 296 foll. (E.T.); Plut. Lyc. 14, 3–4, says that the Spartan women were exercised in running, wrestling, quoit and javelin throwing; see also Theocr. xviii 22; Propert. iii (iv) 14 1—24.

parietum umbris: for the seclusion of Attic women in the γυναικωνῖτις see Becker, *Char.*, pp. 465 foll.

Ribbeck (*Scaen. Rom. Poesis Frag.* I p. 266) transposes and reads 'umbris occuluntur parietum,' and lower down 'nihil horum similest apud Lacaenas uirgines, | quibus magis palaestra Eurota sol puluis labor | militia studio est quam fertilitas barbara,' all of which he refers to some unknown play, probably the Meleager of Accius. The extract *apud Lacaenas uirgines...barbara* was first seen to be verse by Scaliger. Ml. prints *parietum umbris occuluntur* as a quotation. [*Occuluntur:* probably not elsewhere in Cic. and a reminiscence from poetry—see *Archiv* VIII p. 298.]

quibus magis: a proceleusmaticus, the final *s* being elided in each word, cf. i 5, 10; ii 10, 23.

Eurota: for the form cf. Neue, *Formenlehre* I p. 35 and Quint. i 5, 61 quoted there: 'ne in *a* quidem atque *s* litteras exire temere masculina Graeca nomina recto casu patiebantur.' See also Quint. on Gk inflexions quoted in Roby in footnote to § 471.

sol puluis: for the contrast with *parietum umbris* cf. ii 11, 27 n.

militia: the Spartan women certainly did not go on military service nor can the word be taken otherwise than *sensu stricto* where the context does not suggest a metaphor. In the passages quoted by Dav. in order to justify the meaning of 'hunting' for *militia* here the context permits the use to be metaphorical. These passages are: Hor. Sat. ii 2, 9 'leporem sectatus

Ergo his laboriosis exercitationibus et dolor intercurrit non numquam, inpelluntur, feriuntur, abiciuntur, cadunt, et ipse labor quasi callum quoddam obducit dolori.

XVI. **37.** Militiam uero—nostram dico, non Spartiatarum, quorum procedit iter ad modum ac tibiam, nec adhibetur ulla

23. inpelluntur R V G S C. impelluntur B 1 2 E. || abiciuntur R 1 2 G V B 1 2 3 K L W 2 M 1 2 E C J O 1 3–5 7–9 11 12. abijciuntur S *at* j *postea add. uid.* abiiciuntur W 1 II O 2 6 10.

XVI. § **37**, 2. ad modum ad tibiam *post* procedit R K. ad modum & tibiam V *at* & *in litura*. admodum ac tibiam G 2. ad domum (modū) ad tibiam P *alio atram. superscr.* admodum ad tibiam G 1 3 4 B 1–3 S E 1–3 5 7–9 13 L W 2 M 1 2 R 2 6 7 10 16 D C II J XII Oxx. agmen admodum ad tybiam E 11. agmen ad tibiam V 6 E 4. exercitus ad tibiam W 1.

equoue lassus ab indomito uel si Romana fatigat militia...' and Epp. i 2, 67 'militat in siluis catulus.' If we retain *militia* we must take it in the sense of military training, 'drill,' and refer it to the rigorous training to which the women as well as the men at Sparta were subjected. It must be admitted that an exact parallel to this use has not been put forward. But Bouhier's *labor militiae*, adopted by many edd. incl. Küh. and Schiche, besides departing from the MSS involves giving the word either this meaning or that of 'hunting.' The emendation of Sff. *militiae et studio* is at first sight plausible, for the use would be obviously metaphorical, but *fertilitas barbara* could not be said *militiae esse* to the women with whom these are contrasted, and *militiae* does not seem to occur elsewhere as a predicative dative. Roby II introd. p. xlviii gives no instance.

fertilitas: this word has proved very troublesome. If sound, it must have the meaning of πολυτεκνία, *fecunditas* being the more usual word in this sense. The poet need not imply that Spartan women have few children or none; he merely says that their mind is centred not upon children but upon the things mentioned in the previous line, while women of other nations are devoted to indoor life, their households, and their children.

Nissen thought that *fertilitas barbara* meant (luxurious) 'products of foreign (extra-Spartan) lands,' but this would be much more obscurely expressed than the meaning I have suggested above nor would the contrast be very complete or pointed. *facilitas*, found in a few late and inferior MSS, was favoured by Ern. in the sense of *uita facilis*, *uita a molestis laboribus libera*, but the word usually means 'good-nature,' 'willingness to oblige.' Bent. proposed *futilitas barbara*. A good suggestion is sent to me by Dr Reid, who thinks that *militia* has been corrupted from *mollitia* by the influence of *militiam* below and that *fertilitas* and *mollitia* have interchanged places. The conjectures of other scholars seem irreconcilable with the MS reading.

barbara: must refer to non-Greeks. Or. refers to the 17 children of Hecuba, 50 of Danaus, 50 of Aegyptus.

callum...obducit: cf. iii 22, 53.

XVI. § **37**. **militiam uero**: Cic. intended to write something like *militiam uero quantum laborem adferat uides*; but, as *militia* implies *exercitus*, an argument from the etymology of *exercitus* occurring to him interrupted the construction. Had the sentence taken its original course we should have had an instance of the same attraction as in i 24, 56 n., 'sanguinem....' As it is we have that attraction and an anacolouthon as well.

Emendations are unnecessary and unsatisfactory. J. F. Gronovius' *militiae* in the sense of *in expeditione* would be contrasted here with gymnastic exercises, whereas Cic., as Sff. points out, contrasts the word regularly with *domi*, the latter word being *expressed*. Sff. himself proposed *in militia uero*, and Lamb. *militia uero* and *habeat*; the former mode of expression is not usual in the sense of *quod uero ad militiam attinet*, while the latter would derive the etymological argument from *militia* not from *exercitus*.

nostram dico, non Spartiatarum: though he has been dealing with the gymnastic exercises of the Spartans in the previous chapter, Cic. illustrates from the experience of the Roman rather than

sine anapaestis pedibus hortatio; nostri exercitus primum unde nomen habeant uides; deinde qui labor, quantus agminis, ferre plus dimidiati mensis cibaria, ferre, si quid ad usum uelint, ferre uallum. nam scutum, gladium, galeam in onere nostri milites non plus numerant quam umeros, lacertos, manus; arma enim

4. labor et quantus R 9 O 7. labor quantum O 3 4 10. labor quantus R V G B K S E L *ceteri*. 7. umeros G. ^{h}umeros R V K *alia manu superscr.* humeros R 2 *at* h *extra lineam*. qua mumeros B 2. humeros B 1 3 P S E W 1 2 M 2 C O 5.

from that of the Spartan soldier because the hardships of the Roman soldier on the march were notorious (Virg. Geo. iii 347), while the Spartan when on campaign was relieved from many of the hardships which he constantly endured in time of peace, Plut. Lyc. 22, 2 *ὥστε μόνοις ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνοις τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήσεως ἀνάπαυσιν εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον.*

iter and **ac** are Sff.'s brilliant emendations. *iter* (*it̄*) was omitted by haplography after *-it* in *procedit*, and *ad modum*, written *admodum*, was mistaken for the adverb and so led to the changing of *ac* to *ad*. *ac* is the reading of G 2. Sff. cites Val. Max. ii 6, 2 'Lacedaemoniorum exercitus non ante ad dimicandum descendere solebant, quam tibiae concentu (cf. *ad tibiam*) et anapaesti pedis modulo (cf. *ad modum*) cohortationis calorem animo traxissent.' Lamb. had arrived at the same meaning by reading *procedit agmen ad modum ad tibiam*. Schiche reads *procedit acies ad modum tibicinum*.

tibiam: the Spartans marched to the sound of the flute, not to that of the trumpet; cf. Thuc. v 70; Plut. Lyc. 22, 3 *ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξῆρχεν ἐμβατηρίου παιᾶνος ὥστε σεμνὴν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐμβαινόντων.* Müller, *Dorians* II 346. The flute-players formed a hereditary class at Sparta, Herod. vi 60.

anapaestis pedibus: Neidius quotes two lines of an *ἐμβατήριον* in anapaestic metre from Hephaestion Alexandrinus: *ἄγετ' ὦ Σπάρτας ἔνοπλοι κοῦροι, ποτὶ τὰν Ἄρεως κίνασιν.*

nomen: sc. *ab exercendo*.

qui labor, quantus agminis: I have not found a close parallel to this asyndeton, yet the expression would be less impressive if with several editors (Mo. TS. Hei. Schiche) we were to insert *et*. Küh. observes 'asyndeton in gradatione aptissimum est.'

plus dimidiati mensis: in Caes. B. C. i 78 the soldiers are ordered to carry 22 days' provisions: in Livy xliv 2, 4 one month's provisions; in Livy Epit. 57, 30 days' provisions and 7 stakes apiece. Plut., Flamininus 5, 2, refers to the Roman soldiers abstaining from plundering though their month's rations had not been served out to them. Cf. Vegetius i 19 'pondus quoque baiulare usque ad lx libras et iter facere gradu militari.' From Plut. Mar. 13, 1 it seems to follow that the soldiers did not always carry all their baggage themselves; Plutarch asserts that when Marius compelled them to do so, the name of 'Marius' mules' became proverbial for all those who obeyed severe orders without grumbling. Plutarch, however, as Dr Reid points out, completely misunderstood the phrase *muli Mariani*. [Cf. Frontinus, Strateg. 4, 1 § 7 'C. Marius recidendorum impedimentorum gratia, quibus maxime exercitus agmen oneratur, uasa et cibaria militum in fasciculis aptata furcis imposuit, sub quibus et habile onus et facilis requies esset. unde et in prouerbium tractum est: *muli Mariani*.' The ref. in Festus 149 is to the same effect. It was the device wh. was called *mulus*, not the soldiers. In camp language animal names were applied to many devices. See also Paul. ex Fest. s.u. *aerumnulas*: 'aerumnulas Plautus refert furcillas quibus religatas sarcinas uiatores ferebant. quorum usum quia C. Marius rettulit muli Mariani postea appellabantur.']

plus: *quam* is more often omitted than expressed with specifications of time and measure, cf. Sest. 39, 85 'plus uiginti uolneribus acceptis'; Caes. B. G. i 38, 5 'spatium non amplius pedum sescentorum'; B.G. v 53, 7 'longius milia passuum octó.'

non plus numerant, 'they do not reckon as anything more than,' 'they reckon as little as.' Madv. 305 obs. 2.

membra militis esse dicunt; quae quidem ita geruntur apte, ut, si usus ferat, abiectis oneribus expeditis armis ut membris pugnare possint. quid? exercitatio legionum; quid? ille cursus, concursus, clamor quanti laboris est! ex hoc ille animus in proeliis paratus ad uolnera. adduc pari animo inexercitatum militem, mulier uidebitur. **38**. cur tantum interest inter nouum et ueterem exercitum, quantum experti sumus? aetas tironum plerumque melior, sed ferre laborem, contemnere uolnus consuetudo docet. quin etiam uidemus ex acie efferri saepe saucios, et quidem rudem illum et inexercitatum quamuis leui ictu ploratus turpissimos edere; at uero ille exercitatus et uetus ob eamque rem fortior medicum modo requirens, a quo obligetur,

E. O Pátricoles, inquit, ad uós aduenicns aúxilium et uestrás manus

8. geruntur R V G 1 3 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 13 L M 1 2 II O 1–8 10 12. gerũt⁹ W 1 2. gerunt C O 11. gerantur O 9. 9. si usui E 5. si uisum G 2 L 4 O 9. si uisus R 10 E 13. si usus *ceteri*. || foret R 1 3 6 10 G 1 3 4 B 1 2 K P S E 1–3 7 13 L W 1 2 M 1 2 V 6 D II J O 1 2 5–12. foret V. (t fiat) feret B 3. fert O 3 4. 12. uolnera R V G. || adduc R 1 4 8 10 V K E 12–14 L 3 4 D C J ed. H. adduc G *at alterum* d *in rasura: uid.* adhuc *fuisse*. aduc B 2 E 7 O 9 12. a(d)luc E 10. adhuc P *at fuerat* adduc. adhuc B 1 3 E 1 2 4 5 L 1 5 6 M 1 R 3 6 9 16 G 4 II O 1–8 10 11 ed. P. ad huc E 3. adhuc S *marg.* ad hęc. adhec G 2 E 9. ad h[c] L 2. *omittit* G 3.

§ **38**, 14. tyronum R V G. 15. contemnere V B. contempnere G P E. || uolnus R V G.

geruntur: *milites* is the subject of *dicunt* and of *possint*; hence Bent., followed by Dav., changed *geruntur* to *gerunt*, but transition from act. to pass. or *uice uersa* is not very uncommon, see Wopkens, *Lectt. Tull.* ed. Hand pp. 85–6 and cf. iv 9, 21 'describunt...definiuntur'; Fin. ii 15, 48 'omnia referantur neque... dicant,' where however Madv. thinks the transition very harsh.

si usus ferat: *ferat*, the conj. of Lamb., approved by Bent., gives the tense and meaning required; *foret* of MSS is incompatible with *possint*; *fuerit*, adopted by some editors, is further from the MS reading than *ferat*, and, like *foret*, would give a wrong implication. The conjecture *fuerit* derives no support from iv 3, 5 'de ceteris studiis alio loco dicemus, si usus fuerit,' where a fut. indic. precedes. *ferat* is subj. by attraction to *possint*, cf. i 1, 1 n. In an independent clause Cic. would have written *possunt, si usus fert*.

expeditis armis ut membris, 'with arms as much at their command as are their limbs.'

§ **38**. **quantum experti sumus**: sc. in the civil war. Caesar's army consisted of veterans; that of Pompey was largely composed of inexperienced troops. See Momms. IV 402 *E. T.*

melior, 'to their advantage.'

uidemus......edere: colloquially expressed. Strictly we should have a dependent clause *uidemus cum ex acie efferuntur saucii saepe rudem illum... ploratus...edere*.

quamuis: i 21, 47 n. on 'quamuis copiose.'

leui ictu: abl. of attendant circumstances, cf. i 40, 96 n. on 'extremo spiritu.'

o Patricoles: the combinations κλ, κμ, κν, χμ, χν, μν were less easily pronounced by the early Romans than by the Greeks. Hence a short vowel was very commonly inserted in the Latinised form, cf. *drachuma*, *Tecumessa*, *Aesculapius*, *mina* etc. For this vocative form cf. ii 21, 49 n. The metre consists of iambic octonarii, cf. i 46, 106 n. For the ultimate source of the story cf. Hom. Il. xi 804—848. The extract is pretty cer-

Petó, prius quam oppetó malam pestem mándatam hostilí manu,
Neque sánguis ullo pótis est pacto prófluens consístere,
Si quí sapientiá magis uestra mórs deuitarí potest.
Namque Aésculapi líberorum saúcii opplent pórticus;
Non pótest accedi.

19. modo K E 1 13 L 14 R 6 O 1 3 4 6–8 10. mͦ E 2 *at in rasura et spatio post* m *relicto.* mͦ̄ R 2 7 8 10 V 6 10 G 3 E 8. m̅o̅ R 17 E 15 C O 11 12. medicū modo (cū mo *syllabis in rasura*) G. u̅o̅ R 16 E 4. ůo J. uero P 3 E 7 D. uͦ M 12. n̅o̅ G 2 E 5 10 ed. H. non R 3 V 12 O 2 9. ul' nō mō O 5. 20. patricoles R 1–3 10 16 17 V 1 2 7 13 G B 1–3 K P E 1 2 13 L 14 W 2 M 2 D C Π J O 1 5 6 8. patricoles S *marg.* patricolę. patricolę W 1. patricole M 1 V 4 10 11 E 7 O 3 4 7 11. patrocles V 12. patricule G 2. patrocle V 3. patriculos E 4. 22. oppeto R 1 3 6 7 10 17 V 1 2 4 7 8 10 12 13 G 1–3 B 12 K P 14 L 14 W 2 M 1 E 2 7 W 2 M 1 D C Π O 1–4 7 9 11. appeto O 8. oppecto E. oppetā S O 5. oppetam W 1 M 2 V 3 5 6 B 3 P 3 J O 6 10 12. 26. si qui R 1 2 10 G 1 3 B K E 1 8 13 V 2
dem
P 4 L 4 O 3 4. siqui V *alio atram. superscr.* si qui S *marg.* si quidē.
qd' m̅'
siquiđ V 3 *at* đ *extra lineam et alio atram. scripto.* si qui P *al. atram. superscr.* si que R 17 G 4 O 8. si qua R 6 V 4 6 O 1 2 9 10 12. si quis L W 2 R 16
qd'
G 2 E 2 Π O 11. si qua O 5. si quid R 8 O 7. siquid' C. siquid' qua V 5 O 6. si quidem W 1 M 12 R 3 V 11 P 3 D J. 28. aesculapii V G B P. aescapii E. ęsculapii S.

tainly from a play of Ennius. Three words of it *namque Aesculapi liberorum* are quoted in Or. 46, 155 and the author is there said to be the same as the author of the preceding quotation which is pretty certainly from Ennius' Phoenix. See Sandys *ad locum.* Aristarchus of Tegea wrote an Ἀχιλλεύς which Ennius translated into Latin, cf. Festus p. 242 (ed. Müller) 'prolato aere astitit *Ennius Achillaι in* (*in Achille*, Scaliger) *Aristarchi cum ait*, *significat* clupeo ante se protento.' See also Plaut. Poen. prol. 1.

ad uos: to you and Achilles. The wounded frequently came for aid to Achilles' tent.

auxilium et uestras manus, 'your aid and helping hands,'—hendiadys, but wider than 'your helping hands.' He seeks surgical aid, in wh. the hand is a principal, but not the only, factor. The more comprehensive term, as is usual in hendiadys, precedes the other.

malăm: *m* is often disregarded in scansion in O.L., i 44, 105 n.

pestem = *mortem*. Dav. in ed. 1 quoted Plaut. Capt. iii 3, 11 'occidam oppetamque pestem'; Asin. i 1, 7 'atque illa uiua uiuus ut pestem oppetas.'

mandatam, 'dealt by foeman's hand.' Parallels quoted by editors are not exact, but the word must have originally meant either 'to give by hand' or 'to give into hand,' and the one meaning almost implies the other. Bent., induced by his theory of the metre, proposed *datam* wh. some have adopted. If emendation were necessary Mo.'s suggestion *mi inditam* is more plausible.

neque sanguis... consistere: loosely expressed for *cum sanguis nullo pacto consistere possit.* Cf. n. on *uidemus... edere* above. Hence the clause *si qui... potest* in the next line depends upon *peto.*

magĭs: sc. *magis quam si non aduentiam.* For the quantity cf. i 5, 10 n.

Aesculapi liberorum: Podaleirios and Machaon, Il. ii 732.

porticus: sc. *uestibula tentorii* F.A.W.

non potest accedi: Nissen, Schiche

P. Certe Eurypylus hic quidem est.

XVII. **39.** Hominem exercitatum, ubi tantum luctus continuatur, uide quam non flebiliter respondeat, rationem etiam adferat, cur aequo animo sibi ferendum sit:

Qui álteri exitiúm parat,

31. eyrypilus V. eyrypylus R G P B 2. eurypylus B. eurypilus E. euripilus S.

XVII. § **39**, 1. exercitum R 1 2 4 9 10 16 17 V 1 7 G 1 3 B 1 2 K S E 1 2 13 L 1 4 W 2 Π J O 8 11. exercitum (ta *superscr.*) P O 6. hominum exercitus D C O 7. exercitatum W 1 M 1 2 R 6 V 3 6 11 G 2 B 3 P 3 E 8 O 1–5 9 10 12. ‖ luctū G L R 9 O 8 11 12. luctū+ O 5 (*sic*). luctū^ꝰ P *at* ꝰ *al. atram. superscr.* luctum R 1 2 10 16 B 1 2 K S E 1 2 7 13 W 1 2 M 2 V 3 4 7 11–13 P 3 L 4 Π J O 1 9 ed. H. tantus luctus V *at utroque* s *in litura.* luctus R 4 6 17 V 2 5 8 G 2 3 P 2 D C O 2–4 6 7 10. *omittit* R 3. ‖ continuatur R 2 V 6 G 2 D C O 12. continuatū L. continuaẜ P 2. continuatus R 1 4 6 10 16 V G B 1 2 K P E 13 Π O 2–4 6 7 10. continuatus S *marg.* continuamus. continuatꝰ E 1 2 W 1 V 2 8 G 3. continuat V 3 12 E 7 O 1 9 ed. H. et continuat V 4. contineat V 5. continuamus (continuatur *superscr.*) J *alia manu superscr.* continuamus R 3 8 9 17 V 7 11 13 P 3 L 4 W 2 M 2 O 5 8 11. 3. adferat R V G P E. afferat B 1–3 S L W 1 2 M 1 2 O 1 6 7 9 10. affert O 2 11. 4. exitum (i *superscr.*) V G. exitum S. exitium B K.

and Ribbeck read *potis* wh. is very likely right. If *potest* be sound it is not μονοσυλλάβως *pronuntiandum* (*pot'st*) as Küh. says, but διςυλλάβως (*potĕst*), the *s* being silent and the *t* pronounced only because a vowel follows.

certe Eurypylus hic quidem est: these words would fitly be spoken by Patroclus in the play when he recognised Eurypylus whom they served to introduce to the spectators. Cic. perhaps extended the quotation so as to include them for a similar reason, as Eurypylus had not yet been mentioned by name. Some have supposed the words to belong to Cic., not to the dramatist.

XVII. § **39**. **hominem exercitatum**: Hei. supposes Cic. to utter the exclamation as if he were a spectator watching the play; but this seems unnatural. I take these words as Küh. does, the constr. being *uide hom. ex. quam non flebiliter respondeat...*, *hominem* being attracted out of the relative clause into the main clause, cf. i 24, 56 n. on 'nam sanguinem.' The change of *exercitatū* into *exercitū* of the best MSS would almost be a case of haplography, *a* and *u* were written so much alike at certain periods. The extract is quoted by Cic. to shew how the *exercitatus* behaves. But the emendation of Sff. may be right *heu exercitum ubi tantum luctus continuatur!* spoken by Patroclus, 'alas for the army where men fall so thick and fast!' The interjection *heu* might be mistaken for *hominem* (*hōm̄*) and *exercitum* is read by the best MSS. Sff. might have added that, while Ennius' play was probably adapted from a Greek play, the passage in Homer is the ultimate source for both; and Patroclus in Homer utters words of commiseration for the army similar in effect to the reading wh. Sff. proposes. Cf. Il. xi 816—818. TS. and others read *hominem exercitum* and give the words to Patroclus (*exercitum = iactatum*, cf. *exercuit* v 1, 3), but the fact that Eurypylus had been wounded at a time when others were falling fast would not make him in the eyes of Patroclus a sorely tried man.

luctus: not shouts of pain uttered by the wounded, as Küh. and others suppose—the word never has this meaning—but 'loss,' 'bereavement.' Though the survivors may have been too busy to mourn or even to notice their loss, each comrade slain was a loss.

continuatur, 'goes steadily on,' cf. Tac. Ann. xiv 36 'stragem caedemque continuarent.'

adferat: Or. Wes. Sff. read *adfert* with no MS authority of any value. Sff. thinks that *adferat* would imply that he gave an answer and also in addition gave a reason, but the words would not seem to imply this. Translate 'observe how free from lamentation is his answer, an answer, moreover, which gives a reason why....'

qui alteri...: if we read as in the text we must, with Küh., assume that between

Eum scíre oportet síbi paratam péstem, ut participét, parem.

Abducet Patricoles, credo, ut conlocet in cubili, ut uolnus obliget. si quidem homo esset; sed nihil uidi minus. quaerit enim, quid actum sit:

Elóquere, eloquere, rés Argiuum proélio ut se sústinet.
E. Non pótis ecfari tántum dictis, quántum factis súppetit
Labóris.

quiesce igitur et uolnus alliga. etiam si Eurypylus posset, non posset Aesopus.

7. patricoles R V G B 1 2 P S E C. || conlocet V G K P E. conllocet R n *in* l *mut.* || cubili B 1 3 P 1 3 E 1 4 10 L W 1 2 M 1 2 R 3 4 6 V 2 G 3 J O 1–12. cubiculi R 1 2 V G B 2. cubiculi K *alio atram. punctis not.* cubiculo R 17 E 2 L 4 Π. cubiculis S R 5 10 E 13. 8. uidi minus O 1. uidimiNu∫ V *at* Nu∫ *in litura.* uidi Π *at fuerat* uidimus. minus uidimus G 3. uidimus R 1 2 6 10 G 1 2 B 1–3 K P S E 1 2 4 5 13 L 1 4 W 1 2 M 1 2 V 13 D C J O 2–6 8 9 11 12. uidemus O 7 10. 10. eloquere eloquere V G B K R 17 O 1. eloquere ~~eloquere~~ R. eloquere *semel at spatio cum rasura relicto* O 12. eloquere *semel* P 1 3 S E 1 2 13 L 1 4 W 1 M 1 2 R 2 3 6 10 16 V 2 6 13 G 3 B 2 3 D C Π J O 2–5 7–11. colloquere *semel* O 6. *omittit utrumque* W 2. || argiuum R G B 1 2 E. 12. ecfari V B. &fari E. efari B 2. effari C. affari W 1 O 8 9. hecfari K. hec fari V 7 11 G 2 E 8 13 O 5 6. hęc fari L R 2 6 10 16. hec *an* hęc fari *incertum* S. fari hęc E 7. hec (o supra) fari B 3. hec fari O 10. haec fari G P 1 3 M 2 O 2. haec fari R. h' fari W 2 G 3 J O 7. h' faci O 11. hoc fari M 1 R 3 V 2 13 E 2 Π O 3 4 12 ed. H. hec effari O 1. hoc effari G 4 L 4 O 10. 15. uolnus R V G B K E. uulnus P. || alliga (ob supra) V. alliga G K P.

certe Eur. hic quidem est and *qui alteri* some words had intervened, wh. Cic. has abstained from quoting because they did not suit his purpose. With Sff.'s reading, mentioned above, these words would continue the quotation without a break.

eum: monosyllabic.

sibi paratam: there is no need to alter to *paratum* with Bent., whom Dav. Or. Ribbeck, Vahlen and others have followed. Mo. shews the constr. by punctuating thus: *sibi paratam pestem, ut participet, parem.*

si quidem homo esset, 'yes, if he were an ordinary man,' i.e. if he had the sympathetic feelings of an ordinary man, but he is a hero, hardened by stern experience. Blame is not suggested. *homo* usually refers to the feelings, *uir* to the will. *homo* and *uir* are often words of praise; *homo* is often, and *uir* sometimes, a word of blame.

sustinet: the verb in an indirect question is often in O.L. in the indic., cf. Plautus *passim.* The words however may be more impressive if we make a pause before *res* and, with Küh., take *sustinet* as direct question.

ecfari: might have been passive, cf. *effata* as a term in augury and *effatum* = 'a proposition.' Instances in Lewis and Short. *fatum* 'fate' is also in origin the neuter of a pass. part. But with Ern. Hei. Ml. and Schiche I adopt Bent.'s conj. *non potis ecfari* as it would otherwise be awkward to carry on *ecfari* as deponent to *non posset* in the following sentence.

For the form *ecfari* cf. 8 § 20 'ecferitatem.'

quiesce igitur et uolnus alliga: several questions arise here:—

(1) Are these words prose or verse? Few will follow Bent. in reading *laberis* (you will fall), *quiesce igitur et uolnus alliga. tace* (the last word without any MS

E. V́bi fortuna Hectóris nostram acrem áciem inclinatám....

17. haectoris G K. ^{h}aectoris R. haec toris E. hęctoris V P. hectoris **B** S.

support) and giving the whole line to Patroclus. Küh. and Mo. give these words to Eurypylus and an excellent sense is thus obtained. But I do not like the rhythm *quiesce igitur* with synizesis in *quiesce* and metrical accent on the middle syllable of *igitur*. As I refer the words to Cic. (see below) I take them to be prose.

(2) To whom and by whom are these words spoken?

TS., reading as in the text, takes the words to be addressed to Eur. (by Cic. as spectator) 'Be quiet then and attend to the binding of your wound'; but, though they thus smooth the difficulty over, can *alliga* bear this meaning? Can 'bind your wound' mean 'get your wound bound'? Dav. Sff. Kl. Hei. also give these words to Cicero who comments upon the situation as if it were being enacted before him. 'Be quiet then and bind the wound.'

The whole passage is part of the argument that pain must be despised, and that it can be overcome by endurance wh. can be developed by practice, preparation, habituation. Military training is a good kind of preparation. Eurypylus illustrates the effect of this training. He is in no hurry to have his wound dressed, and Patroclus, assuming or knowing him to be a despiser of pain, asks him questions about the fortune of the army instead of binding his wound at once. *quiesce igitur* is best referred to Cicero, who, assuming the mental attitude of a spectator sympathising with the wounded man, wishes Patroclus to bind the wound at once. It is addressed to Patroclus as in the immediate context surprise was expressed that P. should not attend to the wound without delay. To refer the words to Eurypylus would, besides giving a doubtful metrical form of words, be open to the objection that it would rather detract from the fortitude displayed by Eur. instead of helping forward the argument.

(3) Whether do the words *etiam si Eur. posset non posset Aesopus* refer to *quiescere* supplied from *quiesce*, as TS. thinks, or to *explicare in dolore* following, as Küh. supposes, or to *ecfari tantum dictis quantum factis suppetit laboris*, as Or. and Mo. take them to do? The first view is favoured only by the position of the words *quiesce...alliga*. Otherwise this and the second view seem alike untenable.

(4) What is the ref. in *Aesopus non posset*? Sff. and TS. think that a compliment to Aesopus, who was Cic.'s friend (Diu. i 37, 80), is conveyed by the words. The compliment is not obvious. Küh. thinks the meaning is 'even if the real Eur. could have set forth the story beginning *ubi fortuna Hectoris*...the stage Eur., i.e. Aesopus, *not being trained to hardship*, could not have done so *if he had been wounded*.' Though this would connect the mention of Aes. with the argument it seems far-fetched, and the asyndeton would be very remarkable. Another and rather better view is that the recitation of such a description (*non potis ecfari...laboris*) would not have suited the style of Aesopus' acting. We find in Off. i 31, 114 that the character of *Aiax Furens* did not suit him. The passage in Diu. i 37, 80 throws light on some characteristics of his acting, *in Aesopo familiari tuo tantum ardorem uoltuum atque motuum (uidi), ut eum uis quaedam abstraxisse a sensu mentis uideretur*. Hei. seems to take this view.

With all explanations however the passage is unsatisfactory and emendation seems necessary. Schütz suspected that the clause *etiam si Eurypylus... Aesopus* should come before the clause *quiesce...alliga*. Perhaps some words have fallen out after *Aesopus*. In any case the line *ubi fortuna...* is introduced very abruptly.

[I am convinced that *certe...est* and *hominem exercitum* and *etiam si...Aesopus* are blundering comments wh. have crept into the text. *hominem exercitum* is exactly the kind of exclamation in wh. a copyist expressed his feeling on the margin of the MS. Cf. *sile obsecro* in Ad Fam. x 28, 2 (where Cic. seemed to be boasting); *perseuerantia ducis* in Velleius 2, 5.]

alliga: but in § 38 *a quo obligetur*. Both verbs were used. Dav. compares J. F. Gronovius on Livy vii 24, 4 'consul, uolnere alligato, reuectus ad prima signa.' Mo. adds Diu. i 54, 123 'cum Critonis oculum alligatum uidisset.'

posset...non posset: for this co-ordination of contrasted clauses cf. i 14, 31 n.

ubi fortuna: the line is incomplete:

et cetera explicat in dolore. sic est enim intemperans militaris in forti uiro gloria. ergo haec ueteranus miles facere poterit, doctus uir sapiensque non poterit? ille uero melius, ac non paulo quidem. **40.** sed adhuc de consuetudine exercitationis loquor, nondum de ratione et sapientia. aniculae saepe inediam biduum aut triduum ferunt: subduc cibum unum diem athletae: Iouem, Iouem Olympium, eum ipsum, cui se exercebit, inplorabit, ferre non posse clamabit. consuetudinis magna uis est: pernoctant uenatores in montibus, niue uri se patiuntur. uide

§ **40**, 22. sed adhuc de consuetudine R V G B 1–3 K P S E L W 1 M 1 2 *plerique.* sed de consuetudine adhuc R 6 O 11. sed de consuetudine quidem adhuc W 2. de consuetudinis exercitatione O 9. || exercitationes R *i.e.* e *in* i *mut.* exercitationis V G 1–3 B 1 2 K P S E L *ceteri quos inspexi.* 25. iouem iouem V G 1 3 B 1 2 P E 1 13 R 10 O 6 (*et* Gr *teste Dauisio, nam ex J. M. Bruti editione ego nihil notaui*). iouem (iouem *superscr.*) K *alio atram. superscr.* iouem iouem R 1 2 L. iouem ~~iouē~~ S. iouem *semel tantum* R 6 17 G 2 E 2 11 L 4 O 1–5 7–12. || inplorabit V G. 26. ferre ſe nonposse V *at* ferre *lineam claudit et* ſe *extra lineam excurrit, eodem tamen atram. et ead. manu scriptum uidetur.* ferre non posſe ſe J *primo* ſe *ex parte eraso.* ferre non posse R 1 2 4 6 10 17 G 1–4 B 1 2 K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C O 1–12. 27. inde R V G B K P S E L D C Π J *plerique.* unde O 3 4. ān (*sic*) O 11.

dedit, inserted by Hei. and TS., is probably the missing word, but as Cic. has quoted only a portion (cf. *et cetera explicat*) of the speech he may not have finished the line.

Hectoris: cf. i 44, 105 n.

ille uero: ii 5, 13 n. on 'nullum uero.' Carry on *haec facere poterit.*

§ **40. sed adhuc de consuetudine**...: the whole book consists of a philosophic discussion *de tolerando dolore.* The arguments drawn from the practice of Spartans, soldiers, gladiators etc. all lead up to the treatment of the philosophic view of the subject. This begins in § 42 *age sis, nunc de ratione uideamus.* The reference to the *doctus uir sapiensque* in § 39 is only incidentally made by way of emphasizing the bearing of the point there developed upon the main argument. *sed* resumes the question of *exercitatio* after this passing ref. to the *uir doctus*, ii 1, 3 n.

de cons. exercitationis: Dav. read with 'Eliens. 1' *de cons. et exercitatione* as in § 42 below *de exercitatione et consuetudine*, and often. But editors generally follow the MSS here, and Kl. well points out that it is not of *consuetudo* in the abstract and of *exercitatio* that Cic. treats in this place, but of *exerc.* and the *consuetudo* thence derived. 'The habituation which results from practice' (subjective genitive).

aniculae, 'even old women.'

subduc...inplorabit: i 13, 30 n. on 'tolle...sustuleris.'

athletae: Dav. notes that not only the kind and quantity of their food but also the hours for their meals were prescribed for athletes, whence the term ἀναγκοφαγία, and that their voracity was famous, cf. Jerome adu. Jouin. ii p. 366 ed. Par. 1673 'quorum uita et ars *sagina* est.' He also refers to Athenaeus x pp. 413 foll.

Cf. also Theocr. iv 10 where an athlete takes 20 sheep with him to eat at Olympia during the 30 days' training.

Iouem, Iouem Olympium: the repetition adds emphasis.

cui, 'in whose honour.' The Olympian and other games were held in connexion with religious festivals.

exercebit: the fut. is similar in principle to 'nesciet' and 'sciet,' i 22, 53 n. TS. and Bai. unnecessarily adopt Sauppe's corr. *exercet.*

ferre non posse: for the omission of *se* cf. Madv. § 401; Roby 1346; i 25, 60 n. *se* is omitted by Or. Tr. Kl. Küh. Hei. It was inserted after *ferre* by Lamb. whom Sff. and TS. follow, and this is the reading of the early corrector of V. It is inserted after *posse* by Bouhier, Bai. Ml. and Schiche, and J has it so.

pernoctant uenatores...: if the MS reading be sound we must, with Nissen

pugiles: caestibus contusi ne ingemescunt quidem. **41.** sed quid hos, quibus Olympiorum uictoria consulatus ille antiquus uidetur? gladiatores, aut perditi homines aut barbari, quas plagas perferunt! quo modo illi, qui bene instituti sunt, accipere plagam malunt quam turpiter uitare! quam saepe apparet nihil eos malle quam uel domino satis facere uel populo! mittunt etiam uolneribus confecti ad dominos, qui quaerant, quid uelint; si satis iis factum sit, se uelle decumbere. quis mediocris

28. caestibus R G E. || ingemescunt R V E O 6. ingemescunt *in* ingemiscunt *mut.* G. ingemiscunt B P W 1 2 M 2 *alii.*

§ **41**, 29. cons$\overset{u}{\text{o}}$latus R B. consola$\overset{t}{\text{t}}\overset{u}{\text{u}}$s (*sic*) O 5. consolatus V G 1–4 K P S L 1 4 W 1 2 M 2 B 2 3 E 2 J O 8 12. 35. si satis his factum sit R V G B 1–3 L W 1. hiis G 3. iis S M 2. eis W 2. si satis his factum ṇọṇ sit O 6 10. ñ *manu secunda ante* sit *superscr.* P. non *post* factum *marg.* S. || decumbere V G K L B 2 3 O 5. dec$\overset{u}{\text{o}}$mbere R. decōbere P. discumbere E G 3 C.

Mo. F.A.W. Or. and Küh., refer *uri* to *solis calore*, for *uri* is not used of the action of *frigus* unless *frigus* or some such word is expressed. In Greek ἀποκαίω is used in this sense absolutely, cf. Xen. Anab. iv 5, 3. We should then have the same contrast as in i 28, 69 'quod aut frigore rigeant aut urantur calore.' But many scholars have with reason suspected the text. For why, as Sff. demands, have we the contrast *pernoctant in niue, in montibus uri se patiuntur? 'Nonne nix in montibus et potest et solet esse? Non uri extra montes quisquam potest? Et qua re uri?...Quis aestiuo tempore in medio ardore solis uenatur? Aut quem non uenandi studium ut ait Liu.* v 6, 3 *per niues ac pruinas in montes siluasque rapit? v. Xen. Cyneg.* viii 3; *Hor. Carm.* i 1, 25; 37, 19; *Serm.* i 2, 105; *Verg. Georg.* i 307 *sqq.*' J. Fr. Gronovius neatly emended *pernoctant uen. in mont., in niue uri se patiuntur. inde....* Dav. conj. *pern. uen. in niue; niue in montibus uri se patiuntur Indi: pugiles...*, because in a parallel passage (v 27, 77) certain Indians, but only *sapientes*, are said to endure *Caucasi niues hiemalemque uim.* Hei. and Ml. read *pern. uen. in niue in montibus, uri se patiuntur Indi, pugiles....* Sff. *pern. uen. in niue et montibus, uri se patiuntur; uide pugiles.... uide* is a conj. put forward but rejected by Or. The *ductus litterarum* is almost the same as that of *inde* while the meaning is far more natural, for *inde* does not well refer back to *consuetudo*, and is superfluous with *consuetudinis uis.*

I believe that Cic. wrote *pern. uen. in montibus, niue uri se patiuntur. uide pugiles.... montibus* was missed by a copyist until *niue* had been written down. *in* was then written before *montibus* by that or a subsequent copyist because obviously required by grammar. [Hübner in *Rh. Mus.* XIII curiously reads *in montibus: uri se patiuntur Indae*—suttee !]

§ **41. sed quid hos**: i 15, 34 n. on 'sed quid poetas?'

consulatus ille antiquus, 'equal to the consulship in the good old days,' sc. when it was won by merit; a passing cut at Caesar's gifts of consulships to his friends, and even in the case of Caninius Rebilus (Fam. vii 30, 1) for a single day: Fr. Fabricius in Mo. Dav. compares p. Flacco 13, 31 'Olympionices? hoc est apud Graecos...prope maius et gloriosius quam Romae triumphasse.'

domino: gladiators might be either slaves or freemen. The latter enlisted under a most rigorous form of contract (*auctoramentum*), cf. Hor. Sat. ii 7, 58 'quid refert, uri uirgis ferroque necari auctoratus eas?' and Acron on that passage; Petronius 117, and Juv. ii 8 quoted by Orelli there.

si satis iis factum sit: for the tense and mood cf. i 33, 80 n.; Roby § 1785. The meaning is, as seen long ago by J. Fr. Gronovius, quoted by Dav., that they willingly take the fatal blow if they have an indication from their *dominus* that they have fought well. The emendations of Or. *factum non sit*, and of Mo. *nisi satis eis*, are unnecessary. They are also bad, as they would not indicate a despising of pain but rather a clinging to

gladiator ingemuit, quis uoltum mutauit umquam? quis non modo stetit, uerum etiam decubuit turpiter? quis, cum decubuisset, ferrum recipere iussus collum contraxit? tantum exercitatio, meditatio, consuetudo ualet. ergo hoc poterit

Samnis, spurcus homo, uita illa dignus locoque,

uir natus ad gloriam ullam partem animi tam mollem habebit, quam non meditatione et ratione conroboret? crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum nonnullis uideri solet, et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit. cum uero sontes ferro depugnabant, auribus fortasse multae, oculis quidem nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina.

XVIII. **42**. De exercitatione et consuetudine et commentatione dixi; age, sis, nunc de ratione uideamus, nisi quid uis ad haec.

36. uultum (*hoc loco*) V G. ‖ umquam R V G B P. 43. adhuc *ante* scio R 1 2 4 10 15–17 G 1 3 B 1 2 E 1 2 13 L 1 4 5 W 2 D C O 8 11 12. adhoc K R 3. haud V *at in litura*. adhuc P S *marg*. haud P S. adhuc *in* haud *rasura mut*. II. adhuc nescio W 1 R 11 G 4 E 11 O 19. haud scio M 1 R 6 12 14 B 3 L 3 6 O 2–6 10 ed. H. adhuc scio ut nō sit G 2. adscio O 7. haud (h *and* non *superscr.*) scio R 13.

life. Hei. is not correct in supposing the alternative to be that they are ready to fight on if the *dominus* is not satisfied. They are *uolneribus confecti* and can fight no more. It is a question of dying happy or dying dissatisfied. *uelle* is the emphatic word.

decumbere: Küh. compares Phil. iii 14, 35 'quod gladiatores nobiles faciunt, ut honeste decumbant, faciamus nos.'

non modo...uerum etiam: i 7, 13 n. Madv. § 461 obs. 2. *turpiter* applies to both clauses.

ferrum recipere: ii 14, 33 n. on 'da iugulum.'

exercitatio, meditatio, consuetudo, 'practice, preparation, habituation.' *exercitatio* seems here to refer especially to the physical, *meditatio* to the mental side of preliminary practice.

Samnis: a kind of gladiator armed in the traditional manner of the Samnites of old, cf. Livy ix 40, 17. The man here referred to was one Aeserninus, who was matched with the Pacideianus who is mentioned in iv 21, 48. Cf. Lucilius in Nonius 257, 18 under *conponere*, and 393, 34 under *spurcum*.

TS. seems to suppose the man to have been a native of Samnium, but in any case *uita illa* means the life of gladiators, not the life of natives of Samnium.

dignus: the final *s* is disregarded in scansion, cf. i 5, 10 n.

spurcus, 'filthy,' lit. 'spotted'; cf. Curtius, *Greek Etymology*, vol. 1 § 275 E.T.

haud scio an, 'I incline to think that.' Madv. § 453. Cf. Fam. ix 9, 2 'quod nescio an ulli umquam nostro acciderit imperatori,' where Manutius notes 'pro *fortasse* usurpat saepe Cic. *nescio* uel *haud scio*, maiore quadam elegantia.' Hand, *Tursell.* 1 pp. 310 foll., discusses the idiom. The *elegantia* noted by Manutius is due to the polite abstention from positive assertion. The expression being disjunctive in form, the suppression of the first member gives greater prominence to the second so that *an* practically $=$ *an potius*.

auribus fortasse: Cic. refers to philosophic dialogues and writings.

oculis quidem: i 41, 99 n. on 'hominem quidem.'

XVIII. § **42**. **commentatione** = *meditatio* of § 41.

sis: a colloquial form = *si uis*. Common in O.L., see also Or. 45, 154; p. Mil. 22, 60; p. Rosc. Am. 16, 48; Livy xxxiv 32, 20.

ratione, 'the philosophic view.'

A. Egone ut te interpellem? ne hoc quidem uellem; ita me ad credendum tua ducit oratio.

M. Sitne igitur malum dolere necne, Stoici uiderint, qui contortulis quibusdam et minutis conclusiunculis nec ad sensus permanantibus effici uolunt non esse malum dolorem: ego illud, quidquid sit, tantum esse quantum uideatur non puto, falsaque eius uisione et specie moueri homines dico uehementius, doloremque aio omnem esse tolerabilem. unde igitur ordiar?

XVIII. § 42, 6. dolere necne V *at* e *post* l *in litura.* dolǒre necne K o *in* e *alio atram. mut.* 7. contortulis V G B 1 3 K E 1 2 R 6 L 4 C. contor tulis R *alia manu superscr.* *marg.* c tortulis. cū tortulis L J O 2 8 12. contor tulis P. contor/ tulis B 2. cō curculis II. || et minutis R V G B 1 3 K P S W 2 M 1 2 E 2 C J O 1–10 12. et immittis B 2. ac minutis W 1 O 11. 8. permanantibus R 6. permanentibus V. permanentibus R 1 17 G 1–4 B 1–3 K P E L W 1 2 M 1 2 C J O 2–6 8–12. pertinentibus E 2 L 4 II O 1 7. aspernentibus E 13. spnentibus S *marg.* pertinentibus. 11. ẽi *post* doloremque V G. ei⁹ E 2 *at* ⁹ *extra lineam.* ei⁹ R 10 17 G 3 D II. eiⁿ V 9. e⁹ B 2. eius R 1 2 6 B 1 3 K P S E 1 13 W 2 M 1 2 G 2 4 C J O 1–12. *omittit* W 1. || tollerabilem R G. tollerabilem V B 2. tolerabilem B P E L.

egone ut te interpellem: the expression is elliptical *in origin*; a main clause such as *postularine potest* is suppressed, *-ne* alone being carried on from this main clause into the subordinate clause. Küh. *Gram.* II p. 1007 § 230; Draeger *H.S.* II 631 § 525; Madv. 353 obs. The idiom is especially common in Pl. and Ter. Draeger cites only two instances from Livy and none from later writers.

ne hoc quidem: Nissen notes 'si lectio sana intellego: *nedum aliquid contradicere.* sed mihi quidem hoc ieiune dictum uidetur.' Hei. may be right in translating 'I should not even wish to do that,' so that *uellem* should strictly be between *ne* and *quidem.* If this be correct we have an instance of emphasis misplaced, cf. ii 5, 14 n. on 'non audeo id dicere quidem.'

uiderint: i 11, 23 n.

contortulis ... conclusiunculis, 'intricate and hair-splitting arguments'; the effect of the diminutive (wh. is here disparaging) is intensified by its employment in both adj. and noun. Küh. gives exx. on iii 1, 2 'paruolos...igniculos.' For the Stoic attitude towards logic see Zeller, *Stoics, etc.*, c. iv pp. 64–5 and c. v p. 118 E.T. Cf. also ii 12, 29; iii 10, 22; Diu. ii 51, 106. For the expression cf. also Ac. ii 24, 75 'atqui habebam molestos uobis, sed minutos, Stilponem, Diodorum, Alexinum, quorum sunt contorta et aculeata quaedam σοφίσματα: sic enim appellantur fallaces conclusiunculae.'

minutis: see Reid on Ac. l.c.

permanantibus = *penetrantibus* 'which make no impression on the mind.' TS. compares p. Rosc. Am. 24, 66 'macula ...usque eo permanat ad animum ut summus furor atque amentia consequatur.' *permanentibus* of most MSS would give an artificial construction and a defective meaning.

uisione et specie, 'phantom and semblance.'

doloremque aio omnem: I adopt the emendation of Sff.—*aio* 'I assert,' the sentence thus forming the text of the following discussion. *eius*, though supported by MSS generally, has been with reason much suspected. Ern. F.A.W. Or. and Nobbe bracket; Sch. Hei. TS. Ml. and Schiche omit the word, and Küh. suggests that it may have got in owing to the eye of a copyist straying to *eius* of the preceding line. Manut. and Lamb. read *doloremque eis omnem*; Bent. pronounced *eis* 'superuacuum,' but went wide of MSS and Latinity alike in reading *rebus*, wh. he took to mean *re uera.* The objection of Wopkens, *Lectt. Tull.* p. 207, that *dolorem eius* = *dolorem doloris* is met by Halm *ibid.* note 45, who refers *eius* back to *illud quidquid sit* and points out that *illud* is not *dolor* but '*res quae excitet dolorem.*' But *eius* is in any case superfluous.

an eadem breuiter attingam, quae modo dixi, quo facilius oratio progredi possit longius? **43.** inter omnis igitur hoc constat, nec doctos homines solum, sed etiam indoctos, uirorum esse fortium et magnanimorum et patientium et humana uincentium toleranter dolorem pati; nec uero quisquam fuit, qui eum, qui ita pateretur, non laudandum putaret. quod ergo et postulatur a fortibus et laudatur, cum fit, id aut extimescere ueniens aut non ferre praesens nonne turpe est? atqui uide, ne, cum omnes rectae animi adfectiones uirtutes appellentur, non sit hoc proprium nomen omnium, sed ab ea, quae una ceteris excellebat, omnes nominatae sint. appellata est enim ex uiro uirtus; uiri

§ **43**, 13. omnis R V G B P E. 15. magna animorum G B 2. magna ạnimorum R K. magna ~~a~~nimorum V. 16. tolleranter V G B 2 R 6. toḷleranter R. 18. & fortibus V. 19. nonne V G B 1 2. n̄ ne R. n̄ne K. || atquin V G 1–3 B S E 1 2 R 10 II. atqui~~n~~ R. atquiṇ P L. atquin ~~ne~~ B 2. atquin (quin superscr.) D. atqui (n superscr.) K *alio atram. superscr.* atqui W 1 2 M 2 R 69 G 4 B 3 E 13 L 4 C J XII Oxx. 20. recte R V P E B 3. recte̜ B S R 6. || adfectiones G P. acffectiones V (d *in* f *mut.*). 21. ceteris R V S E. ce̜teris B R 2. coeteris O 12. caeteris O 2. || excellat M 1 R 6 O 2. excellebat R V G Gr B K P S E L W 1 2 M 2 *ceteri.* 22. sint V B. sunt G S. || ẹx̣ (a superscr.) uiro V. ex uiro R.

an eadem: the question *unde igitur ordiar?* implies that two or more alternative openings might be possible. All others, which, had they been expressed, would have appeared in a *utrum* clause, being tacitly rejected, the *an* clause gives the opening which he expects to be selected.

quae modo dixi: 13, 30 foll.

§ 43. **quod ergo et postulatur...turpe est?** The sentence is inaccurately expressed. The enduring of pain is what is demanded and applauded; the *necessity* of enduring pain is what is dreaded or shirked. *quod* somewhat changes its reference as the sentence proceeds.

atqui uide: see Hand *Turs.* I p. 523: Caper, an early grammarian (for his date see Teuff. II § 383, 3), says 'atqui careat n.' This seems to shew that by Caper's time the form *atquin* was in use. Had the form been brought in by grammarians before Caper? And is the corr. in MSS, e.g. RP., due to Renascence scholars who knew Caper's note on this point? See also Küh. *Gr.* I p. 133; Draeger *H.S.* II p. 121.

[The latest edition of Neue can only quote two other passages of Cic. where *atquin* has any decent support in MSS, and nothing from any other Latin writer before Statius, Theb. 6, 161 (before a vowel). This is enough to condemn the form, which, like *alioquin*, has arisen partly by erroneous transcription, partly by false analogy with *quin*, wh. was all the easier because *atquin* looked like the combination of two adversative particles. No doubt *atquin* came into common use in mediaeval times.]

adfectiones: διαθέσεις, 'states.' The Stoics define Virtue as διάθεσις τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμολογουμένη which Cic. here renders by *rectae animi adfectiones*. Hei. Cf. Diog. L. vii § 89.

una: intensifying *excellebat*, cf. i 9, 17 n.

ceteris: for the dat. cf. Fin. iii 2, 8 (Madv.) 'omnibus excellens'; de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 14, 42 (Wilkins) 'principibus excellit'; de Inuent. ii 1, 1 'Zeuxin, qui tam longe ceteris excellere existimabatur.'

excellebat: though a general truth is expressed, the imperf. refers to the time when the name was first given, cf. i 12, 26 'hoc melius ea fortasse quae *erant* uera cernebat'; v 4, 11 'id potissimum consecuti sumus quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur.'

appellata est enim ex uiro uirtus: Dav. compares Lactantius de Opif. Dei c. xii 'uir itaque nominatus est, quod maior in eo uis est quam in femina, et hinc uirtus nomen accepit.'

autem propria maxime est fortitudo, cuius munera duo sunt maxima, mortis dolorisque contemptio. utendum est igitur his, si uirtutis compotes, uel potius si uiri uolumus esse, quoniam a uiris uirtus nomen est mutuata. quaeres fortasse, quo modo, et recte; talem enim medicinam philosophia profitetur.

XIX. **44**. Venit Epicurus, homo minime malus uel potius uir optimus; tantum monet, quantum intellegit. 'neglege,' inquit, 'dolorem.' quis hoc dicit? idem, qui dolorem summum malum. uix satis constanter. audiamus. 'si summus dolor est,' inquit, 'breuem necesse est esse.'

Iteradum eadem ista mihi!

non enim satis intellego, quid summum dicas esse, quid breue. 'summum, quo nihil sit superius, breue, quo nihil breuius. contemno magnitudinem doloris, a qua me breuitas temporis uindicabit ante paene, quam uenerit.' sed si est tantus dolor,

XIX. § **44**, 2. intellegit R 1 2 V G B K. intelligit E. || neglege R 1 2 V B P E. negglego G. 3. inquid V G 2. inquid G. 5. breuem necesse est esse V G 1–4 B S E 1 2 13 W 1 R 2 Π O 1 8 9. breue n. e. e. L B 3. necesse est breuem esse R K W 2 M 1 2 B 3 O 2–5 7 12. n. e. breue esse O 6. breuem esse necesse est R 6 C O 11. necesse est esse breuem O 10. 6. iterandum (*in quibusdam* iterādum) R 1 6 10 V G 1–3 B 1–3 K P S E L W 2 M 1 2 J O 2–6 9–12 ed. H. iteranda W 1 R 17 G 4 E 2 D C Π O 1 7. iterād' O 8. 9. contemno B E. contemno *in* contempno *mut*. P. contempno V p *in marg. excurrente*. contempno R G L.

uiri...propria: Küh. notes that *proprius* always has the gen. in Cicero. In N.D. i 37, 103 the dat. (*cuique*) depends upon *est*.

utendum est: Draeger, *H.S.* II p. 791.

quoniam a uiris uirtus nomen est mutuata: Ursinus held these words to be a gloss and Dav. approves, but Nissen (in Mo.) rightly points out that they have their force in interpreting the words *uel potius*.

XIX. § **44**. **uir optimus**: cf. i 3, 6 n. 'ab optimis illis quidem uiris, sed non satis eruditis.' *malus* on the other hand = 'clever,' 'cunning,' cf. Plaut. Mil. Glor. 193 'nam mulier holitori numquam supplicat si qua'st mala'; also 356, 880, 1141.

tantum...quantum, 'only so much.' The limitation is not expressed in Latin but left to be inferred by the reader; cf. τοσοῦτον in Greek, often. See i 13, 29 n. [So Fin. 2, 21 'plane dicit (Epicurus) quod intellegit.']

iteradum...mihi: *iterandum* of the MSS. would give a recognised archaic construction, cf. Lucr. i 111 'aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendumst' and Munro's n., but the expression would not be natural in Att. xiv 14, 1 where, acc. to Ribbeck, it is the reading of M, and *iteradum* seems to be the reading of the MSS in Ac. ii 27, 88, and it follows naturally after the three preceding imperatives there. The line in full is quoted there and the metre requires *istaec*, but the MSS here and, if we may judge from the silence of Or. and Reid, in the passages in ad Att. and Acad., give *ista*, and Cic. may have quoted the extract so. There is therefore no need to follow Manutius and alter here to *istaec* with Bai. Sff. and others. The words are probably quoted from the Iliona of Pacuvius. In the passage in Ac. ii 27, 88 (where see Reid's n.) they follow very close upon the words *mater te appello* for which see i 44, 106 n.

For **dum**, cf. *agedum* = ἄγε δή, *dicdum* = λέγε δή, and other exx. quoted by Brix on Plaut. Trin. 98.

quantus Philoctetae? 'bene. plane magnus mihi quidem uidetur, sed tamen non summus; nihil enim dolet nisi pes; possunt oculi, potest caput, latera, pulmones, possunt omnia. longe igitur abest a summo dolore. ergo,' inquit, 'dolor diuturnus habet laetitiae plus quam molestiae.' **45.** Nunc ego non possum tantum hominem nihil sapere dicere, sed nos ab eo derideri puto. ego summum dolorem ('summum' autem dico, etiam si decem atomis est maior alius) non continuo esse dico breuem multosque possum bonos uiros nominare, qui complures annos doloribus podagrae crucientur maximis. sed homo cautus

11. philoctatae *in* philoctaetae *mut.* G. philoctacte E. || bene plane magnus R V G K P S E 1 2 L W 1 2 B 2 C Π O 3 4 7–12. bene plane B (magnus *abest*). bene plane mihi quidem magnus O 1. bene plane et magnus M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 2 5 6.

§ **45**, 15. nunc ego R G B K P E L *plerique.* nunc ergo S *marg.* nunc ego. nunc e go V r *post* e *eraso.* nunc ergo G 4 O 7 9. hunc ego O 3 4. 18. esse dico breuem R 1 10 V G K S L Π O 8 9. dico esse breuem B 1 3 W 1 2 R 6 G 3 J O 1–7 10–12. esse breuem (dico *omisso*) M 2 C. 19. quicumplures V G. quicoplures (u *supra* o) E. quiconplures K. qcomplures P. 20. cautus R V G B K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 M 2 (*non ut adfirmat Küh.*) D C J XII Oxx. *plerique.* catus G 4 L 4 Nonius § 92.

quantus Philoctetae: cf. ii 7, 19. [And, in a similar context, Fin. 2, 94.]

bene. plane magnus: it seems best, with Küh., to follow Nissen in punctuating thus, 'bene, h. e. recte quaeris, inquit Epicurus.' Mo. followed by Hei. and TS. takes *bene* as emphasizing *magnus*, cf. 'bene multi' Fam. x 33, 4, and *plane* as concessive = *omnino*, comparing Brutus 81, 282 'erat enim cum institutus optime tum etiam perfecte planeque eruditus'; not a good instance, for *plane*, though often concessive, is not concessive there. For the position of *plane* Mo. compares Auct. ad Herennium iv 20, 28 'non plane par' (where I should take *non* with *plane*). On the other hand F. A. W. declares that '*bene* intendit uocem *plane* augetque eius uim.' Hand, *Tursell.* II p. 4, rejects *plane* as a gloss, but a gloss seems little likely here, and *bene* seems more likely as a gloss than *plane*. Possibly Cic. wrote *bene et plane magnus*; a few inferior MSS. have *bene plane et magnus*.

possunt oculi: sc. *dolere*. Several editors have imagined that *possunt* here = *bene ualent*. For the indic. *possunt*, cf. i 34, 84 n.

dolor diuturnus: cf. Fin. i 15, 49; '(dolores) maximos morte finiri, paruos multa habere interualla requietis'; Diog. L. x 140 *οὐ χρονίζει τὸ ἀλγοῦν συνεχῶς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄκρον τὸν ἐλάχιστον χρόνον πάρεστι, τὸ δὲ μόνον ὑπερτεῖνον τὸ ἡδόμενον κατὰ σάρκα οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμβαίνει· αἱ δὲ πολυχρόνιοι τῶν ἀρρωστιῶν πλεονάζον ἔχουσι τὸ ἡδόμενον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἤπερ τὸ ἀλγοῦν.*

§ **45. nunc ego**: Sff. explains *nunc* (which was suspected by Wes. *Em.* I p. 25 note) 'antea...seria agere, etsi non satis constanter, uidebatur Epicurus, nunc nos ab eo derideri puto.'

decem atomis: a cut at Epicurus' atomic theory for which cf. i 11, 22 n. The idea occurred the more readily to Cic. as contemporary schools of philosophy took a very material view of the soul and its activities and experiences. Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* pp. 198 foll., 429 foll.

possum: cf. 44 'possunt' and ref. there.

bonos uiros: cf. § 44 'uir optimus,' n. and ref.; honest easy-going men, who had brought on gout by following Epicurean rules of life.

crucientur: I think the subjunctive very doubtful. If sound we must take it with Küh. as = *qui cruciari se adfirmant*, but I entirely dissent from his assertion that by *bonos uiros* we must understand *ei quorum uerbis fides haberi possit*. The view of Küh. would give the meaning 'I could name many truthful men who assert that they have been for many years racked with the greatest pains from gout'

numquam terminat nec magnitudinis nec diuturnitatis modum, ut sciam, quid summum dicat in dolore, quid breue in tempore. omittamus hunc igitur nihil prorsus dicentem cogamusque confiteri non esse ab eo doloris remedia quaerenda, qui dolorem malorum omnium maximum dixerit, quamuis idem forticulum se in torminibus et in stranguria sua praebeat. aliunde igitur est quaerenda medicina, et maxime quidem, si quid maxime consentaneum sit quaerimus, ab iis, quibus quod honestum sit summum bonum, quod turpe summum uidetur malum. his tu praesentibus gemere et iactare te non audebis profecto; loquetur enim eorum uoce uirtus ipsa tecum:

XX. **46**. Tune, cum pueros Lacedaemone, adulescentis

21. numquam R V G E L. nunquam B. 22. breuem in R V G. breuem in K *alio atram. puncto subnot.* breue in B E. 23. hunc igitur R V G Gr B K S E L W 2 M 2 *plerique.* igitur hunc W 1 M 1 G 4 O 11. 28. ab his R V G B E L W 1 2. ab iis S *at ex* ab his *mutatum esse suspicor.* 30. iactare te R V G 1–4 B K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C *plerique.* te iactare O 4 11.
XX. § **46**, 1. adulescentis R V G K P.

(a statement which their high character forbids us to doubt). Why should Cic. guard against such a doubt? The assertion is not one likely to be falsely made even by a man whose veracity is not unimpeachable. Gout could as a rule be proved without interrogating the sufferer. The expression *bonus uir* is very often ironical and it does not usually mean 'a man of his word' except in relation to commercial transactions. What we want and what I suspect that Cic. wrote is 'I could name many worthy men (ironical) who have been for many years racked (*cruciantur*) with the greatest pains from gout.' Probably we have here another instance of *a* early changed into *e*.

cautus: this is the reading of almost all MSS including the best, but Nonius § 92 quotes this passage s.v. *catus*. Hence Lamb., followed by Bent. Dav. Hei. TS. Ml. and Schiche, read *catus*, Bent. asserting that shrewdness and acuteness rather than caution are required. But Küh. rightly objects to this that the word *cautus* just suits the action of Epicurus who abstained from committing himself to a definition of the terms referred to in the text. *cautus* is the reading of the MSS in Ac. ii 30, 97 where Lamb. and Bai. substitute *catus*, but see Reid's n. Where the archaic word *catus* is undoubtedly used by Cic. (Leg. i 16, 45) it is qualified by the words *ut ita dicam*.

ut sciam: cf. i 26, 64 n. on 'ut putem'; i 17, 41 n. on 'ne tam uegeta mens.'

omittamus hunc igitur: cf. i 6, 12 n. on 'quid dicis igitur.'

quamuis...praebeat: cf. Fin. ii 30, 96 where Cic. translates and criticises a letter sent by Epicurus on the day of his death to Hermarchus, and probably to all his friends (Madv.'s n.), and Diog. L. x 22 where the Greek original is given.

forticulum: the dimin. is disparaging as often, cf. iii 19, 46 'demus scutellam dulciculae potionis.'

in torminibus: δυσεντερικὰ πάθη in the letter of Epicurus.

iactare te, 'to toss to and fro' through pain. Hei. compares Cat. i 13, 31 'homines...cum aestu febrique iactantur.'

loquetur enim...uirtus: TS. compares the προσωποποιία in Cat. i 7, 18 'quae (sc. *patria*) tecum sic agit et quodam modo tacita loquitur' where see Wilkins' n. Cf. also ii 13, 32 'fortitudini comitibusque eius...quo modo respondebis?' iii 17, 37 'prudentiae uero quid respondebis docenti uirtutem sese esse contentam?' v 5, 14 'uirtutes noli uereri ne expostulent et querantur se a beata uita esse relictas'; and for a strong instance of personification Fin. ii 19, 62 'perficiam...ut se uirtuti tradat constringendam uoluptas.'

XX. § **46**. **tune cum...uideris...exclamabis**: for the form of the sentence cf. Ac. ii 19, 61 'tune cum...extuleris... sequere.' Küh. notes that in this *argu-*

Olympiae, barbaros in harena uideris excipientis grauissimas plagas et ferentis silentio, si te forte dolor aliquis peruellerit, exclamabis ut mulier, non constanter et sedate feres?—fieri non potest; natura non patitur.—audio. pueri ferunt gloria ducti, ferunt pudore alii, multi metu, et tamen ueremur, ut hoc, quod a tam multis et quod tot locis perferatur, natura patiatur? illa uero non modo patitur, uerum etiam postulat; nihil enim habet praestantius, nihil quod magis expetat quam honestatem, quam laudem, quam dignitatem, quam decus. hisce ego pluribus nominibus unam rem declarari uolo, sed utor, ut quam maxime significem, pluribus. uolo autem dicere illud homini longe optimum esse, quod ipsum sit optandum per se, a uirtute profectum uel in ipsa uirtute situm, sua sponte laudabile, quod quidem

2. olymphiae R G. olympię V. olymphie P. || harena R V G 1 3 P S L W 1 M 2 O 1 7. ḥarena K *alio atram. puncto subnot.* arena B E W 2 M 1 O 6 10 11. || excipientis V G B K P E L. excipientẹs (i superscr.) R *eod. ut uid. atram. superscr.* 3. ferentis V G B K P E L. 4. fieri R 1 6 V G 1 2 B K P S E L W 1 2 M 1 2 C J O 1–12. ferri G 3 (*non ut adfirmat Küh.*). 6. quod a tam R a *in rasura et spatio post* a *relicto.* quod aṭạ tam V aṭạ *lineam claudit.* quod atatâ G. quodaṭạtā K. qđ ḍa tam P. quod ^a tam S *alio ut uid. atram. superscr.* quod tam B E. quod a tam L R 6 B 3 O 5 9. 11. utar R 1 2 10 16 17 B 1 K S E 1 2 13 L 1 4 W 1 V 9 G 2 P 3 D C O 1 7 9 12. utar G (r *in rasura*). uta O 11. *omittit* G 3 (*non ut adfirmat Küh.*). *omittit* G 4. utor P M 2 R 5 O 3–6 10. utor Π *at* o *in litura.* utor B 3 *marg.* al. ita. sed utar V *marg.* ita. sed ita (utar superscr.) ut W 2 *alia manu superscr.* sed ita ut M 1 R 3 4 J. sed ita utar ut R 6 O 8. sed ut q̂ O 2.

mentatio e contrario a more usual form is (without *cum*) *ergo pueros.. uidisti... ipse, si...peruellerit, exclamabis*; but *cum* is present in iii 15, 31 'ergo hoc Terentius ...cum tam commode dixerit...nos...non ...sentiemus?'

cum...uideris, 'although...'; perf. subj.

pueros: ii 14, 34 n. on 'Spartae uero pueri ad aram.'

adulescentis: cf. ii 17, 40.

barbaros: cf. ii 17, 41.

peruellerit: cf. iii 17, 36 '(fortunae) quae peruellere te forsitan potuerit et pungere, non potuit certe uires frangere.'

fieri non potest: this, the reading of all the best MSS (including W 1 and 2, stated in Mo. to read *ferri*), yields a good sense, 'Impossible! nature does not permit it.' There is therefore no need to alter to *ferri*.

audio: ironical, 'very good,' cf. p. Rosc. Amer. 21, 58 'ne exheredaretur ueritus est: audio: sed qua de causa uereri debuerit, nemo dicit.'

gloria: in subjective sense 'desire for glory,' cf. ii 27, 65 'studio...et gloria.' In Hor. Ep. i 18, 22 'gloria quem supra uires et uestit et ungit' we have a further extension of the same use, 'vanity,' i.e. (empty) desire of glory.

natura patiatur: early editions before Dav. inserted *non* before *patiatur* contrary to MSS and to the sense required. For *ut*, cf. Madv. § 376.

pluribus nominibus unam rem declarari uolo: cf. Fin. iii 4, 14 'erit enim notius quale sit, pluribus notatum uocabulis idem declarantibus'; N.D. ii 7, 18; and Ac. i 5, 19 'una de uita et moribus, altera de natura et rebus occultis,' with Reid's n.

utor: the pres. is what we naturally expect as Cic. has just used the words referred to. *utar*, of the best MSS, can scarcely be defended.

significem = *significanter loquar*, as explained by F.A.W.

uel in ipsa: for *uel* substituting a stronger alternative (usually *uel potius*), cf. ii 14, 33 n. on 'uel fodiat sane' and Fam. iv 13, 7 'sed haec tu melius uel optime omnium.'

citius dixerim solum quam non summum bonum, atque ut haec de honesto, sic de turpi contraria, nihil tam taetrum, nihil tam aspernandum, nihil homine indignius. **47.** quod si tibi persuasum est (principio enim dixisti plus in dedecore mali tibi uideri quam in dolore), reliquum est, ut tute tibi imperes; quamquam hoc nescio quo modo dicatur quasi duo simus, ut alter imperet, alter pareat; non inscite tamen dicitur.

XXI. Est enim animus in partis tributus duas, quarum altera rationis est particeps, altera expers. cum igitur praecipitur, ut nobismet ipsis imperemus, hoc praecipitur, ut ratio

16. taetrum tetrum G S. 17. homine (i *supra* e) V P. homine G K E.
§ 47, 20. duo B 1 3 K P S E R 6 16. duo V *at litura post* o. duo*s* R. duos G.
XXI. 1. tributus R 1 4 10 17 V 1 2 6 7 G 1 3 Gr B K P E 1 2 6 13 L J O 3 4 8 9 12. tributus R 2. tributus (*prima manu*) II. tributus S *ad initium lineae*: di *marg. extra lineam antecedentem*, s *marg. ante* tr. tributus W 2 *marg.* dis. dis tributus O 10. distributus W 1 M 1 2 R 3 6 16 V 10 11 G 4 B 3 E 5 7 11 L 4 6 D C O 1 2 5–7 11.

solum quam non summum bonum: i.e. I am more inclined to pronounce it the only good than to deny it to be the *summum bonum*.

For **citius** cf. Phil. ii 11, 25 'citius dixerim iactasse se aliquos' and Mayor's note.

quod: the pronoun is, of course, not the direct object of *persuasum est* but acc. of extent. Cf. i 41, 99 n. on 'quod suscenseam.'

§ **47. principio**: ii 5, 14.

tute tibi: cf. Off. iii 2, 6 'neue committas ut, cum omnia suppeditata sint a nobis, tute tibi defuisse uideare.'

quamquam = καίτοι.

quo modo = *quo iure, quam recte*. Sff.

dicatur: this is the MS reading. The subj. of course does not depend upon *quamquam* (i 45, 109 n.). It is here due to indirect question; 'and yet I don't know how this way of speaking is justified.' The meaning thus obtained appearing to conflict with the words *non inscite tamen dicitur*, Hei. TS. Bai. Ml. Schiche read *quamquam hoc nescio quo modo dicitur*: 'although this is said in a certain sense as though we were two individuals, yet....' But the words *non inscite tamen dicitur* may be regarded as a correction introduced by the speaker as he proceeds: 'after all it is not a bad expression.' The remainder of the section justifies this assertion; when a man's reason governs his lower nature the man may be said to govern *himself*. Dav. and Mo. put a full stop after *pareat* and a colon after *dicitur*, taking the words *non...dicitur* more closely with what follows, as part of c. 21.

XXI. **tributus**: often with *in partes*, as here, cf. Brut. 41, 152; Or. i 15, 68; Orator 4, 16; Fin. ii 6, 17.

in partis...duas: in i 10, 20 we have 'Plato *triplicem* finxit animum,' but see note there. See also iv 5, 10 'Pythagorae primum, dein Platonis discriptionem sequar, qui animum in duas partis diuidunt, alteram rationis participem faciunt, alteram expertem.' Also for a similar division Off. i 28, 101; i 36, 132. For the teaching of the Stoics on this point see Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* p. 202 (E. T.). Heine notes that the later Stoics and especially Posidonius, Cic.'s teacher, approached nearer to Plato's teaching and divided the soul into the λογικὸν and ἄλογον μέρος, the latter including Plato's ἐπιθυμητικὸν and θυμοειδές. Galen viii c. 1 Περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος Δογμάτων says that Posidonius departed from the teaching of Chrysippus (who made all anger, fear, desire, etc., arise in the ἡγεμονικόν), and wrote that we are ruled by desire, passion and reason.

nobismet ipsis: Küh. *Gram.* II p. 462 notes that, when *-met* is appended to a personal pron. in Cicero, *ipse* if also used is almost invariably in the same case as the pers. pron., *egomet ipse*, *nosmet ipsos*, etc.

coerceat temeritatem. est in animis omnium fere natura molle quiddam, demissum, humile, eneruatum quodam modo et languidum. si nihil esset aliud, nihil esset homine deformius; sed praesto est domina omnium et regina ratio, quae conixa per se et progressa longius fit perfecta uirtus. haec ut imperet illi parti animi, quae oboedire debet, id uidendum est uiro. **48.** 'quonam modo?' inquies. uel ut dominus seruo uel ut imperator militi uel ut parens filio. si turpissime se illa pars animi geret, quam

6. si nihil esset aliud nihil esset L 3 O 3 4. si nil esset aliud nihil esset in O 7. si nichil esset aliud nil esset V 2. et si nihil esset aliud nihil esset D; *idem* C *at* nil . . nichil *pro* nihil . . . nihil; *idem* W 1 *at* si nihil esset *in litura*. sinihil ~~ee~~ aliud V hil ~~ee~~ *in litura at* sini *plane scripto*. si nihil esset aliud II *at* si ıil *in litura*. senile si nil esset aliud R 4 *correctione facta at praua lectione non expulsa*. *inde* i *in* e *corrupto et altero* s *ex* esset *omisso* (se nil eset):—senile sed aliud nihil esset G 1–3 Gr B K P S E 1 2 L R 2 10 16 17 V 8 E 8 13 O 2 6 V 11 *manu prima*; *idem* P 2 *at* nil *pro* nihil. senile sed aliud nihil est M 2 V 12 P 3 E 3 L 6 O 5; *idem* M 1 *at* est *post* homine *scripto*; *idem* B 3 *at* in *post* est *scripto*. senile; sed (si superscr.) aliud (n̄ superscr.) nihil (esset superscr.) R *alio atram. superscr.* senile sed si aliud non esset nichil esset P 4; *idem* E 9 O 10 *at* nihil *pro* non. *inde* sed (*ex* set *orto*) *porro in* si *corrupto*:— senile si aliud nihil esset O 11; *idem at* et *ante* senile *scripto* G 4. *uel transponendo*:— senile sed ni/hil aliud esset V 7 E 5 11 L 5 J; *idem* W 2 *at* nl' *pro* nihil; *idem* O 12 *at* si *pro* sed; *idem at* est *pro* esset O 9; esse *pro* esset R 6; nil et esse *pro* nihil et esset E 4; nil et esse (t superscr.) E 10 *al. atram. superscr.* senile sed nihil est aliud E 12. senile et languidum si aliud nichil esset O 8. senile quo nisi aliud inesset bonum nihil esset O 1. 7. connixa R 6. conexa R V B K S E L 1 3 G 2 3 D. connexa G 1 4 L 6 O 2 7 9–11. coñexa B 3 II O 5 6 8. cōnexa O 1. coñexa P *at* ⁻ *manu recentiore superscr.* cōnessa O 3 4 12. 9. oboedire V.

§ **48**, 10. uelut *ante* dominus R V K E L. uel ut P. ‖ uelud *ante* imperator R. uelut B P L. uel ut V E. 11. uelut *ante* parens R V B L. ~~uelut~~ uel ut M 2 B 3 O 1 6 10.

temeritatem: Mo. compares Diu. i 29, 61 'tum eueniet duabus animi temerariis partibus compressis ut illa tertia pars rationis et mentis eluceat.'

eneruatum quodam modo et languidum: we have not here a breach of the rule laid down by Madv. *Opusc. Acad.* I p. 333 foll., and more briefly *Gram.* § 434 obs. 1; for in *eneruatum quodam modo et languidum* we have one idea expressed by two words, of which the second is added because the first involves a metaphor (hence the modifying *quodam modo*). As Cic. derived his material chiefly from Greek sources the two words together may be a translation of a single Greek word, probably *τεθρυμμένον*. Cf. Reid's n. on Ac. i 5, 19 for Cic.'s practice with regard to translation of Greek terms.

conixa per se, 'rising by her own efforts'; motion upward (lit. 'climbing') is implied in the word; cf. Tac. Ann. xi 31 'Vettium Valentem...in praealtam arborem conisum'; Sall. Iug. 93, 4 'nisus ramis...saxis'; Cic. Ac. ii 14, 44 'rebus comprehensis et perceptis nisa et progressa ratio hoc efficiet'; Fin. v 15, 42 'conitunturque (parui) sese ut erigant.'

The derivation of *nitor* given by Key, Dict. s.v., would agree with the Latin usage, but, as Dr P. Giles points out to me, it leaves practically everything unexplained except the gn- at the beginning. The word is now generally referred to √ *kneigʷh* of the German *neigen*, Goth. *hneiwan* 'sich neigen.' Of this Dr Giles writes 'So far as I know the connexion between *nitor* and German *neigen* was first suggested (rather doubtfully) by Kluge in his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* and from thence has been generally accepted without further discussion. There is a paragraph about it in Sommer's *Hdbh der lat. Laut- und Formen-lehre* (1902) p. 646.' Sommer says, 'The p. p. *nixus*, earlier *gnixus* (Paul. Fest. p. 68 Th. de P.), should have been *nictus*, cf. *nictare*.' He thinks the change due to analogy to the form *flexus*, which is akin to *neigen* in meaning.

dixi esse mollem, si se lamentis muliebriter lacrimisque dedet, uinciatur et constringatur amicorum propinquorumque custodiis; saepe enim uidemus fractos pudore, qui ratione nulla uincerentur. ergo hos quidem ut famulos uinclis prope atque custodia, qui autem erunt firmiores nec tamen robustissimi, hos admonitu oportebit ut bonos milites reuocatos dignitatem tueri. non nimis in Niptris ille sapientissimus Graeciae saucius lamentatur uel modice potius:

Pedetémptim, inquit, et sedató nisu,

14. uidemus R 1 16 V G 1 3 B 1 3 P S E L W 1 2 M 2 O 1 5–7 10 11. 15. ac ad custodia K E. ac ạḍ custodia V. ac ad custodiam R B G 3 P 4 E 8. acad custodiam G acad *ex* adac *corr.* acustodia E 13. ac custodia L R 2 10 11 16 17 V 3 4 11 13 E 2 7 14 J. ac custodiri G 4. ad custodiam O 9. custodiam V 2 O 3 4. ac ạḍ custodi P *marg.* al ac custodia arceamus. ac custodia S *marg.*
arceamus
coerceamus. ac custodia W 2 E 10 *marg.* arceamus. ac custodia E 4 Π. uinculis ac custodia propinquorum O 11. ac custodia prope O 12 *marg.* arceamus. ac custodia arceamus M 1 2 R 6 V 6 8 G 2 B 3 P 3 E 5 L 4 5 O 1 2 5 6 8 10. ac custodiam arceamus V 10. ac custodia prope arceamus E 3. ac custodia prope cohercemus E 9. coerce ac custodia D C. coherce ac custodia V 5 O 7. arceamus ac custodia L 3. coherce prope ac custodi R 4. ac custodia propinquorum V 9 *marg.*
arceamus
coherce. atque custodia propinquorum E 11. ac custodia propinquorum arceamus W 1. ac custodia propinquorum coherce ed. H. 18. lamentator R V G B S E L. lamentatur P. 20. pedete^{p}mtim R. pedetemtim V. peditentĩ G tĩ *ex* tẽ *ut uid. corr.* pedetentim S. pedetemptim B K E L D. || ite et R V G B 1 3 S L W 1 2 M 2 D O 1 6–10 12. ate et E. ire et O 11. ut et G 3.

The doctrine is Stoic. For the Stoic doctrine of progress (προκοπή) see Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* c. xi p. 276 (E.T.) and footnotes.

§ 48. **dedet**: Charisius ii col. 185 *init.* quotes thus *lacrimisque dedecoret*, a misquotation, as the preceding future *geret* and the consensus of MSS serve to shew (Dav.).

constringatur, 'restrained,' a strong term, see Mayor on Phil. ii 38, 97 'tu non constringendus?' Cf. the ref. to the treatment of the insane in the next words.

amicorum propinquorumque custodiis: in the XII Tables (table V) was the following provision (cf. Dirksen pp. 369 foll.) 'sei fouriosos aut prodicos escit, adcnatorum centiliomque eius potestas estod, ast ei custos nec escit.' Cf. iii 5, 11; Rep. iii 33; de Inuent. ii 50, 148; Auctor ad Herennium i 13, 23; Ulpian, *Regulae* 12 § 2; Festus s.v. *nec.*

uidemus: there is no reason for changing the present (of the MSS) to *uidimus*, with Bent. and Dav., as the reflexion is general. The sequence *uincerentur* follows upon *fractos*, the expression being equivalent to *saepe enim fracti sunt, ut uidere solemus.*

uinclis prope atque custodia: Küh. rightly carries on *constringi* from *constringatur* above. *constringi*, thus carried on, depends upon *oportebit* and is co-ordinate with *tueri.*

atque: this form, introduced by Halm, may account for *ac ad* of the best MSS. For the question whether the form *ac* is in itself possible before an initial *c*, cf. Hand, *Tursell.* 1 p. 457; Reid on Ac. ii 11, 34, where the evidence is well discussed. See also i 23, 54, note on the proposal to insert *ac* before *consistat.*

in Niptris: Pacuvius wrote a Latin play based upon Sophocles' Νίπτρα ἢ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ. The plot turns upon the death of Ulysses shot with a bone of the sting-ray (τρυγόνος κέντρῳ) by his son Telegonus. Welcker conjectured that Euryclea was introduced in the beginning of the play washing the feet of Ulysses, cf. Homer, Odyss. xix 349—468, and that the name Νίπτρα was due to this fact.

inquit et: *ite* of MSS probably arose, as Bent. suggests, from dittography from the end of *inquit* and the beginning of *et.* The metre is anapaestic, as in the following three extracts.

Ne súccussu arripiát maior
Dolor.

49. Pacuuius hoc melius quam Sophocles (apud illum enim perquam flebiliter Vlixes lamentatur in uolnere); tamen huic leuiter gementi illi ipsi, qui ferunt saucium, personae grauitatem intuentes non dubitant dicere:

Tu quóque, Vlixes, quamquám grauiter
Cernímus ictum, nimis paéne animo es
Mollí, qui consuetú's in armis
Aeuom ágere........

intellegit poeta prudens ferendi doloris consuetudinem esse non contemnendam magistram. **50**. atque ille non inmoderate magno in dolore:

Retinéte, tenete! opprímit ulcus;

§ **49**, 23. hoc R 1 2 V G 1–4 B 1 3 K P S E W 1 2 M 2 O 1–4 6 7 10 12. hoec R 6. hec O 9. h' O 5 8 11. 24. ulixes R V G B K P S E W 2 M 1 2 C O 1 5–8 11. ulixis L. ulysses W 1 O 10. ‖ uolnere V E. 26. dubitant R 3 5 7 13 15 L 4 O 9 12. dubitarт S W 2 R 9 G 3. dubitar' R 16. dubitarunt R 1 2 6 8 10 12 14 17 V G 14 B 1 3 K E 12 13 L 1–3 5 6 M 1 2 D C Π O 1–7 10 ed. H. ed. P. dubitar(u)ent P. dubitarent G 2 R 11. dubitauerunt W 1 R 4 O 8 11. 29. qui consuetus in R 1 6 17 V G 1–4 B P S E 1 2 L W 2 M 2 D C Π J O 1–4 7 8 10–12. qui et consuetus K O 6. qui es consuetus W 1 M 1 O 5. qui consuetus in armis es O 9. 31. intellegit V G B K P. ‖ ferendi V B 1 3 K S. ferrendi R. ferrendi G. 32. contemnendam V G B 1 3 E. conte(p)mnendam R *alio atr. superscr.* contempnendam P.

§ **50**, 34. opprimite R 1 2 6 17 V G 1 3 B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 W 1 2 M 2 C Π J XII Oxx. opprime L. opprimit *Vossius*.

§ **49**. **hoc**: sc. *tractat*, 'treats this topic.' Bentley takes *hoc* to refer to 'τὸ πρέπον, decorum, in persona Vlixei.'

apud illum: sc. *Sophoclem*, the more remote in time and national connexion, cf. i 49, 117 n.

in uolnere = *uolneratus*, cf. i 39, 94 n.

huic leuiter gementi: the contrast is between Ulysses as represented by Pacuvius and Ulysses as represented by Sophocles; consequently we do not require *apud hunc* (the conj. of Bent.) to balance *apud illum* of the previous line. *huic* = *Pacuuiano huic*, though there is no likelihood whatever, as Dav. supposes, that Cic. *wrote* this latter expression.

personae grauitatem, 'the dignity of his character.'

dubitant: the present is what we should expect on the principle stated in i 18, 42 n. *uolt* (where see variants); i 24, 57 *inscribitur*. Cf. iv 21, 48 *narrat*; iv 33, 71 *scribit*.

Vlixes: this form is found as vocative, in extracts from Latin verse, in ii 16, 38 Patricoles; Or. iii 40, 162; Ac. ii 28, 89 and Fin. v 18, 49 Vlixes; and in Cicero's own prose Att. xiv 9, 1 Socrates. Cicero himself seems usually to have employed the form in *-e* from Greek nouns in *-es*; see instances in Madvig's n. on Fin. v 18, 49.

nimis: scanned as *nimi'*; so *amplificati'* below. Cf. i 5, 10 n. on 'Sisyphus.'

consuetu's = *consuetus es*, a very common contraction in O.L. This is better than (with Hei.) to suppose the quotation incomplete and the verb omitted. Wes. (Em. II 8) holds that Cic. in quoting poetry completes the sense, though here he takes the same view as Heine and his rule does not seem to apply in all cases.

§ **50**. **retinete, tenete**: for the repetition of the simple verb Klotz compares Eur. Bacch. 1063 κατῆγεν, ἦγεν, ἦγεν ἐς μέλαν πέδον.

opprimit ulcus, 'overpowers me.'

Nudáte! heu miserum me! éxcrucior.

incipit labi, deinde ilico desinit:

Operíte, operite, abscedite iám, [iam]
Mittíte; nam attrectatu ét quassu
Saeuum ámplificatis dolórem.

uidesne, ut obmutuerit non sedatus corporis, sed castigatus animi dolor? itaque in extremis Niptris alios quoque obiurgat, idque moriens:

Cónqueri fortúnam aduersam, nón lamentarí decet.
'Id uiri est offícium, fletus múliebri ingenio ádditus.

huius animi pars illa mollior rationi sic paruit, ut seuero imperatori miles pudens.

XXII. **51.** In quo uero erit perfecta sapientia (quem adhuc nos quidem uidimus neminem; sed philosophorum sententiis, qualis hic futurus sit, si modo aliquando fuerit, exponitur), is igitur siue ea ratio, quae erit in eo perfecta atque absoluta, sic

36. ilico R V B K S. ilico (i superscr.) G *manu secunda superscr.* illico E. 39. saeuum R. sęuum V B S. 40. obmutuerit S R6 G3 B3 E13. ommutuerit (b superscr.) R *alio atram. superscr.* ommutuerit V B K P E. 44. additus R V B K S E L W12 *plerique.* ad,itus (d superscr.) P *alio atram. superscr.* 46. pudens V S R21016 G3 E213. pudens (r superscr.) R G K P. prudens (l'pudens superscr.) D. prudens B13 E13414 L145 W12 M12 R3–917 V9 G24 C Π J XII Oxx. ed. H.

XXII. § **51**, 1. uiro R V G1–4 B13 K P S E12 L W12 M12 D C Π J XII Oxx. uero, *quod uerbum in nullo codice inueni, corr.* Bentleius. 2. uidimus W1 G4 O12. uidemus (i superscr.) S. uid'm' W2. uidemus R12610 1617 V G1–3 B13 K P E12 L M12 D C Π J O1–911. uidemus O10 *at* e *fortasse mut.*

nudate: sc. *ulcus*.

operite abscedite iam iam of MSS cannot be right, for a catalectic line is not used in this anapaestic metre when the sense runs on into the next line; such a line is only used where a sentence ends, as at *dolorem* two lines lower down. The reading of Küh. who inserts a second *operite* and with Grotefend cuts out the second *iam* is probably right. Ml. reads *iam tandem*; if *tandem* were mistaken for *tamen* (*tam̄*) this might become *iam*.

uidesne ut, 'do you observe how it is not the pain of his body wh. has been allayed and silenced, but the pain of his mind that has been silenced by rebuke?'

conqueri: the metre is trochaic tetrameter catalectic.

additus: carry on *est* from the preceding clause. Bent. unnecessarily proposed *additu'st*, wh. Or. and Tr. adopt.

huius animi: the gen. *animi* depends on the gen. *huius*.

pudens = *modestus*. Gebhard compares Iliad xiii 122 ἀλλ' ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθε ἕκαστος αἰδῶ καὶ νέμεσιν. Sall. Iug. 7, 4 'modestissime parendo.' Add Leg. iii 2, 5 'qui modeste paret uidetur qui aliquando imperet dignus esse.'

XXII. § **51.** **in quo uero**: a link is necessary to connect the argument with what has preceded. Moreover *uiro* of MSS ('the hero') would not be quite natural here.

uidimus: the perf. seems necessary although the best MSS have the present.

igitur: resumes after the parenthesis. So often, cf. i 7, 14 n.

siue: more fully *siue is ipse siue potius ea ratio*...(Küh.). *siue* introduces a more accurate expression not inconsistent with *is* which, as the sentence goes on, is repeated in *eriget ipse se*.

suscitabitur of the best MSS cannot be

illi parti imperabit inferiori, ut iustus parens probis filiis; nutu, quod uolet, conficiet, nullo labore, nulla molestia; eriget ipse se, suscitabit, instruet, armabit, ut tamquam hosti sic obsistat dolori. quae sunt ista arma? contentio, confirmatio sermoque intimus, cum ipse secum: 'caue turpe quicquam, languidum, non uirile.'

52. obuersentur species honestae animo, Zeno proponatur Eleates, qui perpessus est omnia potius, quam conscios delendae

7. suscitabit W 1 G 3 J. scitabr̃ G 2 (*non ut adfirmat Küh.*). suscitabitur R 1 6 10 V 1 2 G B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 13 L W 2 M 1 2 C Π O 2–6 8 12. sciscitabitur G 4 O 1 9 11. siscitabitur O 10. suscitabit' O 7. 8. intumus V G B K E. intumus R. intimus S. int ımus P *litura post* t.

§ **52**, 10. obuersentur M 2 R 6 B 3 E 10 Π O 2–5 10 ed. H. obuersetur R 1 2 10 12 16 G 1 3 4 B E 1 7 13 W 2 M 1 V 2 D C O 1 6–9. obuersetur *aut* obuersētur S *nam aliae lineae sine ratione ductae lectionem incertam reddunt.* ob*ſ*eruetur V *at ſ in litura.* obseruetur (uerse) K *alio atram. superscr.* obseruetur W 1 R 17 G 2 E 6 L 4 J O 11. obseruentur E 2 O 12. obuersentur O 12 *marg.* obruetur se L. ‖ honestae Gr M 2 O 10. honestę O 12. honeste R 1 2 16 17 G 1–3 B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 4 6–8 13 W 2 M 1 D C Π J O 1–9 11 ed. H. honesti W 1. honesto G 4. honest*ę* ūō V *marg.* r (*sic*). honeste. aīo (aīo) O 12 *ut uid.* ‖ aīo W 1 G 4 E 10 O 11. animo R 6 E 5 ed. H. ūō G 2 E 4 6 8 13 L 4 O 1 7 8. ūo R 2 16 O 5. ů E M 2 R 10. uēo V 2 E 7. uero R G Gr B 1 3 K P S E 1 13 L J O 2–4 6 9. uerū Π. uerum E 2. *omittunt* D R 17. uiro O 10. 11. conscius R 1 10 K L E 13. consciůs V P S E. conscius B u *in* o *mut.* consscius G. conscios G 3 D *alii.*

right, since *se* must be carried on to the verbs *instruet* and *armabit* which follow.

contentio confirmatio sermoque intimus, 'resolution, firmness, self-communion'; *contentio*, lit. 'a bracing of one's self.' Cf. ii 23, 55 'animi contentio.'

cum ipse secum, 'when a man says to himself.' Or. compares i 38, 92 'non modo ipse.'

§ **52. species honestae animo**: the reading *animo* of W 1 and G 4 and a few other inferior MSS is, I think, far more satisfactory than *uiro* of Tr. whom Bai. Sff. Hei. Küh. have followed. *uiro*, if correct, must be taken closely with *honestae*, lit. 'honourable to a true man,' i.e. 'ideals of honour.' *uiro* involves less departure from the MSS than *honestae et uerae* of Herm. Ad. Koch whom TS. follows, but animo (*aīo*) is very near *uero* (*ūō*) and gives a perfectly natural reading. The difference is practically little more than that of a stroke, for *a* and *u* tend to interchange. *animo* is read by Dav. Mo. Or. Kl. *species honestae uerae* read by Ml. (after Jeep, Progr. Guelf. 1865, p. 11) gives an asyndeton wh. does not seem quite natural.

Zeno of Elea, a celebrated philosopher, pupil of Parmenides, flourished about 460 B.C. The story of his firmness under tortures inflicted upon him by a tyrant against whom he had conspired is referred to by numerous authorities—Diog. L. ix 6, 26; Plut. de Rep. Stoic. 37, 3, p. 1051; adu. Colot. 32, 10, p. 1126; Philostr. Life of Apoll. vii 2; Clem. Alex. Strom. iv 486 c; Tertull. Apol. c. 50; Nemesius de Nat. Hom. c. 30, p. 233 ed. Oxon.; Suidas s.v. Ἐλέα; Val. Max. iii 3, 2–3; see Davies' n. here and Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Schools*, I pp. 609–10; but the accounts vary greatly in all details, e.g. as to the place of the occurrence, the name of the tyrant, etc.

Cic. refers to Zeno and Anaxarchus in N. D. iii 33, 82 'Anaxarchum Democriteum a Cyprio tyranno excarnificatum accepimus; Zenonem Eleae in tormentis necatum.'

potius quam indicaret: the subj. here expresses a mental conception with non-fulfilment implied. This use may therefore be compared with that of the imperf. subj. in conditional clauses. Similarly, in Att. vii 7, 7 'depugna potius quam seruias,' the use of the pres. subj. may be

tyrannidis indicaret; de Anaxarcho Democritio cogitetur, qui cum Cypri in manus Nicocreontis regis incidisset, nullum genus supplicii deprecatus est neque recusauit. Calanus Indus, indoctus ac barbarus, in radicibus Caucasi natus, sua uoluntate uiuus combustus est: nos, si pes condoluit, si dens—sed fac totum dolere corpus,—ferre non possumus. opinio est enim quaedam effemi-

12. denaxarcho R B K E L G 3. d^a^enaxarcho V S. denaxarch P *marg.* anaxarcho. de^h^naxarcho G. 13. cyṛri R P. cyrri G B K E. cypri V *at* p *in litura.* cyr̈ri S *marg.* cyri. || nicocreontis M 2 R 6 B 3 Π O 2 5 10. Hicocreontis O 6. timocreontis R V 1 2 10 G B K E 1 2 L W 12. timecreontis E 5. timocreuntis P E 9. timocremontis O 7. tymocreontis S *at* y *ex* i *mut.* tymocreontis C O 1. timoclẹreontis O 11. timocōtis G 2. 14. supplici[i] V *altero* i *alio atram. superscr.* supplicii K P. || callanus R V G B K P S E L W 2. 16. sed fac totum V G L 1 4 O 1 3–10 (sed V *non* set, *pace Kühnerii*). sed fac to totum K to *post* facto *parum distincte postea inculcato.* sed facto tum B. si tactum W 1 G 4 O 2 11 12. || dolere R 1 2 6 7 10 16 17 B 1 3 S W 2 M 2 G 2 3 L 4 D C Π J O 1–10. delere M 1. dolore *in* dolere *mut.* K. dolore *in* dolere *al. atram. mut.* G P. *omittit* V. dolore E L W 1 G 4 O 10–12.

compared with that of the pres. subj. in conditional clauses.

The indic. could not in these instances be substituted for the subj., but where the verb in the leading clause is in the *infin.* the verb following upon *potius quam* may be either in the infin. or in the subj.; see Madv. on Fin. iv. 8, 20. The constr. *potius quam ut* with subj., frequent in Livy, does not belong to Cic. In Ac. ii 8, 23 'potius quam aut officium prodat' is the true reading; see Reid's n. there. [Many of the alleged exx. of infin. are very doubtful on the evidence of the MSS; in any case the subj. is far commoner.]

de Anaxarcho: Anaxarchus of Abdera was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied to Asia. After the death of Alexander Anaxarchus being shipwrecked fell into the hands of Nicocreon of Cyprus, who had him pounded to death in a mortar. According to Diog. L. ix. 10, 58 A. had earlier given offence to N. by suggesting to Alexander that a certain banquet would be more complete if the table were adorned with the head of a certain satrap, viz. Nicocreon. In our passage most MSS give the tyrant's name as Timocreon, but the name Nicocreon is supported by Diog. L. as above; Val. Max. iii 3, 4; Nemesius de Nat. Hom. c. 30 p. 233 ed. Oxon. Origen contra Celsum vii p. 368 ed. Cantab. (cited by Dav.) calls him Ἀριστοκρέων.

Calanus: This man, referred to as a Brahmin (τῷ Βραχμᾶνι) by Aelian V. H. ii 41 and by Lucian, de Morte Peregrini 25, accompanied Alexander the Great from Taxila westwards and, falling ill after he had lived without any ailment 73 years, burnt himself on a pyre in presence of the Macedonian army (Diod. xvii 107). At a moment when the sun shone full upon him he saluted it and gave the signal to kindle the pyre (Aelian V.H. v 6). Athenaeus x 437 a also refers to his death as having been described by Chares of Mytilene in his history of Alexander. Strabo xv 4 p. 686 and Plut. Alex. 69 mention his death and also the similar death of another Ἰνδὸς σοφιστής at Athens in the time of Augustus. Cf. also Cic. Diu. i 23, 47; Arrian Anab. vii 2; Val. Max. i 8, 10. Plut. Alex. 65 says that his real name was *Sphines* and that he was called Κάλᾱνος because he said καλέ instead of χαῖρε in saluting people.

indoctus ac barbarus = *quamquam indoctus ac barbarus erat,* therefore without *homo*, TS.

Caucasi: cf. v 27, 77 'Caucasi niues'; Val. Max. iii 5, 6. The Himalayas were by many of the ancients regarded as a continuation of the Caucasus, see Dict. of Geog. s.v. *Paropamisus.*

sed fac totum dolere corpus: these words are parenthetic and the expression is also elliptical. The whole sentence *nos si pes...ferre non possumus* indignantly contrasts our weakness under pain with the heroic endurance of Calanus, Anaxarchus and Zeno. They bore the utmost

nata ac leuis, nec in dolore magis quam eadem in uoluptate, qua cum liquescimus fluimusque mollitia, apis aculeum sine clamore ferre non possumus. **53.** at uero C. Marius, rusticanus uir, sed plane uir, cum secaretur, ut supra dixi, principio uetuit se alligari, nec quisquam ante Marium solutus dicitur esse sectus. cur ergo postea alii? ualuit auctoritas. uidesne igitur opinionis esse, non naturae malum? et tamen fuisse acrem morsum doloris idem Marius ostendit; crus enim alterum non praebuit. ita et tulit dolorem ut uir et ut homo maiorem ferre sine causa necessaria noluit. totum igitur in eo est, ut tibi imperes. ostendi autem, quod esset imperandi genus; atque haec cogitatio, quid patientia, quid fortitudine, quid magnitudine animi dignissimum

18. eadem R V G B S L *alii.* *omittit* W 1.
§ **53**, 20. Ç marius V *pertenui linea ex* C *descendente.* Ç P, Ç E *utroque, ut suspicor, ex* C *mutato.* Ç K. 22. ne^c^quisquam V.

extremities of pain, but in our case if a foot or a tooth gives pain—though for the matter of that suppose the whole body to be in pain, the disgrace would be just as great—we cannot endure it. The reading *si tactum dolore corpus*, adopted by Dav. Or. Kl. Ba., besides having very little MS support, is open to the objections of Mo. that *tactum dolore* practically repeats *condoluit* and *tactum* does not mean *leuiter tactum*. Also, as Sff. points out, *est*, wh. Wes. inserted, would be required. TS. and Schiche cut out and Ml. brackets *sed fac totum dolere corpus*. Hei. reads *si adfectum ullo dolore est corpus*, cf. his article in *Philol.* XII p. 756. This use of *fac* is common; cf. iii 18, 40 'fac sane esse summum bonum non dolere.'

opinio: mere opinion founded upon insufficient evidence, = δόξα, as opposed to *scientia* (ἐπιστήμη), accurate knowledge. Cf. Reid on Ac. i 10, 39 'opinionis iudicio,' and on Ac. ii 20, 66 'opinari.'

opinio ... quaedam: I do not, with Hei., take *quaedam* closely with *effeminata*, but with *opinio*. *opinio* is a word of disparaging import and its effect is increased by *quaedam*, by the addition of which Cic. professes scarcely to understand the opinion. Cf. i 12, 27 note (d) on 'quandam quasi.'

eadem: this word, unnecessarily suspected by some, is defended by Nissen who cites iii 5, 10 (*bis*); iv 13, 31 'uelocitas autem corporis celeritas appellatur, quae eadem ingenii etiam laus habetur.'

qua: abl. of cause with *liquescimus* and *fluimus*. *uoluptas* causes us (*a*) *liquescere* 'to become enervated,' and (*b*) *fluere mollitia* 'to break down through effeminacy.' *mollitia* is also abl. of cause, for *uoluptas* produces effeminacy which breaks us down.

liquescimus: cf. iv. 17, 37 'deliquescit'; v 6, 16 'liquefaciunt.'

fluimusque mollitia: cf. Livy vii 29, 5 'Campani ... fluentes luxu.' Or. compares Velleius i 6, 2 'mollitiis fluentem'; ii 88, 2 '(otio ac) mollitiis fluens.' *diffluere* is more usual. Küh. compares Or. iii 33, 131 'otio'; Lael. 14, 52 'deliciis'; Off. i 30, 106 'luxuria.'

§ **53**. **rusticanus uir**, 'a man from the country,' therefore not a trained philosopher. *rusticus* is rather 'a dweller in the country.'

ut supra dixi: ii 15, 35 n.

ualuit auctoritas, 'they were influenced by his example,' cf. Sest. 6, 14 'memoria dignam iuuentuti rei publicae capessendae auctoritatem disciplinamque praescribere'; Verr. ii 3, 19, 48; ii 5, 13, 32; p. Rosc. Am. 6, 16 etc.

uidesne: ii 11, 26 n.

opinionis ... naturae: for the contrast 'opinion)(reality,' cf. iii 15, 32.

uir ... homo, 'hero ... man,' cf. ii 17, 39 n. on 'si quidem homo esset.' Mo. compares Herod. vii 210 ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες.

causa necessaria, 'absolute necessity,' cf. Fato 19, 44 'ut si omnia fato fiant omnia fiant causis antecedentibus et necessariis.'

sit, non solum animum comprimit, sed ipsum etiam dolorem nescio quo pacto mitiorem facit.

XXIII. **54.** Vt enim fit in proelio, ut ignauus miles ac timidus, simul ac uiderit hostem, abiecto scuto fugiat quantum possit, ob eamque causam pereat non numquam etiam integro corpore, cum ei qui steterit nihil tale euenerit, sic, qui doloris speciem ferre non possunt, abiciunt se atque ita adflicti et exanimati iacent, qui autem restiterunt discedunt saepissime superiores. sunt enim quaedam animi similitudines cum corpore. ut onera contentis corporibus facilius feruntur, remissis opprimunt, simillime animus intentione sua depellit pressum omnem ponderum, remissione autem sic urgetur ut se nequeat extollere. **55.** et, si uerum quaerimus, in omnibus officiis perse-

30. comprimit R V G B K S E L *ceteri.*

XXIII. § **54**, 3. ob eam (q;) causam R V K P *alio atram. superscr.* ob eam causam G L 1 5 W 2 J O 8 11 12. ob eamque causam B 1 3 S E 1 13 W 1 M 1 2 R 6 10 G 2 3 C Π O 1–7 9 10. 5. adflicti V G. 6. restiterunt R V G 1 3 B K L W 2 E 2 C Π J O 1 8 9 11 12. restiterint O 10 *at* int *ex* unt *mut.* restitert̄ P S R 10 O 7. restiter' E. steterunt G 2. restiterint W 1 M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 2 5 6. resistant O 3 4. 8. onera V G B S L. (h)onera R *alio atram. superscr.* honera E. 9. praessum R G K. p̄ssū E. pressum V B P S.

animum comprimit: *animus* here, as often, refers to the irrational part of the soul (for which cf. i 9, 19 n.) not to the dominant part or to the whole soul. Wopkens (on iv 28, 61 'humana omnia prementem' *Lectt. Tull.* p. 139) compares p. Marcell. 3, 8 'animum uincere, iracundiam cohibere'; Diu. i 29, 61 'duabus animi temerariis partibus compressis.' Bouh. compares Att. xii 46 'uincam animum'; Hor. Ep. i 2, 62 'animum rege qui nisi paret imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.' Or. compares Plaut. Trin. ii 2, 32 'si animus hominem pepulit, actum'st: animo seruit, non sibi.' Not seeing the meaning of *animus* here Dav. proposed *componit* and Bent. *confirmat.*

XXIII. § **54.** **ut enim fit...**: just as the *ignauus miles* at sight of the foe despairs and is slain, so those who cannot confront pain despond and are prostrated. To insert *si* before *simul* with Dav. and read (with best MSS) *ob eam rem* would disturb the symmetry of the expression. *q;* (=*que*) easily fell out after *eam.* Tr. prefers to insert *et* after *possit.*

doloris speciem: as these words balance *simul ac uiderit hostem* they are to be interpreted accordingly—'the sight of pain'—pain being compared to an enemy advancing to the attack (Küh.). This is better than, with Hei., to take the words to mean 'the mere semblance of pain,' though it is quite true that the Stoics declared pain to exist in opinion, not in reality.

restiterunt: the perf. indic. of the best MSS is the only possible construction here, see Madv. *Gram.* 335 a, obs. 1, and more fully Madv. on Fin. v 15, 41 'cum autem dispicere coepimus...tum ea sequi incipimus ad quae nati sumus.' Cf. ii 12, 27 'cum accesserunt...elidunt'; ii 2, 5 n.; ii 24, 58, and so often.

ut...simillime: cf. Brut. 53, 197 'ut... similiter...'; N. D. iii 12, 30 'ut enim... similiter igitur...'; Fin. iii 14, 48 'ut enim...item...' and Madvig's n. Hand, *Tursell.* III p. 512.

corporibus...animus: for the change from plur. to sing. cf. i 17, 40 n., and Küh. here.

remissis opprimunt: sc. *nos*, just as *a nobis* is implied with *feruntur.*

pressum: a rare word, used by Cic. in a different sense in ii 9, 22; Or. iii 11, 43 'ipso oris pressu'; N. D. ii 42, 109 in verse (his own).

quendis animi est adhibenda contentio; ea est sola officii tamquam custodia. sed hoc idem in dolore maxime est prouidendum, ne quid abiecte, ne quid timide, ne quid ignaue, ne quid seruiliter muliebriterue faciamus, in primisque refutetur ac reiciatur Philocteteus ille clamor. ingemescere non numquam uiro concessum est, idque raro, eiulatus ne mulieri quidem. et hic nimirum est lessus quem duodecim tabulae in funeribus adhiberi uetuerunt. **56.** nec uero umquam ne ingemescit quidem uir fortis ac sapiens, nisi forte ut se intendat ad firmitatem, ut in stadio cursores exclamant quam maxime possunt. faciunt idem cum exercentur athletae; pugiles uero, etiam cum feriunt

§ **55**, 13. hoc idem R V G 1 3 B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 M 2 C Π O 1–7 10. || in dolore idem L. hoc quidem W 1 2 R 6 G 4 J O 8 9 11 12. 16. philocteteus R 1 10 V G B P E 1 13 L C. phylocteteus W 2. philoct(tic)eus S. philo(c)teticus W 1. philoteus M 1. philotheus O 1. philoctetis M 2 R 6 B 3 O 6 10. philoctete O 11. philotetus G 2 O 7. *lectiones quas praebent* W 2 *et* G 2 *perperam dedit Küh.* || ingemescere V O 6. ingemęscere R e *in* i *mut.* ingem(i)escere P. 17. eiulatus V P. eiulatus K. 18. fletus R 1 2 6 V G 1 3 4 B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 13 L W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π J ·XI Oxx (*omittit* O 11).

§ **56**, 19. umquam R V G 1 3 P E L. || neç ingemescit quidem V. nec ingemescit quidem G. ne ingemiscit quidem B. nec ingemiscit quidem K P S. ingemęscit R e *in* i *mut.* 20. sapiens R V G P S *alii.* 22. atlętae V. atlęte E. atl&ę R. athlętę P.

§ **55.** **animi...contentio,** 'resolution,' cf. § 51.

tamquam: inserted because *custodia* is metaphorically used. *custodia* in the sing. as applied to a guard is chiefly poetic. Cic. might have used *custos*, as in ii 14, 33 'haec enim te...custos dignitatis relinquet.'

hoc idem: sc. *ut adhibeamus contentionem.*

Philocteteus ille clamor: 7, 19; 14, 33.

non numquam with *concessum est.*

idque raro: sc. *facere.* Küh. notes that we might have expected *sed raro.* See i 2, 4 n. on 'iacentque.'

[**eiulatus**: cf. Hor. Epod. 11, 17 'non uirilis eiulatio.']

lessus: Dav. follows Muretus, who says (*Var. Lect.* IX 19) that he found *lessus* in old MSS. Muretus' assertion may have little weight on this point, but the XII Tables, as quoted by Cic. Leg. ii 23, 59 and 25, 64, have *lessum*—'mulieres genas ne radunto neue lessum funeris ergo habento,'—and Cic. there quotes L. Aelius' explanation of *lessus* as *lugubris eiulatio.* Küh. points out that *fletus* does not suit the context while *lugubris eiulatio* does. Mo. thinks that the meaning of *fletus* here is limited by *hic*; that *hic fletus*=*hoc fletus genus*, i.e. *eiulatio* or *lessus*, and that Cic. preferred thus to indicate *lessus* rather than to name it. But there would be no fitness in substituting an inadequate word like *fletus* for the word actually used in the XII Tables, and *nimirum* not uncommonly introduces a theory as to something obscure, e.g. i 22, 52 'et nimirum hanc habet uim praeceptum Apollinis'; Diu. i 54, 122 'hoc nimirum est illud quod de Socrate accepimus...esse diuinum quiddam quod δαιμόνιον appellat'; Timaeus 3, 7 'haec nimirum gignendi mundi causa iustissima.' The explanation of *lessus* given by L. Aelius was not the only theory on the subject, cf. Leg. ii 23, 59. It must be that *fletus* came in as a gloss and ousted the rarer word. For *lessus* Dav. compares Plaut. Truc. iv 2, 18 'lessum fecit filio.' But there Ussing and Spengel read *pausam*; MSS *lausum.*

§ **56.** **nec...ne...quidem**: Madv. 460 obs. 2.

sapiens: Dav. unnecessarily substituted *patiens*, against the MSS. Wopkens *L. T.* p. 88 fitly observes 'cum enim patientiam contineat sapientia...sapienter perferri potest dici, quod perferatur patienter, sapiensque appellari, qui sit patiens.'

aduersarium, in iactandis caestibus ingemescunt, non quod doleant animoue succumbant, sed quia profundenda uoce omne corpus intenditur uenitque plaga uehementior.

XXIV. Quid? qui uolunt exclamare maius, num satis habent latera, fauces, linguam intendere, e quibus eici uocem et fundi uidemus? toto corpore atque omnibus ungulis, ut dicitur, contentioni uocis adseruiunt. **57.** genu mehercule M. Antonium uidi, cum contente pro se ipse lege Varia diceret,

23. inlactandis E. || caestibus R V G. cęstibus P S. || ingemescent (u above e) R V. ingemescunt E. ingemiscunt B P S. ingemescent G. XXIV. 2. elici R 1–10 12 13 15–17 V 1 2 4 6–9 11–13 G 1–4 B 1 3 K P 1 4 S E 1–4 6–13 L 1–3 5 6 W 1 *et* 2 (*planissime*) M 1 2 D C Π J O 1–8 10–12 ed. H. ed. P. eligi E 5 O 9 L 1 2. eliciti R 11. dici R 14. eleci V 3 10. ellici V 5. *Cf. Bramb. p. 201.* 4. adseruiunt R V G K P E. asseruiunt S.
§ **57**, 5. contente V G B S E W 2. contempte R P.

non quod doleant: cf. i. 1, 1 n. on 'non quia posset'; § 64 'non quo fugiendus sit.'

XXIV. **exclamare maius** = *exclamare maiorem clamorem* (cf. TS.); the use is therefore an extension of that of the cognate acc., and comes under the same head as i 41, 99 'quod suscenseam.' For parallels (chiefly found in poetry) cf. Roby § 1096; Kühn. *Gram.* II pp. 211–2. Dav. compares Plaut. Most. ii 2, 57 'atque ille exclamat derepente maximum'; Hor. A. P. 280 'magnumque loqui,' and 459 'longum clamet'; Greek ἀναβοᾶν παμμέγεθες. Hei. declares the use to be an imitation of the Greek, but Draeger (*H. S.* I p. 358) more safely says, 'Even if the constr. is to be regarded as of Lat. origin and not adopted from the Greek, its extended application by the poets must nevertheless be ascribed to Greek influence.' [I think the only accusatives of this sort in Cic. are with words relating to sound (*sonare*, *canere*).]

eici uocem: *elici* of MSS., though retained by Dav. (ed. 3) Kl. Tr. Sff., is impossible here, where the ref. is obviously to the *expulsion* of vocal sounds (cf. also *fundere* here). The case is different where A draws utterance (e.g. indignant protest) from B, a meaning wh. could apply in p. Cael. 24, 60 'ne quam uocem eliciat' (Lall. Or.); and in Lucr. iii 57, where Duff is probably right in retaining *eliciuntur* against Lach. and Munro. But in Lucr. iii 497 'eiciuntur' and in iv 945 'eiciatur' are necessarily read against MSS. For the spelling 'eicio')('eiicio,' see Brambach, *Neugestaltung* p. 201; Fleckeisen, *Fünfzig Artikeln* § 20 subsec. II. The coming together of *ii* was not altogether avoided in compounds of *iacio*, and was especially allowable where the prep. ended in a vowel. *elici* of MSS has no doubt arisen from *eiici*.

omnibus ungulis: Lamb., on the ground that *ungulae* does not apply to the human nails, proposed *unguiculis*, wh. Bent. approved. Dav. quotes instances to shew that *ungulae* can be used of the human nails, but his instances from Isidorus and Rufinus do not prove the usage to be classical; and in Plaut. Pseud. ii 2, 47 and iii 2, 63 there is an obvious metaphor from the talons of a bird of prey. But the use here also is metaphorical: the expression has become proverbial as is shewn by *ut dicitur* (cf. § 58 'toto pectore, ut dicitur,' and Reid on Ac. i § 18) and the metaphor is derived, as seen by Or., from the action of horses striking the front edge of their hoofs hard into the ground in drawing a load up a steep place. With this action *toto corpore* is also in harmony.

adseruiunt: this word does not occur elsewhere. *inseruire* is usual in this sense. Klotz rightly finds in the prefix the notion of *side*-help. Trans. 'supplement.'

§ **57**. **M. Antonium**: for an account of this man, including a notice of the *lex Varia*, see Wilkins, Introd. to de Oratore I pp. 13—16. The *lex Varia*, passed in 91 B.C., directed the appointment of a special commission to try *de maiestate* those *quorum dolo malo socii ad arma ire coacti essent*. For this law see Mommsen *R. H.* III 236–7 (E. T.). Antonius was acquitted and, later on, Varius was himself condemned under his own law.

cum...diceret: i 1, 1 n. on 'cum... essem'; i 2, 4 'cum...recusaret.'

terram tangere. ut enim ballistae lapidum et reliqua tormenta telorum eo grauiores emissiones habent, quo sunt contenta atque adducta uehementius, sic uox, sic cursus, sic plaga hoc grauior, quo est missa contentius. cuius contentionis cum tanta uis sit, si gemitus in dolore ad confirmandum animum ualebit, utemur; sin erit ille gemitus elamentabilis, si inbecillus, si abiectus, si flebilis, ei qui se dederit, uix eum uirum dixerim. qui quidem gemitus si leuationis aliquid adferret, tamen uideremus quid esset fortis et animosi uiri; cum uero nihil inminuat doloris, cur frustra turpes esse uolumus? quid est enim fletu muliebri uiro turpius? **58.** atque hoc praeceptum, quod de dolore datur, patet latius. omnibus enim rebus, non solum dolori, simili contentione animi resistendum est. ira exardescit, libido concitatur: in eandem arcem confugiendum est, eadem sunt arma sumenda. sed quoniam de dolore loquimur, illa omittamus. ad ferendum

6. ballistae R V E. ballistę P. balliste R 2 7. balliste K. balistae G L. balistę B S R 6 10. baliste G 2–4 D. 9. cum est missa R 1 2 4 10 16 17 V G 1 3 B K P L W 2 D C Π J O 7. cum emissa O 1 10 11. cum emissa V 10 e *ut uid. postea addito.* cum ēēt missa G 4. cum est missa S *marg. alia manu* quo emissa. quo *in* cum *mut.* O 12. cum ē emissa V 9. cum est emissa R 7 G 2 O 8. quo est missa M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 2 5 6. quo emissa W 1. quo est emissa E 1 2 O 3 4 9. *omittit* E. 11. elamentabilis R 1 2 10 16 V 1 3 G 1 3 4 Gr B K E 1 2 6 8 12 13 O 1 9. elementabilis D C. ele(la)mentabilis P *alio atram. superscr.* elamentabilis S *et* Π *at* e *ante* l *magna ex parte eraso; idem ut uid.* R 6 17. lamentabilis W 1 2 M 1 2 R 4 7 V 6 9 10 G 2 B 3 E 4 5 7 L 3 J O 2–8 10–12 ed. H. 12. qui *ante* quidem B P S E. quae G. quae R V. quae *in* qui *mut.* K. 13. adferrent R V K P. adferent G E. afferrent B M 1 2 E 2. afferrent S. afferrēt W 2. afferret B 3 *alii.*

§ 58, 20. omittamus V P S E 1 2 13 L M 1 2 R 6 10 16 G 2 4 B 3 D C Π O 1 2–7 10. opmittamus G. obmittamus O 9. ommittamus ed. H. omittam' B K W 2 R 2 G 3 Π O 12. omictam⁹ O 8. omittam; R. omittam E 7 O 11.

ballistae: editors generally have *balistae* but RVPE have *ballistae*, and this is the spelling of the Ambrosian Palimpsest in Plaut. Trin. iii 2, 42. Cf. also Inscr. Orelli 4066 'ballistariorum.'

lapidum ... telorum: both genitives depend upon *emissiones*.

quo est missa: with best MSS Dav. Mo. Sff. read *cum*, Küh. *quom*. *quo* is read by Kl. TS. Hei. Ml. Schiche. It is merely a question between *quō* (=*quom* i.e. *cum*) and *quo*. And surely Cic. would use *quo* here as well as above, *quo sunt contenta*. *cum* would be very awkward after *hoc*.

missa: with *cursus* by zeugma; *grauior* also is not quite in harmony with *cursus*.

elamentabilis: only here; *e-* intensive.

dederit: fut. perf. indic.

dixerim: potential use of the subjunctive. Madv. 350 b.

§ **58. patet latius**, 'has a wider application.'

ira exardescit, libido concitatur: the asyndeton is rhetorical. For the condition without *si* cf. ii 12, 28 'rogo hoc Epicurum,' wh. Küh. also compares for the use of the present.

omittamus: Sff. with R reads *omittam* comparing Fin. i 7, 24 'sed ut omittam... ueniamus' and the same expression in p. Ligar. 7, 20. If the MS authority were for the sing. as against the plur. here, the sing. might stand, though the instances quoted by Sff. are not quite parallel; for in *omittam* one person speaks while in *ueniamus* the speaker takes his hearers with him, but here if we followed Sff. we

igitur dolorem placide atque sedate plurimum proficit toto pectore, ut dicitur, cogitare, quam id honestum sit. sumus enim natura, ut ante dixi (dicendum est enim saepius), studiosissimi adpetentissimique honestatis; cuius si quasi lumen aliquod aspeximus, nihil est quod, ut eo potiamur, non parati simus et ferre et perpeti. ex hoc cursu atque impetu animorum ad ueram laudem atque honestatem illa pericula adeuntur in proeliis; non sentiunt uiri fortes in acie uolnera, uel sentiunt, sed mori malunt quam tantum modo de dignitatis gradu demoueri. **59.** fulgentis

24. adpetentissimi R V G K E L. appetentissimi B P S. 25. aspeximus R 1 2 10 V G 1–4 B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 13 L W 2 M 1 2 C Π J O 1–6 8 10 12. aspexisimus O 7. aspexerimus R 6 O 9 11 ed. H. || s(i)umus G. simus R K P C. sumus V. 28. uolnera V G B. uo(u)lnera R. uulnera P S E L. || uel sentiunt sed R 1 2 10 V G 1–3 B 1 3 K P E 1 2 L W 2 M 2 Π J O 1 3–5 7 9 *idem* S *manu prima*. uel si sentiunt. se S *manu secunda*. uel sentiant sed M 1. nihil sentiunt sed O 2. uel si sentiunt se R 6 O 10. uel si sentiunt mori se G 4. uel si sentiunt mori malunt O 8 11. uel sentiunt *omittunt* O 6 12. 29. quam tantummodo R 1 6 V G 1 2 Gr B 1 3 P E L M 2 O 1–12. q̃ tum modo S *marg*. tātūmodo. q̃ tum modo Π. q̃ tm̄ m̄o W 2 M 1 J. quantum modo R 10 G 3.

§ **59**, 29. fulgentis V G 1 3 B P E.

should reverse the mode of expression. The best MSS, however, except R, have *omittamus*, B with abbreviation *omittam*', and no doubt the omission of the abbreviation accounts for the reading of R. It will also be noticed that R reads *omittam;* and the semicolon may have originated in a misunderstanding of the mark of abbreviation. In iv 12, 27 Sff., with editors generally, reads *ueniamus* though G R B and many more MSS read *ueniam*. See also Or. on T. D. v 19, 56 *illi*)(*illius*.

toto pectore: cf. Leg. i 18, 49 'ubi illa sancta amicitia, si non ipse amicus per se amatur toto pectore, ut dicitur?'

quam id honestum: i 13, 30 n. on 'tam sit inmanis.'

ut ante dixi: ii 20, 46.

dicendum est enim saepius: Dav. wrongly wished to substitute *autem* for *enim*. '*enim* gives the reason why this, though said before, is repeated,' Wopkens p. 89, where many similar instances are quoted.

lumen: often, where negatived or restricted, = 'ray,' 'inkling,' cf. i 3, 5 'nec ullum habuit lumen litterarum Latinarum'; iii 1, 2 'ut nusquam naturae lumen adpareat'; Off. i 29, 103 'aliquod probi ingeni lumen,' 'some indication of.'

aspeximus: the perf. indic. alone is possible in a general reflexion such as we have here. *aspexerimus*, of Dav. and older editors, if fut. perf. would refer to a particular instance in the future, and if subj. would express a pure hypothesis, in which case there would be no fitness in the tense. Cf. ii 23, 54 n. on 'restiterunt'; ii 2, 5 n. on 'occurrit.'

parati simus: the subj., if sound, is potential, but G *manu prima* and V read *sumus* and this I believe to be right.

ex hoc, 'as a result of this,' cf. i 12, 28 'ex hoc et nostrorum opinione...'.

uel sentiunt: for *uel*, where *aut* might be expected since the alternatives exclude one another, see Küh. *Gram.* II p. 711, Draeger *H. S.* II p. 136, who quote de R. P. ii 28, 50 'est fragilis ea fortuna populi quae posita est in unius uoluntate uel moribus,' and ii 38, 64 'rem publicam... uel constituere uel conseruare'; Caes. B. G. iv 16, 5 'ut sibi auxilium ferret... uel si id facere...prohiberetur exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret.' In all these instances assumed situations, not objective facts, are dealt with. Mo. reads *uel si sentiunt se mori*. See crit. n. [*uel* refers often not to the nature of the fact, but to the concession of a choice. Here, 'or, if you like to have it so.']

tantum modo: Mo. reads *tantillum*, but wrongly supposes that to be the reading of R. Wes. with more probability conj. *tantulum*. Mo. seems right in noting that in any case a gesture is implied.

gladios hostium uidebant Decii, cum in aciem eorum inruebant. his leuabat omnem uolnerum metum nobilitas mortis et gloria. num tum ingemuisse Epaminondam putas, cum una cum sanguine uitam effluere sentiret? imperantem enim patriam Lacedaemoniis relinquebat, quam acceperat seruientem. haec sunt solacia, haec fomenta summorum dolorum.

XXV. **60.** Dices: quid in pace, quid domi, quid in lectulo? ad philosophos me reuocas, qui in aciem non saepe prodeunt. e quibus homo sane leuis, Heracleotes Dionysius, cum a Zenone fortis esse didicisset, a dolore dedoctus est. nam cum ex renibus laboraret, ipso in eiulatu clamitabat falsa esse illa, quae antea de dolore ipse sensisset. quem cum Cleanthes condiscipulus rogaret, quaenam ratio eum de sententia deduxisset, respondit:

30. inruebant V B P E. 31. uolnerum R G B. uulnerum V P S L. 32. num tum R V G B 1 3 S E L W 2 *alii*. non tū P *marg*. nū. num tu O 9. 35. solacia R V G S E. solatia B K P.

XXV. § **60**, 3. dionisius V G P. 4. adolere R. adolore V. a dolere P. *unam litteram ante* l E *charta pertusa omittit.* || deductus R 1 2 6 10 16 V G 1–4 Gr B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 7 8 13 L M 1 2 D C Π J O 1 2 5 7 10 12 ed. H. diductus W 2 O 11. ductus R 17 O 6 8. deuictus L 4 O 3 4 9. 6. quem cum P E R 2 C Π. quem tum R. quem tū V. quem tum G K. quem cum *in* quem quom *mut.* S. quem quom O 12. quem tunc L. || cleantes R V G K S *alii.*

de gradu demoueri: cf. ii 5, 14 n. on 'de sententia esse deiectum' and exx. quoted there.

§ **59. Decii**: i 37, 89 n.

num tum: Dav. in ed. 2 proposed *tu* to avoid the ὁμοιοτέλευτον, but Küh. considers the reason inadequate, cf. i 37, 90 n. on 'urbem nostram potituram.'

Epaminondam: cf. Fin. ii 30, 97; Nepos Epam. c. 9.

imperantem...seruientem: TS. notes the effective chiasmus with double contrast, cf. ii 4, 11 'medetur animis...timores.'

fomenta: cf. Fin. ii 29, 95 'uirtutis... fortitudinis fomentis dolor mitigari solet.'

XXV. § **60. Heracleotes Dionysius**: Dionysius, a native of Heraclea, being a pupil of Zeno fell away, under the influence of pain, to the Cyrenaics, (as Diog. L. says) declaring pain to be an evil. Hence he was called ὁ μεταθέμενος. Cf. Diog. L. vii 166–7. Cic. in Fin. v 31, 94 says *desciuisse uidetur a Stoicis propter oculorum dolorem*, and this is the reason assigned by Diog. L. l.c. and also vii 37, whereas here Cic. says *cum ex renibus laboraret*. Pet. Victorius, referred to by Dav. and quoted in Mo., suggests that there may have been conflicting accounts. The apostasy of D. is also referred to in Ac. ii 22, 71; Lucian *Bis Accus.* §§ 19 foll.; Athenaeus vii p. 281. For another ref. cf. iii 9, 18. This D. is not the same as Dionysius Stoicus of ii 11, 26, for it is implied there that that D. was a contemporary of Cic. Or., however, in his *Onomasticon* treats the two as identical.

dedoctus: Bent.'s emendation for *deductus* of MSS. *de sententia deduxisset* below might seem to support the MS reading, but that expression is natural, whereas the ellipse of *de sententia* here would not be so. The antithesis between *didicisset* and *dedoctus est* is elegant, and the error may be accounted for by the comparative rareness of *dedoctus* as compared with *deductus*, and perhaps by the occurrence of the latter verb in the context. Bent. compares Fin. i 6, 20 'si a Polyaeno...geometrica discere maluisset quam illum etiam ipsum dedocere.'

falsa esse illa quae antea...sensisset: the Stoics held that that alone was *malum* which was *turpe*. Pain was ἀδιάφορον, cf. Fin. v 31, 94 'illud audierat...malum illud non esse quia turpe non esset et esse ferendum uiro.'

Cleanthes: successor of Zeno in the headship of the Stoic School.

cum...rogaret...respondit: i 2, 4 n. on 'cum recusaret est habitus.'

quia, cum tantum operae philosophiae dedissem, si dolorem tamen ferre non possem, satis esset argumenti malum esse dolorem. plurimos autem annos in philosophia consumpsi nec ferre possum; malum est igitur dolor. tum Cleanthem, cum pede terram percussisset, uersum ex Epigonis ferunt dixisse:

8. qui cum R 1 2 10 17 V G 1 3 B K P E L W 2 J O 1 8 11. qui cum S *marg.* quia cū. quia quom O 12. qui^{a}cum Π *alia manu superscr.* quid cum M 1. quia cum M 2 V 9 G 2 4 B 3 D C O 2–7 9 10. ‖ tantum operae R 6 O 2. tantum operę V 9 O 3 4. tantum opere E 2 Π O 6 10 12. tanta opere B E G 3 O 8. tanto opere R V G 1 2 K P L O 7 9. tantopere W 2 M 1 G 4 J O 1 5 11. tantope B 3 *marg.* tm̄ ope. tanta opera S *marg.* tantū operę. tanta opera R 2 10. tantam operam D C. 12. cleanthem R 1 2 6 V P. clehantem G. cleantem B S R 10. 13. epigoneis R 1 10 V G 1 3 4 B K P S L C J. epygoneis W 2 R 2 E 2 Π O 1 6 11. epigoneus E. epigoniis M 2 B 3 O 7. epigonis R 6 O 10.

quia cum tantum operae: this passage as it stands in the MSS cannot be sound. Küh. emended by inserting *et* after *dedissem*, a position from which it certainly might easily fall out (*dedissē ē*). Before *quia* he supplies in thought from the preceding clause *haec ratio me de sententia deduxit*, and he accounts for the repetition of the conclusion, first stated in *quia cum...malum esse dolorem* and again in *plurimos...malum est igitur dolor*, by referring the former statement to the time when Dionysius drew that conclusion under the influence of pain, and the latter to the time when he conversed with Cleanthes. Muther, quoted with approval by Küh., proposed *quia cum...dedissem, dolorem ferre non* posse me *satis esset argumenti*... Bent. in Dav. conj. quicunque *tantum op. ph.* dedisset, *dolorem tamen ferre non posset*... Sff. *quia cum* non *tantum op. ph. dedissem* si *dolorem* tantum *ferre non possem*..., adopting this position of *si* from an otherwise improbable conj. of Bogen, *Progr. Neus.* 1861 p. 2. But though each substitution is plausible the chances are greatly against a threefold error. Madv. on Fin. v 31, 94 conj. *quia* si *cum*..., and this has been adopted by Tr. Bai. Ml. and others and approved by Wes. *Em.* I p. 17. But this position of *si* does not lend itself to any theory as to how the word came to fall out. I prefer to place it after *dedissem* (*-sē si*) where Sff., after Bogen, inserted it. The reading thus arrived at is, I think, more natural than that of Küh., while the alteration is almost equally slight and equally probable. We have then a syllogism of which the major premiss is in hypothetical form, *cum tantum...si...non possem, satis esset...dolorem*; the minor premiss is *plurimos autem...nec...possum*; and the conclusion *malum est igitur dolor*; and we know that the Stoics tended to couch their arguments in syllogistic form and made much use of hypothesis in doing so (see Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* p. 112); and Dionysius having become familiar while a Stoic with this mode of expression could not abandon it so readily as he abandoned Stoic ethics.

The subjunctives **possem** and **esset** are due to reported thought. The words of D. in *or. recta* would have been *cum dedissem si...non poteram satis erat*.... **cum** = 'whereas,' 'although,' cf. i 17, 39 n. on 'cum adduxeris.'

ex Epigonis: cf. de Opt. Gen. Or. 6, 18 'nec Andromacham igitur aut Antiopam, aut *Epigonos* Latinos recipiant. sed tamen Ennium, et Pacuuium, et Accium potius quam Euripidem et *Sophoclem*,' from whence it is clear that the version of Accius was derived from the Ἐπίγονοι of Sophocles, not, as Dav. supposes, from that of Aeschylus. The play of Aeschylus is referred to and quoted from by the Scholiast on Pindar Isth. 6, 10.

From Accius' Epigoni Nonius 342 quotes a line, and the line in the text is no doubt taken from that play, Cleanthes' line being from the play of Sophocles. The Lat. play is also mentioned in Off. i 31, 114. For several other reff. to this play of Accius, chiefly from Nonius, see Ribb. *Scaen. Rom. Poes. Frag.* i pp. 173–6.

Audísne haec, Amphiaráe sub terram ábdite?
Zenonem significabat, a quo illum degenerare dolebat. **61.** at non noster Posidonius; quem et ipse saepe uidi et id dicam, quod solebat narrare Pompeius, se, cum Rhodum uenisset decedens ex Syria, audire uoluisse Posidonium; sed cum audisset eum grauiter esse aegrum, quod uehementer eius artus laborarent, uoluisse tamen nobilissimum philosophum uisere; quem ut uidisset et salutauisset honorificisque uerbis prosecutus esset molesteque se dixisset ferre, quod eum non posset audire,

14. amphiare R 1 2 10 V G K S E L B 3 O 1 6 9 12. anfiare O 7. amphiar^{a}e *alio atram. superscr.* P O 10. amphia^{ra}e B *littera ante e erasa.* amphiara R 17. amphiora D C. amphiaras et G 2. amphire G 4. amphare O 11. amphiorae II O 8. amphyarae R 3 7 G 4. amphiarae R 6 J O 2–5.
§ 61, 16. possidonius *et infra* possidonium R V G B P S.

Amphiarae: Cleanthes apostrophises the dead Zeno.

sub terram: the acc. seems strange since the participle implies a state of rest. Instances from the *active* voice of *abdere* are not in point. But Klotz cites Lucr. iv. 419 'corpora mirando sub terras abdita caelo.' This constr. is determined by the literal meaning of the word. But the participle *abditus* is found several times in Cic. and Caes. with *in* and the abl.

§ 61. at non...Posidonius: sc. *a Zenone degenerauit.*

noster: Posidonius of Apamea, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Panaetius, was a friend and correspondent of Cicero, cf. Att. ii 1, 2, hence *noster* here.

quem...uidi et id dicam: for the dropping of the rel. in the second member of a double rel. clause, although both would not be in the same case, cf. i 30, 72 n. on 'quibusque...seseque'; Off. ii 6, 21 'cui fidem habent et (sc. *quem*) bene rebus suis consulere arbitrantur'; ii 7, 23 'huius tyranni quem... pertulit ciuitas paretque cum maxime mortuo' (= *et cui paret*); Or. i 36, 135 'quae...neque sunt' = *quae...quaeque non sunt*. Analogous is the case where the rel. is dropped in the second member and a demonst. substituted, cf. v 3, 8; v 13, 38.

For occasions on which Cic. may have seen Posidonius cf. Unger in *Philologus* XLI p. 632. Posidonius came to Rome in 86 B.C. in the last days of Marius, as Rhodian ambassador (Plut. Mar. 45). He was also in Rome on his return from his voyage of exploration through the lands on the Atlantic coast (Strabo 144, 287). Cicero was in Rhodes in 78 B.C. and again when on his way to Cilicia in Apr. 51 B.C. Posidonius was still working in 47 B.C.; still alive in 45 B.C. (Fin. i 2, 6). He seems to have been dead by 44 B.C. Cf. T.D. v 37, 107.

cum Rhodum uenisset: this occurred in 62 B.C. in which year Pompey left Syria and reached Italy.

decedens ex Syria: a governor was said *decedere* from the time when he left his province until he passed within the walls of Rome. Thus Pompey was still *decedens* when in 61 B.C. he had an interview with Cic. outside of Rome, cf. Phil. ii 5, 12 'decedens ex Syria.' He did not enter Rome until his triumph in Sept. 61. Cf. also Planc. 26, 65 'decedebam...me e prouincia decedere.'

artus laborarent: Küh. quotes Hortens. Frag. (preserved in Nonius) 'vidi in dolore podagrae uel omnium maximum Stoicorum, Posidonium, nihilo ipsum quam Nicomachum Tyrium, hospitem meum, fortiorem.'

uoluisse tamen, 'at all events,' cf. p. Mil. 36, 99 and Colson's n.

uisere: cf. i 19, 44 n.

prosecutus esset: an extension from the meaning to follow or accompany as an honour, e.g. to the city gate, place of sepulture, etc. Here simply 'had honoured,' cf. Livy ix 8, 13 'cum omnes laudibus modo prosequentes uirum in sententiam eius pedibus irent.' Brutus 1, 4 'illius mortis opportunitatem beneuolentia potius quam misericordia prosequamur.'

at ille: tu uero, inquit, potes, nec committam ut dolor corporis efficiat ut frustra tantus uir ad me uenerit. itaque narrabat eum grauiter et copiose de hoc ipso, nihil esse bonum nisi quod esset honestum, cubantem disputauisse, cumque quasi faces ei doloris admouerentur saepe dixisse: nihil agis, dolor! quamuis sis molestus, numquam te esse confitebor malum.

XXVI. **62**. Omninoque omnes clari et nobilitati labores contendendo fiunt etiam tolerabiles. uidemusne uel apud quos

23. neçómitam R K. necomi^{t}tam G. nec omittam B P S E 1 2 13 O 8. ne commitam V. 26. esset honestum R V G B 1 3 P S E W 2 M 2 O 1 2 5 7–10. esse honestum M 1. honestum esset R 6 O 6 11 12. esset *omittunt* O 3 4. 28. numquam R V G P. numquam B.

XXVI. § **62**, 2. ī contempno R (ī *alio atram. addito*). contempno G *sed spatio relicto et puncto posito.* contem^{ne}ndo V *alio atram. superscr.* contempno L. contēp^{tu}no K *alio atram. superscr.* contēpno P *in* contēpn^{do}e *alio atram. mut.* contēpn^{do}ē E 3. contemptu B S E 1 2 8 13 R 2 8 10 16 G 3 D C II. contemtu O 7. contempti V 9 O 11 ed. H. contemnendo M 1 2 R 5–7 E 7 9 10 12 L 3 4 6 O 2–4 6 10 12. contempnendo W 2 R 3 4 13 G 2 4 B 3 E 6 L 2 5 O 1 5 8 9. contēnendo R 11 J. contēnēdo E 5. contenendo R 15. contennendo E 4. || ut apud *post* uidemusne R 1 10 V G B K P S E 1 2 L W 2 M 1 II J O 1 2 11 12. id apud O 6. uidemus ut apud O 7. uidemusne apud M 2 R 6 B 3 O 3 4 5 8–10.

itaque = *et ita*, 'and so.'

cubantem, 'though lying ill,' cf. Hor. Sat. i 9, 18; ii 3, 289 'pueri menses iam quinque cubantis.' So often.

quasi faces: Küh. compares v 27, 76 'dolor...ardentis faces intentat'; Off. ii 10, 37 'dolorum cum admouentur faces, praeter modum plerique exterrentur.' T.D. iii 16, 35 'ignis adhibent.' The same metaphor is employed in the case of desire, cf. i 19, 44. For *quasi* see i 12, 27 n.

nihil agis: colloquial = *nihil efficis*.

numquam...malum: cf. § 60 n.

XXVI. § **62**. **omninoque**, 'and as a general principle,' passing from the particular instances with which he has been dealing. Cf. Hand *Tursell.* IV p. 375.

contendendo: I have with Lall. F.A.W. Sff. Or. Bai. TS. Küh. and others adopted the emendation of Bent. instead of the vulgate *contemnendo* which Dav. (ed. 3) Schiche and Mo. retain. Mo. admits that F.A.W. is right in condemning the expression *claros labores contemnere*, and he thinks that *dolore* may have fallen out after *contemnendo*. Stroebel in *Philologus* approves of this view. Gustaffson in *Herm.* XVII 169 conjectures *labores dolore contempto*. For *contendendo* Bent. argues that this is what Cic. has been insisting upon in the whole preceding context, cf. 22, 51 'quae sunt ista arma (contra dolorem)? *contentio*, confirmatio...'; 23, 54 'simillime animus *intentione* sua depellit pressum omnem ponderum'; 23, 55 'in omnibus officiis persequendis animi est adhibenda *contentio*'; 24, 57 'cuius *contentionis* cum tanta uis sit si gemitus in dolore ad confirmandum animum ualebit, utemur'; 24, 58 'omnibus enim rebus, non solum dolori, simili *contentione* animi resistendum est'; 27, 65 'patientia dolorum, quam saepe iam animi *intentione* dixi esse firmandam'; and lower down 'idem omissa *contentione* dolorem morbi ferre non possunt.' *continuo*, the reading of Klotz, is weak, and it would make the hardships become endurable because of the renown, a view which might seem in harmony with the following context but which is not in harmony with the main argument of this or of the preceding chapters.

For a theory with regard to the cause of error in the MSS see Introd. § 3 c iii.

uidemusne uel: with *ut*, the reading

eorum ludorum, qui gymnici nominantur, magnus honos sit, nullum ab iis, qui in id certamen descendant, deuitari dolorem? apud quos autem uenandi et equitandi laus uiget, qui hanc petessunt, nullum fugiunt dolorem. quid de nostris ambitionibus, quid de cupiditate honorum loquar? quae flamma est per quam non cucurrerunt ii, qui haec olim punctis singulis colligebant? itaque semper Africanus Socraticum Xenophontem

3. **magn^{u}os** R V. magnos G. mag^{nv}os K n *eod. atram.* v *alio atram. superscr.* magnus P. 8. cucurrerunt R 1 2 10 V G 1 3 4 B P S E 1 2 8 13 L W 2 D C II J O 1. cucurrer̄ K. cucurrunt O 9. concurrerunt O 2 12. cucure-runt G 2. ^{cu}concurrerunt O 8. currerent O 3 4. curre^{i}ent O 10. cucurrerint W 1 M 1 2 R 6 O 6. cucurerint O 5. cucurrerit O 11. concurrerint B 3. concurreretur O 7.

of the MSS, a very harsh anacolouthon results. Wes. *Em.* 1 p. 33 thinks that *ut* arose by διττογραφία from *ne* or from *ui* in *uidemus*, but it is too unlike *ne* and too remote from *ui-* for either of these theories to be probable. To read *et* as both Hei. and Sff. conj. would substitute one anacol. for another (*et...apud quos autem* instead of *et...et*) and, though this is smoother and has many parallels, it does not seem natural to couple these two clauses by *et...et*. I think Schiche is right in substituting *uel* (*ut*) for *ut*—'to take the first instance that presents itself.'

uidemusne: cf. ii 11, 26 n.

descendant: often used of entering for a contest, cf. Hor. Odes iii 1, 11; Juv. vii 173 'ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra.'

qui hanc: i.e. (*apud eos ei*) *qui hanc....*

uiget...petessunt...fugiunt: for the transition from *or. obliqua* to *or. recta* cf. iv 9, 21 *fin.* 'est' (but *est* and *sit* often interchange in MSS), Fin. iii 15, 49 'neque ab ulla re quae non sit in bonis id quod sit in bonis contineri *potest*.'

petessunt: Festus p. 206 says = *saepius petere.* The notion of eagerness seems to be developed in verbs of this formation (*capessere*, *incessere*, etc.) cf. Küh. *Gr.* 1 p. 643, 2.

ambitionibus = *honorum petitionibus.*

honorum: i.e. the higher magistracies of the Roman State.

quae flamma: for the metaphor J. Pagninus compares Ter. Eun. iii 2, 38 'e flamma petere te cibum posse arbitror'; Hor. Epp. i 1, 46 'per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes.'

cucurrerunt: the best MSS have *cucurrerunt*, but most editors, except Dav. Bai. Mo. and Ml., read *cucurrerint*. Mo. takes the words as = *per nullam non flammam cucurrerunt*. And, although the difference consists in a single letter and even in a single stroke of the pen, I think that the MSS may be right; *flamma* though metaphorical refers to objective facts, the question being equivalent to *nonne omnia pericula obierunt ei....*

haec: sc. *honores et similia omnia.* The neut. is more comprehensive than the masc. would have been, cf. i 24, 56 n. on 'haec enim etiam dicimus uiuere'; iii 4, 7 'haec enim.'

punctis singulis, 'vote by vote,' cf. Hor. A.P. 343 'omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci'; Epp. ii 2, 99 'discedo Alcaeus puncto illius,' and Wilkins' full n. there; Ramsay, *Rom. Ant.* s.v. *Rogatores*. Before the *lex Gabinia* of 139 B.C. introduced voting by ballot in the election of magistrates 'it seems probable that the voters, in passing along the *pontes*, were questioned by the *rogatores*, and that their reply was noted down by a dot (*punctum*) pricked upon a tablet.'

itaque: particles of inference, such as *itaque*, *quare*, *etenim*, *nam*, are often used more loosely and less logically than the corresponding English equivalents. Here the force of *itaque* extends to the *cuius* clause, and we should rather make that the main clause—'itaque Africanus, qui semper Xenophontem in manibus habebat, huius in primis laudabat illud.' Cf. iv 26, 57 'sunt enim omnia ista...'; Madv. on Fin. i 6, 18 'censet enim...'; Wilkins on Or. ii 54, 217 'itaque cum quosdam...'; Mayor on N.D. i 30, 85 'itaque in illis selectis....'

Xenophontem: cf. Cyr. i 6, 25 'τῶν

in manibus habebat, cuius in primis laudabat illud, quod diceret eosdem labores non aeque grauis esse imperatori et militi, quod ipse honos laborem leuiorem faceret imperatorium. **63.** sed tamen hoc euenit, ut in uolgus insipientium opinio ualeat honestatis, cum ipsam uidere non possint. itaque fama et multitudinis iudicio mouentur, cum id honestum putent, quod a plerisque laudetur. te autem, si in oculis sis multitudinis, tamen eius iudicio stare nolim, nec quod illa putet idem putare pulcherrimum. tuo tibi iudicio est utendum; tibi si recta probanti placebis, tum non modo tete uiceris, quod paulo ante praecipiebam, sed omnis et omnia. **64.** hoc igitur tibi propone, amplitudinem animi et quasi quandam exaggerationem quam

11. grauis R 1 2 10 V G B P E L W 2 M 2 O 5. || esse aeque gr. esse R V. esse eq; grauis esse K. ee aeque gr. ee B P. esse aeque gr. esse G E. esse gr. esse L. non eque gr. esse C. ee atque gr. ee O 8. esse aeque gr. S W 1 2 M 1 2 R 2 6 10 G 2–4 B 3 E 2 Π O 1–5 7 9–11. esse gr. eque O 6 12. 12. imperatorium R 1 2 9 10 16 V G 1 3 4 Gr B K P S E 1 2 7 13 L W 2 D C Π J O 3 4 7 8 10 11. imperatorum W 1 M 2 R 6 17 B 3 E 5 8 O 1 2 5 6 9 12. imperatorum M 1 *at* u *ex* i *mut. uid.* imperatori G 2.

§ **63**, 13. uulgus (*hoc loco*) R V G B K P S E L. 15. cum id honestum R 1 10 V G 1–4 B K P S E 1 2 M 1 C Π O 1–4 7 8 10 11. *deinde* cū *in* ut *inuertendo mut.* (*cf.* tu uides *pro* ut uides ii 67) ut id honestum W 1 2 M 2 R 6 B 3 O 5 6 12. *omittit* O 9. 19. tete G 1 3 B 1 3 K P S E 1 8 M 2 R 2 10 Π O 1–6 8 10 12. te-te R (*hyphen alio atram. inserto*). tete (u superscr.) V *alia manu superscr.* tu te D C. tute R 6. certe G 2. || te uiceris W 2 M 1 J O 7 9 11. uiceris te W 1. te uinceris L. uinceris te G 4. 20. omnis R V G B K P E 1 2 L C.

ὁμοίων σωμάτων οἱ αὐτοὶ πόνοι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἅπτονται ἄρχοντός τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτου· ἀλλ' ἐπικουφίζει τι ἡ τιμὴ τοὺς πόνους τῷ ἄρχοντι.'

imperatori et militi: *et* simply couples *imperatori* and *militi*; we have not here an instance of *aeque et* instead of *aeque atque*. See Madv. on Fin. i 20, 67 'amicos et nosmet ipsos.'

imperatorium: for the adj. instead of the gen. of the noun cf. p. Arch. 12, 32 'iudiciali consuetudine'; p. Balb. 22, 51 'cohortationem...imperatoriam,' and Reid's n. on p. Arch. 2, 3 l. 6.

§ **63. opinio** = *δόξα*, as opposed to accurate knowledge, cf. ii 22, 52 n. and references. The unphilosophic multitude are influenced by an imperfect view of what is honourable, being unable to discern what is truly so. Cf. iii 2, 4. Hei. compares Off. iii 3, 13 'in eis autem, in quibus sapientia perfecta non est, ipsum illud quidem perfectum honestum nullo modo, similitudines honesti esse possunt.'

in oculis sis multitudinis: Küh. takes this to mean *a multitudine summa caritate diligi*, comparing Att. vi 2, 5 'publicanis in oculis sumus'; Phil. vi 4, 11 'iam fert in oculis'; Q. Fr. iii 3 'Balbum in oculis fero.' But the words can also mean *in conspectu omnium esse* 'to be a public character,' as Hei. and TS. take it. Hei. compares *habitare*, *uiuere in oculis*; i.e. even though your actions are all exposed to their criticism do not conform to their judgment.

eius iudicio stare, 'rely upon,' 'abide by,' cf. v 27, 81 'omnia ad suum arbitrium referre, suis stare iudiciis.'

tuo ... utendum: Draeger, *H. S.* I 791–2, notes that the gerund in the nom. always expresses necessity, and that the oblique case with it is not very usual; the instances he gives are with *utendum*, as here, cf. ii 18, 43 'utendum est igitur his.'

si placebis...uiceris: the force of the fut. perf. is the same as in *sustuleris* i 30, 74 n.; the time denoted is contemporary with that denoted by *placebis*.

§ **64. animi...animi**: Dav. thinks the repetition 'putida et inelegans' Mo. F.A.W. and Or. bracket the first *animi* declaring that Cic. certainly did not write as in the MSS; Kl. Küh. Ml.

altissimam [animi], quae maxime eminet contemnendis et despiciendis doloribus, unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam, eoque pulchriorem, si uacet populo neque plausum captans se tamen ipsa delectet. quin etiam mihi quidem laudabiliora uidentur omnia, quae sine uenditatione et sine populo teste fiunt, non quo fugiendus sit (omnia enim bene facta in luce se conlocari uolunt), sed tamen nullum theatrum uirtuti conscientia maius est.

XXVII. **65.** Atque in primis meditemur illud, ut haec patientia dolorum, quam saepe iam animi intentione dixi esse firmandam, in omni genere se aequabilem praebeat. saepe enim multi qui, aut propter uictoriae cupiditatem aut propter gloriae, aut etiam ut ius suum et libertatem tenerent, uolnera exce-

§ **64**, 22. quae R V B P S E L D C Π J *plerique.* qui R 6 O 11. || contemnendis R V B. comtemnendis (p superscr.) P *alio atram. superscr.* contempnendis G L. contem nendis (p *post* m *deleto*) S. 24. se tamen R 1 2 10 V B K P S L M 1 2 G 2 3 E 2 13 Π O 2–7 10 12. si tamen G 4 O 11. sed tamen G. sed tamen W 2 E 5 J O 1 9. se ipse (a superscr.) tam̃ E a *alio atram. superscr.* se ipsa tñ D C O 8. se tm̃ W 1. se tantum R 6. 26. non quo R 1 2 6 10 V G 1 3 B 1 3 K P (*manu prima*) S E 1 2 L M 1 2 C Π O 1–10 12. non quod W 1 2 G 2 E 5 J O 11. non qūo G 4. 27. fugiendus (*s* superscr.) sit V. fugiendū sit S *at litt. post* dū *ut uid. erasa.* || conlocari R V G B K E. conlocari *in* collocari *mut.* P.

XXVII. § **65**, 4. gloriae aut R 1 2 V G 1 4 B K P S E L D C Π O 1 3 4 7 8 11. gloriae (amorem superscr.) aut O 10 *alia manu superscr.* gloriae *omittit* O 9. gloriae amorem aut W 1 M 1 2 R 6 B 3 O 2 5 6 12. 5. uolnera R V G B K. uulnera P S E.

and Schiche retain both, Küh. noting that *amplitudinem* is not possible without *animi* and thinking that the second *animi* is too remote. Sff. Bai. and TS. are probably right in striking out the second *animi*. Hei. brackets it.

quasi quandam: i 12, 27 n.

exaggerationem, 'exaltation.'

quae: sc. the *exaggeratio*.

unam...pulcherrimam: i 9, 17 n.

si uacet populo, 'is independent of.' Somewhat similarly Off. i 38, 136 'eius modi motibus sermo debet uacare'; Livy ii 48, 9 'res publica et milite illic et pecunia uacet.'

se tamen ipsa delectet, 'and while doing nothing to secure the approval of the multitude has *nevertheless* its own approval.' This is the meaning if *tamen* be retained, but Or. Tr. Hei. read *tantum*—the abbreviations *tm̄* and *tn̄* are easily interchanged, and there is some force in the objection of Hei. that neither *si uacet populo* nor *plausum captans* constitutes a fitting antithesis.

uenditatione: cf. Lael. 23, 86 'quamquam a multis uirtus ipsa contemnitur et uenditatio quaedam atque ostentatio esse dicitur.'

non quo...: for the transition to a main clause in *sed tamen...est* cf. i 1, 1 n.; Ac. ii 12, 37 and Reid's n. The distinction between *non quo* and *non quod* is here analysed by Küh., who also explains that the expression *non quo* arises from *non eo quod*, comparing ἐφ' ᾧ = ἐπὶ τούτῳ ᾧ.

theatrum: of the spectators, cf. i 44, 106 n. on 'totis theatris.' 'No witness is equal to the testimony of one's own conscience.'

XXVII. § **65.** **meditemur illud ut**: cf. Cato M. 20, 74 'sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse mortem ut neglegamus'; i 15, 32 n. on 'quid...cogitasse arbitramur? eisdemne ut finibus... terminaretur?'

saepe...multi: i 30, 74 n.

propter gloriae: Nissen compares iii 32, 77 'et de communi condicione uitae, et proprie, si quid sit *de ipsius*, qui maereat, disputandum'; iv 31, 65 'ac de malorum opinione hactenus. uideamus nunc *de bonorum*.'

perunt fortiter [et tulerunt, idem omissa contentione dolorem morbi ferre non possunt; neque enim illum, quem facile tulerant, ratione aut sapientia tulerant, sed studio potius et gloria. itaque barbari quidam et inmanes ferro decertare acerrime possunt, aegrotare uiriliter non queunt, Graeci autem homines, non satis animosi, prudentes, ut est captus hominum, satis, hostem aspicere non possunt, eidem morbos toleranter atque humane ferunt. at Cimbri et Celtiberi in proeliis exsultant, lamentantur in morbo. nihil enim potest esse aequabile quod non a certa ratione proficiscatur. **66.** sed cum uideas eos, qui aut studio aut opinione ducantur, in eo persequendo atque adipiscendo dolore non frangi,

6. idem R 1 2 10 V G 1 4 B 1 3 K P E L M 1 C O 2 5 6 11 12. id est O 1. idem est O 7. *omittit* O 10. ẏdem S *at fuerat* idem. iidem W 1 2 M 2 R 6 Π J O 3 4 8 9. 9. acerrume R V G B K E. acerrime P *at* i *ex* u *mut.* acerrime L. 11. animosi prudentes R 1 2 10 16 17 V G 1–4 B 1 3 P E 1 2 L W 2 M 2 Π J O 1–6 8 10–12. animosi ,prudentes (/ed) S *alia manu, ut uid., superscr.* animosi sed prudentes W 1 R 6 D O 7 9. ‖ aspicere R V G B K P S E. 12. eidem R G B S E L. ẹidem V D. ei idem O 6. idem *in* eidem *mut.* P. idem G 3 B 3 O 1 8 10. iidem M 1 2 Π O 3 7 11.

§ **66,** 15. eos qui R 1 2 6 10 17 G 1–4 B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 L W 1 2 M 2 D C Π J O 2–12. eos quia M 1. uideas qui O 1. uideas quo qsq; (i superscr.) V *at* quo qsq; (i superscr.) *multa in litura.* 16. ducantur R V G P L. dicantur (u superscr.) B. dicantur E.

idem, 'and yet the same men....' For the unexpressed antithesis cf. i 29, 71 n. on *adhibuitque*.

ratione...gloria, 'not owing to definite principles or philosophic system, but rather to excitement and desire for fame.' *ratio* is a set of principles thought out, cf. *a certa ratione* below. Küh. takes *studio et gloria* as nearly = *studio gloriae*, the two terms (ἓν διὰ δυοῖν) being preferred the better to balance *ratione et sapientia*. For *gloria* cf. ii 20, 46 'pueri ferunt gloria ducti.'

Graeci: attributive to *homines*.

captus: Cic. refers to the Greeks of his own day. The Greeks were intellectual, but Cic. may regard their wisdom as defective, and use *ut* here with a restrictive implication. See n. on i 8, 15. So Mo. and Hei. The phrase, however, could mean 'wise enough, as might be expected from their national characteristics.' For *captus* cf. Caes. B. G. iv 3, 3 'Vbii quorum fuit ciuitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum' (a limitation); Ter. Ad. iii 4, 34 'hic Geta praeterea, ut captus seruorum est, non malus neque iners' (also a limitation).

hominum: i.e. *horum hominum*, cf. ii 21, 49 'uide quid homini tribuam.'

humane: ἀνθρωπίνως, 'in a moderate spirit,' as what may be expected in the human lot; cf. iii 16, 34 'humana humane ferenda.' Küh. compares Plutarch Cons. ad Apollon. p. 118 'πείθοντες τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ βίου συμπτώματα κοινῶς φέρειν καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀνθρωπίνως,' Menander p. 269 (Meineke) 'ἀνθρωπίνως χρὴ τὰς τύχας φέρειν, ξένε.'

Cimbri et Celtiberi: Dav. quotes Val. Max. ii 6, 11—a passage which assigns a different motive for the lamentation of these people under disease—'alacris et fortis Cimbrorum et Celtiberorum (philosophia) qui in acie gaudio exsultabant, *tamquam gloriose et feliciter uita excessuri*, lamentabantur in morbo, *quasi turpiter et miserabiliter perituri*.'

§ **66. cum uideas...debeas**: for these subjunctives of the 2nd person cf. i 6, 12 n. on 'cum fueris': i 38, 91 n. on 'agas' and Madv. § 370.

in eo persequendo: in following out *the object* of their zeal or opinion. For this ref. of a pron. to an antecedent implied but not directly expressed, cf. i 2, 4 n. on 'discebantque *id* omnes.'

debeas existimare aut non esse malum dolorem aut, etiam si, quidquid asperum alienumque natura sit, id appellari placeat malum, tantulum tamen esse, ut a uirtute ita obruatur, ut nusquam appareat. quae meditare, quaeso, dies et noctes. latius enim manabit haec ratio et aliquanto maiorem locum quam de uno dolore occupabit. nam si omnia fugiendae turpitudinis adipiscendaeque honestatis causa faciemus, non modo stimulos doloris, sed etiam fulmina fortunae contemnamus licebit, praesertim cum paratum sit illud ex hesterna disputatione perfugium.

67. ut enim, si cui nauiganti, praedones <si> insequantur, deus

17. debeas R 1 2 6 10 G 1 3 4 B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 13 L 1 4 W 2 M 1 D II J O 1–6 8 10–12. debeas V. debetis O 7. debes W 1 M 2 G 2 O 9. 18. alienumque natura R 1 2 10 16 G 1–3 B K P S E 1 2 13 L W 2 M 1 J O 3 4 8. alienumque natura V O 10. alienumque natu II. alienumque a natura W 1 M 2 R 6 G 4 B 3 D C O 1 2 5 6 9 11 12. *omittit* O 7. 19. tantulum R 1 2 6 10 16 17 V G 1 3 4 B K P S E 1 2 L 1 4 D II J O 1 3 4 7–9. tantillum G 2 B 3 E 8 O 2 5 6 10–12. tant7lum W 2 (*sic*). 24. contemnamus R B E. contem/namus S p *post* em *eraso*. contempnamus G P L. contempnamus V (e) *al. atr. superscr.*

§ **67**, 26. nauiganti praedones R 1 2 9 10 17 V G 1–4 B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 5 8 13 L II J O 1–6 8 10–12. nauiganti ^ predones R 16 *marg.* quem. nauiganti quem predones W 1 R 6. si quem nauigantem praedones D C O 7 ed. H. si cum nauigantem O 9. si cum nauiganti E 7. || si *post* praedones *omittunt* R 1 2 9 10 17 V G 1–4 B 1 3 P S E 1 2 5 8 13 L W 2 M 1 2 D C II J O 1–8 10–12 *ceteri, quod sciam.* || deus qui V G B K E 1 5 L W 2 R 9 J O 11. deus qui (s) R *alio atram. superscr.* deus, (ꝙ) qui P *alio atram. superscr.* deus que O 1. deus q3 S *marg.* quē. deus quis W 1 R 6 G 4 E 7 8 O 8 9. deus q3 qui R 2 10 G 3 (*non ut Küh. adfirmat*) E 13 O 3 4 7. deus q3 qui (s) O 10. deusque quis M 2 G 2 B 3 E 2 L 4 D C II O 2 5 6 12.

non esse malum, as the Stoics, **aut... tantulum...**, as the Peripatetics held, cf. ii 18, 42. Hei.

alienumque natura: the abl. with *alienus* is used by Cic. both with and without *a*.

aliquanto: abl. of measure, 'by a good deal.' This is the usual meaning of *aliquantum*, though its only *inherent* meaning is 'a *definite* quantity.' Cf. i 2, 4 n. on 'aliquot.'

perfugium: cf. i 49, 118–9 'portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus! quo utinam uelis passis peruehi liceat!' For views, especially those of the Stoics, with regard to suicide cf. i 30, 74 n. Hei. quotes Fin. iii 18, 60 'in quo enim plura sunt, quae secundum naturam sunt, huius officium est in uita manere; in quo autem aut sunt plura contraria aut fore uidentur, huius officium est e uita excedere.' Cf. also v 40, 117, quoted below.

§ **67. praedones si insequantur**: I prefer, with Mo. Bai. Sff. Hei. TS. Ml. Schiche, to adopt the emendation of Wopkens and insert *si* after *praedones*, where it would most easily fall out, rather than with Küh. to insert it before *praedones*. Küh. objects that there is no reason why *praedones* should be emphasized by being placed before *si*, but I think that the effect is rather to make the second *si* less obtrusive than to emphasize *praedones*. For the occurrence of a second *si*-clause dependent on a *si*-clause Wopkens (*Lectt. Tull.* p. 94) quotes Ac. i 2, 4 'si qui... tenerentur, si essent...' where Reid gives other instances; Hand adds Fam. i 9, 13; cf. also Fin. ii 34, 112 'ut si Xerxes, cum...si, cum...uenisset,' and Madv.'s n. and numerous exx.

deus qui: for *qui* after *si* cf. Reid on Ac. ii 19, 61; ii 25, 81.

qui dixerit: 'Eice te naui; praesto est, qui excipiat, uel delphinus, ut Arionem Methymnaeum, uel equi Pelopis illi Neptunii, qui per undas currus suspensos rapuisse dicuntur, excipient te et, quo uelis, perferent,' omnem omittat timorem, sic urgentibus asperis et odiosis doloribus, si tanti sint ut ferendi non sint, quo sit confugiendum tu uides.

27. eice R 1 2 9 10 16 V G 1–3 B P E 1 2 7 8 13 L W 2 M 2 O 1 7 8 11. eÿce S *at* ÿ *h.e* ij *in unius litterae spatio conclusis*. eiṣce O 5. eicite K C. eÿce O 9. eiice M 1 R 6 G 4 E 5 Π O 2 6. eijce W 1 B 3 J O 3 4 10 12. eÿcite E 5. || te naui R 1 7 V G 1 3 4 B 1 3 P E 1 2 5 M 1 2 Π J O 1 2 5 6 8–12. te nam W 2 R 9. te de naui L S W 1 R 6 10 16 E 13 O 3 4. te e naui R 2 5 E 3 8 D C. te ex naui G 2. ex naui (te *omisso*) O 7. 28. metymnęum R P. metymneum V. metymnaeum G. || ille R 1 2 10 16 G 1 3 B K P S E L W 2. illė V. *omittit* W 1. illi R 17 G 2 D C O 3 4. || neptunii R G K P S E L D C *alii*. neptunni W 1 O 3. netupni W 2. neptuni V R 6 G 4 B 3 O 5. 29. excipient G K P. excipiant V. 30. perferent V G K P. perferant S. || omittas R 1 9 L 1 4 G 2 4 B 3 E 2 5 W 1 M 1 2 O 1–4 6–12. omitas (t *supra*) O 5. omitas G. omittas (t *supra*) V. omittat Π *at* t *post* a *in litura*. omittā W 2. omittamus B S E 1 13 R 2 10 16 G 3 D C. || urguentibus R u *fort. ead. manu notato*. urguentibus V G O 9. urgentibus B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 L 1 4 R 2 6 10 16 17 G 4 W 1 2 M 1 2 D C Π O 1 3–8 11 12. ingentibus O 2 10. ungentibus (r *supra*) J. uigentibus G 3. 31. si tanti non sint R 1 2 6 10 16 17 V G 1–3 Gr B 1 3 K P S E 1 2 8 13 L W 2 M 1 2 D C Π J O 1–6 8 10 12. si tanti non s̄t G 4. si tanti non sit O 11. si tanti sint W 1 (*non* tanto *ut adfirmat Küh.*) O 7 9. ut ferendi non sint W 1 G 3 O 8 9. *omittit* O 7. sint *post* quo R 1 2 10 B K E L G 3. sint V n *eod. atram. notato*. sint G *litt. inter* n *et* t *erasa*. sit S *litt. post* i *erasa*. || quoḍ fugiendum (*fit con* *supra*) P. || sīt G 2. sit R 6 G 4 B 3 E 2 13 D Π J O 3 5. 32. tu uides W 2 J ed. H. ut uides R 1 2 10 G B K E L. ụṭ uides V. ụt uides P. ut ū uides G 3. uides W 1 M 1 2 R 6 17 G 2 4 B 3 E 2 13 L 4 D C O 1–8 10–12. iam nunc uides O 9.

eice te naui: cf. Phil. ii 18, 45 'quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit'; p. Mil. 32, 87 'multos sedibus ac fortunis eiecerat'; Caes. B. G. iv 7, 3 'eiectos domo'; Sall. Iug. 14 'eis finibus eiectus sum.' The simple abl. is rare, but it is not, as TS. supposes, limited to cases where the verb is used in a metaphorical sense.

Arionem: the story is well known from Herod. i 23–4; Ovid Fasti ii 83—116; Aulius Gellius N.A. xvi 19.

equi Pelopis...Neptunii: an oracle had informed Oenomaus, king of Pisa in Elis, that his son-in-law would kill him. In consequence he caused all suitors for the hand of his daughter Hippodameia to compete with him in a chariot-race and slew those whom he defeated. Pelops won Hippodameia by means of winged horses and a golden car which Neptune gave him, Pindar, Olymp. i 86, 87 τὸν μὲν ἀγάλλων θεὸς ἔδωκεν δίφρον τε χρύσεον πτεροῖσίν τ' ἀκάμαντας ἵππους. The story that Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, was induced to take out the linch-pins of Oenomaus' car is in some accounts a detail, in others an alternative to the version given above, cf. Soph. El. 509.

per undas...rapuisse: evidently a quotation from a lost play. Ribb. *Sc. R. Poesis Frag.* 1 p. 264 thinks the words may have been part of a line in the Oenomaus of Accius, which he restores thus—*rapiunt per undas currus suspensos equi*.

omittat: the subject being *ille cui deus hoc dixerit*, the third person is required by the sense. Some good MSS have *omittas*, others *omittamus*. The variation seems to shew that there was some obscurity or cause of error in the archetype and to exclude the supposition that Cic. himself lost the thread of his construction.

si tanti sint ut ferendi non sint: most MSS *si tanti non sint ut ferendi sint*. The

Haec fere hoc tempore putaui esse dicenda. sed tu fortasse in sententia permanes.

A. Minime uero, meque biduo duarum rerum, quas maxime timebam, spero liberatum metu.

M. Cras ergo ad clepsydram; sic enim diximus, sed tibi hoc uideo non posse deberi.

A. Ita prorsus, et illud quidem ante meridiem, hoc eodem tempore.

M. Sic faciemus tuisque optimis studiis obsequemur.

37. diximus B K S E 1–3 5 13 M 1 R 10 G 2 3 L 5 D C Π O 2 7 10 11. duximus (i *over* u) V. dicimus R 6 O 8. duximus R 1 9 17 G 1 4 P L 1 4 W 1 2 M 2 B 3 E 7 8 J O 1 3–6 9 12. || sed *ante* tibi R 1 2 6 10 16 17 V G 1–4 B 1 3 K P E 1 2 13 L W 1 2 M 1 2 D Π J O 1–10 12. set C. si O 11. et *non inueni*.. 41. optumis R B K E. obtumis V. optumis G *at* u *ex* i *mutato*. optimis L D.

conj. of Gulielmus *si tanti non sit ut ferendi sint* is adopted by Bent. Dav. Mo. Sff. and Küh. Madv. *Opusc. Acad. Alt.* pp. 187 sqq. thinks the meaning thus obtained defective and objects that Latin writers did not say, absolutely, *tanti est ut aliquid fieri debeat* but *hoc tanti est ut* (*propter id*) *aliquid fieri debeat.* Apart from this objection, surely, if *si tanti non sit* were the correct reading, ut *ferantur* should follow, not *ut ferendi sint.* A better reading is obtained by an equally slight departure from the best MSS if we read with W 1 and O 9 Manut. Lamb. Kl. Hei. TS. (*prob.* Wes.) Ml. and Schiche *si tanti sint ut ferendi non sint.* The meaning will then be the same as in v 40, 117 'sin forte (dolores) longinquitate producti uehementius tamen torquent quam ut causa sit cur ferantur (= *tam uehementer, ut ferendi non sint*) quid est tandem quod laboremus? portus enim praesto est.'

quo sit confugiendum: suicide is of course referred to, cf. v 40, 117; Diog. L. vii 130 *εὐλόγως τέ φασιν* (*οἱ Στωικοί*) *ἐξάξειν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βίου τὸν σοφόν...ἐὰν ἐν σκληροτέρᾳ γένηται ἀλγηδόνι ἢ πηρώσεσιν ἢ νόσοις ἀνιάτοις.* See also i 30, 74 n.

me spero liberatum: for the tense with *spero* cf. i 41, 97 n.

ad clepsydram: sc. *declamabimus.* The water-clock, often referred to by Demosthenes as used in Athenian courts to measure the time allotted to each speaker, was probably introduced into the Roman courts in consequence of a law of Pompey. It was also used to measure time in declamatory practice, cf. Or. iii 34, 138 'hunc non declamator aliqui ad clepsydram latrare docuerat,' and Wilkins' n.

diximus = *constituimus.* The line in Ter. And. i 1, 75 'placuit: despondi: hic nuptiis dictu'st dies,' quoted by Nonius for this meaning, is not parallel, but the usage seems a natural colloquialism, and the emendation of Sff. *sic animum induximus* is no improvement. No such agreement as that implied here has been definitely stated in the previous part of the T. D. but the practice is indicated and explained in ii 3, 9.

hoc: i.e. the continuation of the philosophic discussion in which they have just been engaged.

non posse deberi: i.e. 'cannot be withheld from you.'

eodem tempore: cf. ii 3, 9 'post meridiem in Academiam descendimus.'

EXCURSUS I.

ARISTOTLE'S STATEMENTS WITH REGARD TO THE DEITY, Αἰθήρ, Ψυχή AND Νοῦς.

[These remarks are not meant to exhaust the subjects to which they refer but merely to throw light upon some points which occur in the Tusculan Disputations.]

The deity is immaterial, see Arist. Met. xii (Λ) c. 6, and extracts in Ritter and Preller § 322 n.

He is outside the universe, Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II² p. 364, and note 6, but he is in contact with the outer circle of the *οὐρανός* (*ὁ πρῶτος οὐρανός*), Zeller p. 356 and note 2.

He is himself motionless, Zeller pp. 359 foll.; R. and P. § 323 and notes.

He is the cause of motion to the outer circle of the *οὐρανός*, the sphere of the fixed stars, which moves all else, R. and P. *ibid.*; Zeller pp. 373 foll.; each lower sphere being in immediate contact with the sphere next above it, Zeller p. 456 n. 2; and being moved by that sphere, and each higher sphere being more perfect than the next below it, in proportion as it is nearer to the first mover, R. and P. § 332 n.

This outer circle of the *οὐρανός*, which is moved by the deity, consists of *αἰθήρ*, which is described in de Caelo i 3, quoted in R. and P. § 331; see also Zeller pp. 435–9.

This element is without beginning and indestructible, incapable of increase or diminution, unchangeable, and eternal, de Caelo i 3, 270 a 13, b 1, quoted in Zeller, p. 436 n. 2.

It is *πρῶτον στοιχεῖον* and *τὸ τῶν ἄστρων στοιχεῖον*, Zeller p. 437 n. 7.

It is neither light nor heavy, de Caelo i 3. For that which is light moves from the centre and that which is heavy moves towards the centre, but *αἰθήρ* moves in a circle.

It is *ἡ πρώτη οὐσία τῶν σωμάτων, τὸ πρῶτον σῶμα*, and very different (*ἕτερόν τι*) from the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, de Caelo i 3, 270 b. It is *οὐσία θειοτέρα καὶ προτέρα τούτων ἁπάντων*, cf. Zeller p. 473 n. 7.

The *αἰθήρ* is material, since it revolves, cf. Met. xii 2, 1069 b 24 *πάντα δ' ὕλην ἔχει ὅσα μεταβάλλει...καὶ τῶν ἀιδίων ὅσα μὴ γεννητά, κινητὰ δὲ φορᾷ, ἀλλ' οὐ γεννητήν, ἀλλὰ πόθεν ποῖ.* But this is a very different kind of material from that of the four elements, which change and pass into one another and act upon one another, see Zeller p. 437 n. 7. Cf. Phys. ii 2, 194 b *ἔτι τῶν πρός τι ἡ ὕλη· ἄλλῳ γὰρ εἴδει ἄλλο ὕλη.* Hence many scholars have denied that A.'s *αἰθήρ* was material, see Zeller, note on pp. 436–7.

Soul (*Ψυχή*) belongs to all living bodies, this term including plants as well as animals. But soul has many faculties and plants possess only the lower faculties contained in the nutritive soul (*τὸ θρεπτικόν*). Animals possess all these and also the faculties of the sentient soul (*τὸ αἰσθητικόν*). The possession of each higher faculty involves the possession of all the lower faculties. Man possesses, in addition to all lower faculties, Reason (*νοῦς*); R. and P. § 336 and notes. The soul, whatever faculties it may possess, is related to the body as form to matter. It is not *σῶμα*, but it cannot be without *σῶμα*. Cf. de An. ii 2, 13 in R. and P. § 335.

The soul is not moved and is not self-moving, de An. i 3 §§ 1—21.

In man the faculty of thinking upon objects of sense is lower than the faculty of thinking upon objects of thought. This latter (*νοῦς*) alone may be *χωριστός*, Zeller

p. 593 n. 6. With the lower faculties of Soul, which are necessarily connected with some bodily organ, through which they work, there is no difficulty, but the same cannot be said of νοῦς, which has no connexion with the body. (See de An. ii 2, 413 b 24 in Zeller p. 568 note 2.)

The germ of the soul of plants is in the seed. With regard to living beings in which the sexes are distinct Aristotle's view is given in Gen. An. ii 3, 736 b 28. The germ of the ψυχή belongs to the male, that of the body to the female. (See citations from Gen. An. in Zeller p. 525 notes 3 and 4.) It is the animal warmth which makes γόνιμα εἶναι τὰ σώματα. The more animal warmth the more perfect is the soul, R. and P. § 333. The germ of that portion of the soul which is χωριστὸν σώματος and the germ of that portion which is ἀχώριστον are both generated together (see Gen. An. ii 3 referred to above), yet Aristotle says in the same place λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν μόνον **θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι** καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον. Hence scholars like Trendelenburg (on de An. iii 5, 2 p. 496) have asserted that 'ita mens sola diuinitus in fetum intrat,' and R. and P. make a similar statement, § 337 note d, and Kampe (in Zeller p. 569 n. 3) claims for νοῦς a substratum consisting of αἰθήρ.

Yet, if the opinions of these scholars can be inferred from Aristotle's statements, they are nevertheless in conflict with principles which are an integral part of Aristotle's system. I think it more correct to say that Aristotle has left difficulties unsolved or untouched rather than that he has made conflicting statements. Aristotle has himself (Gen. An. ii 3, 736 b 5 quoted in Zeller p. 595 n. 3), as pointed out by Brentano, only professed to deal κατὰ δύναμιν...καὶ καθόσον ἐνδέχεται with these questions concerning the νοῦς.

Zeller, p. 594, shews the difficulties which beset the assumption that νοῦς comes, by the operation of natural causes, either from the αἰθήρ or from the deity, or is introduced by the deity by a creative act. For, since the αἰθήρ is incapable of increase or diminution, and its eternal circular motion can never, without violence, change into the centripetal or centrifugal rectilinear motion of the four so-called elements, how could the νοῦς pass from the αἰθήρ to earth? The same argument applies with even greater force to the theory that the νοῦς proceeds, by the operation of natural causes, directly from the deity. Again, the theory that the soul is introduced, in each instance, by a creative act of the deity is opposed to Aristotle's distinct assertion that the deity does not actively interfere in mundane affairs.

Cicero's knowledge of Aristotle's philosophy must have been slight and incomplete as compared with that of the scholars above mentioned, and he may well have been misled by many of Aristotle's statements. Aristotle's treatment of the animal warmth is especially liable to mislead, and Zeller pp. 483–7 has much difficulty with this point. In Gen. An. (referred to above) the animal warmth is placed exactly where the ψυχή, including the νοῦς, is placed; and it is declared to be ἀνάλογον τῷ τῶν ἄστρων στοιχείῳ i.e. to the αἰθήρ. It is true that Aristotle does not assert the animal warmth to be *identical* with αἰθήρ but only **ἀνάλογον**, but even Ritter and Preller do not seem to have observed the distinction, as they assert in their note on § 333 that Aristotle thinks that the fifth element is present in living things in the animal warmth.

What Aristotle means by ἀνάλογον may perhaps be inferred from Zeller's remarks on p. 423 and n. 1 there.

EXCURSUS II.

NOTE ON i 24, 56 foll.

Cicero, in this chapter, does not express himself clearly. In Cato M. 21, 78 he successively sets forth two arguments for the immortality of the soul: (*a*) the soul is not composite and therefore cannot be broken up and perish (for this argument cf. also T.D. i 29, 71); (*b*) the power of ἀνάμνησις is a proof that the soul existed before entering the body, and therefore that it will exist after it quits the body. In N.D. ii 12, 33 Cicero works out, as a proof of the divine existence, a third argument. The argument there is as follows: there is a gradual ascent from vegetable life to animal life, from animal life to human life; the last mentioned being distinguished by the possession of *ratio*, but not *ratio recta constansque*. But, as all things strive after perfection and as universal nature can attain to perfection, there is a divine being who possesses *ratio recta constansque*. Cf. Sext. Empir. adu. Math. ix 88.

Cic. seems to commence the chapter with the first argument before his mind: he could understand how *sanguis*, *bilis* etc. are compounded (and therefore how they may be broken up); but with regard to the soul he seems about to say that he fails to see how it, being *simplex*, could be broken up, when suddenly he thinks of Plato's ψυχὴ ἄλογος and so drifts into the argument from the Scale of Existence, the third referred to above.

For this argument see especially a very complete note in Mayor on N.D. ii 12, 33. According to the Stoics all things in nature are divided into four classes: the class of inorganic objects, held together by ψιλὴ ἕξις, 'the unifying principle in organic nature' (Mayor), e.g. λίθοι καὶ ξύλα; the class of plants, held together by φύσις, the principle of growth (*natura* in our passage); the class of the lower animals, held together by a soul (irrational); and the class of rational beings. Cf. Sext. Emp. adu. Math. ix 81 quoted by Zeller, *Stoics, etc.* p. 196. The history of this argument is well traced by Mayor.

This argument, which in N.D. ii 12, 33 was employed to prove the divine existence, is also available to prove the immortality of the soul, for the soul of man is akin to the soul of the universe, which is the Deity. This view is Aristotelian, see Zeller II^2 p. 359 and n. 5. For a similar application of a proof of the divine existence to prove the immortality of the soul cf. T.D. i 13, 30 *init.*

Since the argument from the Scale of Existence depends upon the pre-eminence of the mental powers possessed by man, Cic. further drifts from it into a fourth argument, viz. that powers so pre-eminent must belong to something immortal. This argument is also found in the passage in Cato M. 21, 78 *sic sentio cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inuenta, non posse eam naturam quae res eas contineat esse mortalem.* Note that in our passage the words *habet* primum *memoriam* imply that the mention of other faculties is to follow. These follow in 25, 61 *quid? illa uis.* In considering Cicero's treatment of these arguments it is to be borne in mind that Cic. does not write this book in order to prove the immortality of the soul. His position is that (*a*) if the soul is immortal death is to be despised, and there are arguments for its immortality, (*b*) even if the soul perishes there is no evil in death, cf. i 33, 81. And it must be admitted that Cic. does not state any of his arguments for the immortality of the soul with much force of conviction.

The argument based upon the fact that the soul is *simplex* was the less convincing

since Cic. knew that, though Plato employed it in the Phaedo (78 c), he elsewhere made the soul *triplex* (cf. 10, 20 n.).

The argument from ἀνάμνησις requires the assumption that pre-existence is a proof of immortality (for which assumption cf. Lactantius iii 18 *non putauerant aliter fieri posse ut supersint animae post mortem nisi uideantur fuisse ante corpora*). This may perhaps to some extent account for the fact that though Cic. states the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις he does so with so little sympathy that his words, taken literally, represent the boy to have answered the questions on geometry because they were very easy, not because he possessed ἀνάμνησις. And he confuses ἀνάμνησις with μνήμη, using the same word (*memoria*) for both; and when he has got rid of ἀνάμνησις he takes up feats of memory as if these were something higher (cf. § 59 *maiore etiam quodam modo*) and afforded stronger proof of his point. The argument from the Scale of Existence is treated in the same desultory manner. It seems plainly to be implied, for otherwise the reference to the lower faculties does not contribute anything to the general argument, since there was no question of the immortality of the vital principle of plants, or of the ψυχὴ ἄλογος of animals, involved in the discussion. The appetites and aversions attributed in this section to the *animus* belong to the ψυχὴ ἄλογος of Plato and, so far as they are not under the control of reason, they are not a part of the Stoic ψυχή. In N.D. ii 11, 29 they are more correctly referred to: 'habere in se aliquem principatum ut in homine mentem, *in belua quiddam simile mentis, unde oriantur rerum appetitus*.' For the Stoic soul with its dominant part, reason, and its seven derivative powers, see 18, 42 n. on *siue dissipantur*. The Stoic view with regard to the emotions and desires is given in Diog. L. vii 111 foll. They are κρίσεις, judgments or opinions formed by the mind: λύπη is an irrational contraction of the mind; φόβος is expectation of evil; ἐπιθυμία is an ἄλογος ὄρεξις, and so on. They have therefore no separate seat and do not proceed from a special faculty, but are merely wrong decisions of the imperfect soul, cf. T.D. iv 6, 11 foll. See also notes to R. and P. § 410.

INDEX.

The Arabic numerals refer to sections.

A. and M. I 9
a (ab) I 40, II 3, 7
abbreviation misunderstood I 10
abditus (constr.) II 60
ablative, of cause II 4, 52; comitative use of I 10, 60, 85, 96, 116, II 22, 38; of means I 107; person as means I 1; measure I 3, 9, 29, 97, II 66; place I 68, 116
abstract nouns (plural) I 36
absurdus II 12
Academia (at Tusculum), II 9
Academy (New) I 8, 17, 40, II 5, 9
accedit ut)(accedit quod I 43
accipere II 34
Accius I 105, Atreus II 13, Epigoni II 60; ? Meleager II 36; Philocteta I 68, II 19, 23, ?II 33
accusative in apposition to sentence I 102;)(abl. I 4; cognate II 56; of extent, I 99, II 47; from Greek nouns I 10; omitted before infin. I 60, II 40
acerbus I 93
Acheruns (ă) I 37, 48
ad I 3, 7, 40, 90, II 15
ad- (force of prefix) adsequi I 103; adamare II 26; adseruire II 56; adligare)(obligare II 39
addictus II 5
adesse I 46
adfectio II 43
adferre I 6, 70
adfirmare I 60
adgnoscere I 15, 58 (*bis*)
adjective instead of dependent genitive II 62; gender of predicate II 31; substantival I 9, 102, II 5; two with one noun II 21
adoptatio I 31
adseruare II 22
adseruire II 56
adspectus I 73
aduentare I 95
adulare II 24
adulescentes I 94
Aelianum (Ius) I 18
aemulari I 44
Aeschylus II 23
aestimo (nihil) I 15
aetas I 93
aeternitas I 55, 81
agere, id I 46, 83, 91; haec I 119; nihil II 1, 61
Alcidamas I 116
aliquando I 1, 105
aliquantum II 66
aliquid I 20, 45; quidquam I 88
aliquis)(aliqui I 23, 82
aliquot I 4
aliunde I 53
amittere I 85, II 32
amor II 25
amplecti II 30
an I 4, 9, 39, 40 (following *num*), 87, II 41 (haud scio an), 42
anacolouthon I 30 (*bis*), 38–9, 40, 68–70, 73 (*bis*), 84, 97, II 3, 16, 17, 33, 37
Anaxagoras I 104
Anaxarchus II 52
anima I 19, 42
animalis I 40 (*bis*)
animans I 21
animus II 53;)(anima I 21, 91; its component elements I 19, 20, 56; divine I 65, 76; its seat I 67, 70; implying feeling I 41
anquiro II 25
ante I 4
antecedent merely implied I 4, II 66
anteire with dative I 5
ἀντίχθων I 68
antithesis I 4, 6, 71, II 16, 65
Antonius, M. I 10, II 57
anxius (active) II 25
'Αποκαρτερῶν I 84

Appius Claudius I 37
aptus I 87
arbos I 56
Archimedes I 63
argumentum a minore I 31
Arion II 67
Aristippus II 15
Aristo II 15
Aristotle I 7, 22, 65, 70, 80, 94, II 9
Aristoxenus I 20, 41, 51
arripere I 110
arteries I 46
assonance I 85
asyndeton I 7, 20, 31, 64, 110, 113, II 21, 37, 58
athletes, training of II 40
atoms I 22, 42, II 45
atque (ac) I 71, 95, II 48
atqui)(atquin II 43
attraction, of case I 56, II 37; of subject to gender of predicate I 111; of mood or tense I 1, 8, 9, 23, 30, 37, 41, 44, 46, 47, 88, 91, fails I 60; of number II 30; of *quis* and *quisque* into rel. clause I 7, 102; of relative I 1, 54, 84; from subord. to main clause I 56, II 37, 39; of verb of saying or thinking I 30, II 4
audire II 32, audio II 46
aut.. aut I 1, 110
aut)(uel I 54, II 58
autem I 3, 92, 104
Auerni lacus I 37

Ballista II 57
barbaricus I 85
bene II 44
bonus II 45
breuitas I 94
Brutus I 1, 7

Caelum (atmosphere) I 43, 60; (universe) I 54
Calanus II 52
Calatinus I 13, 110
Callimachus I 83
calx I 15
cantus I 4
capacitas I 61
Capena (porta) I 13
capite damnari I 50, 98
captus II 65
Carbo, C. Papirius I 5
cardinal virtues I 64, II 31
careo I 87, 88
carmen I 37
cascus I 27
Cato, the Censor, his *Origines* I 3, 101; his speeches I 3
Cato of Utica I 74
Caucasus II 52
cautus)(catus II 45
celeritas)(pernicitas and uelocitas I 43
centaurs I 90, II 20
centrum I 40
cerno I 46
Chaldaei I 95
Charmadas I 59
chiasmus I 5, 62, 80, 94, 118, II 11, 59
Chrysippus I 108
Cicero, his style of oratory II 3; his philosophic opinions II 4; his verse II 20; the Academics II 4; the Consolatio I 65, 76, 83; the Hortensius II 4
Cineas I 59
circumspectare I 73
citius II 46
clause depending on a substantive I 52
Cleanthes II 60
clepsydra II 67
clueo II 23
coagmentatus I 71
coepi)(coeptus sum I 29
cogere I 43; cogere ut I 15
cogitare ut I 32
cogitatio I 50, 51
commeminisse I 13
commutatio uitae I 27
comparatio compendiaria I 2
concedere (constr.) II 19
concilium)(consilium I 72
concinere I 106
concludere II 29; conclusiuncula II 42; conclusum I 78
concretio I 66; concretus I 42, 56, 71
concurrere I 88
condire I 108
conditional clause with complex apodosis I 63
condolescere I 41
confirmare I 116
confundere I 23
coniti II 47
consecratus II 5
consensus I 30, 35; consensus gentium I 26, 30
consequi)(sequi I 36, 91, 95, 96, 103
consessus I 37
consignatae notiones I 57
consolatio Crantoris I 115
constantia I 2, II 5
constare I 37; sibi I 9
constrictus II 5; constringere II 48
contemporary political allusions II 38, 41
contendere II 62; with ut and subj. I 111
contentio II 51, 55
contineri re I 1
continuare II 39
contractio (animi) I 90
contrast only implied I 58, I 71, II 4
contrasted clauses, coordination of I 31, II 39
contumacia I 71
conuincere I 11
copia I 7
cor I 18

Corinthian vases II 32
cornix I 77
corona I 10
corpora (elements) I 40, 47; corpuscula I 22
corpus I 20, 24
Crantor I 115
Crassus, L. I 10; M. I 12; Decoctor I 81
credo I 105; II 26
cubare II 61
cum, causal I 3, 88, II 3; with imperf. subj. I 4, ? 73, II 60; temporal with (a past) subj. I 1, 4, II 26, 57; temporal with condition implied I 98, 118; ='although' 'whereas' I 39, 71, 83, 117, II 46, 60
cum with its case conditional I 116
cumulare I 109; cumulus I 110
curiosus I 108
Cyrenaeus)(Cyrenaicus I 102

Dare=concedere II 28;)(dedere I 72; dare ut with subj. 78
dative of agent II 2, 10
debilis II 13
decedere II 61
decere)(debere I 32, II 8
decerno II 16
Decii I 89, II 59
declamitare causas I 7
decrepitus I 94
decretum II 11
decumbere II 41
decurrere I 15
dedocere)(deducere II 60
defensiones I 1
defluere I 62
Deianira II 20
deicere I 15; deici II 14
delectus)(dilectus I 45
Democritus)(Epicurus I 22, 82
denique)(demum I 29
descendere II 62
descriptiones I 38
deus)(dea I 113
di maiorum gentium I 29
Diagoras I 111
διαμαστίγωσις II 34
Dicaearchus I 21, 41, 51, 77
dictata II 26
dies (gender) I 93
differre II 35
dignus II 14
diminutives I 37, 86, II 42, 45
dimittere I 12
Dionysius II 26; of Heraclea II 60
disciplina I 1, 38, II 15
disertus I 10
dispicere I 45
disserere II 6
diuisus II 23
dius fidius I 74
doctus I 3, 5, II 23
dolor II 35
domesticus I 72
domini I 48
domui I 51
ductus)(inductus II 10
dudum I 76
dum I 101, II 17, 44
duo (acc.) I 110, 111

E)(A in MSS II 6, 45
e)(ex I 48
earth (as centre) I 40, 68; its shape I 68
ecfari (? passive in O.L.) II 39
ecferitas II 20
ecquid I 15, II 32
ediscere II 27
effectus II 3
efficere I 16, 23, 55, 57, 77
effingere I 61
ei)(ii I 67
eicere I 42; with abl. II 67;)(elicere II 56
elamentabilis II 57
eleganter I 55; elegantia II 6, 26
elements (four) I 22, 40, 42, 45; fifth I 22, 41, 65
ellipse I 10, 39, 41, 64, 65
elogium I 31
emori I 97
Empedocles I 97
emphasis ? misplaced II 14, 42; due to position I 11, 48, 52, 72, II 12 (*bis*), 30; due to repetition II 20
-en)(-em in acc. of Gk nouns in -es I 65
ἐνδελέχεια)(*ἐντελέχεια* I 22
Endymion I 92
enim, in MSS II 26; position of I 11, 66, 78; with ellipse I 11, 78
Ennius, date of I 3; quoted I 18, 28, 34, 48, 85, 105, 117, II 1, 38
ἔννοιαι I 57
ephors I 100
Epicharmus I 15
Epicureans, prose writers I 6, II 7, 17; referred to I 77, II 45
Epicurus, worship of I 48; valedictory letter of II 45
equidem)(quidem II 14
Erechtheus I 116
ergo I 4; (resuming) I 14
escendere I 71
esse I 12, 58; with pres. part. II 4
est, lurking in abbreviation ē I 58, 75; inserted I 41
et I 6, 92; trajected I 75; et...et when possible after a negative? I 32; et non I 13
et...que I 4, et)(que)(ac I 2, 95; et quidem I 119
etiam I 12
Euhemerism I 29
Euripides, Cresphontes I 115

Eurota (form) II 36
Eurystheus II 20
euitari I 85
exaggeratio II 64
exanclare I 118, II 20
excellere II 43
excetra II 22
excitare I 5
excors I 11, 18
existimare I 59
expression inaccurate II 43
exprimere I 65
exquisitius I 116
exsequi I 115
exspectare (constr.) II 17
exstare I 38

Fabius Pictor I 4
fabulam dare I 3
facere I 24
familia I 55
feminatus II 21
ferat)(foret II 37
fere I 3
fertilitas II 36
figura I 20, 56; *figura etymologica* I 94
finis II 3
flabilis I 66
fletus II 55
fluere II 52
fomenta II 59
forum II 3
fraus I 72
frequenter II 9
frustra I 21
Fuluius Nobilior I 3
fundere I 64, 107
future I 35, 53, 91, 105, 107, II 30, 35, 40; as imperative I 26
future perfect I 23, 30, 74, II 16, 26, 32, 42, 63; in or. obl. II 32

Ganymedes I 65
gender, neut. adj. referring back to masc. or fem. noun I 41
genitive I 114; from Gk proper nouns in -es I 98; of definition I 8, 34, 87, 109, II 7, 30; subjective I 5, 44, 52, II 35; of remoter object I 23, 27, 30, II 35
gentilis I 38
gerund I 53, 69, II 43, 63; gerund)(gerundive I 43
gerundive I 2, 72
gigno I 102
gladiators II 41
glomerare II 25
gloria I 91, II 46, 65
glosses (?) ejected or bracketed I 3, 7, 86, 88, 101
gradus II 58
Graecia (Magna illa) I 38
grammaticus II 12
Greek)(Latin II 35
Greek words, Latin form of II 22, 38; translation of II 47

Habere with abstract nouns I 119
harmonia I 41
haud scio an II 41
haurire I 86
Hectŏrem and Hectora I 105, II 39
Hegesias I 83
hendiadys I 1, II 6, 38
Hera, temple of I 113
Hercules I 28, II 19
hic)(ille I 117, II 49; hic)(is I 5, 66, 79
Hieronymus II 15
hilum I 10
his)(eis I 5
historia I 108
Homer I 65
homo II 39, 53
Hortensius I 59, II 4
humane II 65
humanus I 72, II 33
humatio I 102
Hydra II 22
Hyllus II 20
hypallage II 20

Iacere I 4, 5, II 32
iactare II 45
iam I, 2, 12, 50, 98, II 24
iambic octonarii I 106 (?), II 38
id, with loose reference I 4
ἰδέα I 58
idem II 52, 65
id est I 75
idoneus II 11
-ier I 105
igitur, resuming I 30, 70, 88, II 51; position of I 4, 11, 12, 32, II 45
ille I 6
imitari I 63, II 3
immortality of the soul, arguments for I 56, 118; Excursus II
imperfect)(present II 43;)(perfect I 4, 38, 72, 86;)(pluperf. (subj.) I 4, 27, 88, 89, 90
in I 94, 101, II 49; falling out after *m* I 92, 96, II 1; after *v* I 84; with final force I 97 (?)
inbuo I 14, 30
indicative, amid Or. Obl. I 1; in indirect question (O. L.) II 39; ind. perf.)(ind. fut. perf. and subj. perf. II 5, 27, 54, 58; indic.)(subj. I 5, 116, II 5, 12, 14, 30, 58, 62
inductio (animi) II 31
inepte I 11
infinitive, exclamatory II 21; in *-ier* I 69, 105; as substantive? I 65
inhaerere with abl. II 20
iniussu I 74

inligare I 63
inprimere I 61
inquam I 119; inquit I 93, II 29
inscribere nomen I 34
insitus I 57
institio I 62
intemperanter I 6
intentio I 20
inutile I 111
ipse I 49, 54, 65, 67, 73, II 11, 51
is)(hic I 66, 79, II 3
Isocrates I 7
iste)(ipse I 40
ita...ut II 5
ita fit ut II 16
itaque I 72, II 62
iudicare I 114
iudicium I 110
iunctio I 71
Ius Aelianum I 18; pontificium I 27
iustus I 74
Iuuentas I 65

Κέντρον I 40
κότταβος I 96

Laborare I 92
laqueatus I 85
lectulus II 18
lectum (as neut.) II 33
Leges XII Tabularum I 13, 18, II 55
Lemnos II 23
Leonidas I 101
lessus II 55
Leuctra I 110
leuis I 95
Lex Varia II 57
liber I 71
liberemur)(liberentur in MSS II 2
licet with acc. and infin. I 91
liquescere II 52
Litana I 89
loan-word much altered I 31, 118, II 22
locative I 51
loco II 26
locus I 57, 108
Lucani I 89
luctus II 39
lumen II 58
lustrare II 22
Lycurgus I 100

M final in O. L. II 38; m)(nt in MSS II 2
macte I 40
maeror)(dolor I 30
Magi I 108
mandare II 38
mathematici I 5, 40
maturitas I 68
Matuta I 28
maximae curae esse I 31
memoria = ἀνάμνησις I 57; = μνήμη I 59
Menoeceus I 116
mens = animus I 41
Metellus I 85
metonymy I 5
Metrodorus, of Lampsacus II 8, 17; of Scepsis I 59
middle voice I 53
migratio I 27, 98
mihi crede I 75
militia II 36
ministrare I 65
Minos II 34
miserabiliter I 96
molior I 16, 68
mollissimis)(molestissimis I 95
momenta I 40
mori I 15, 104
motus I 20, 67
multare I 50
munire I 32
munus I 70
mysteries I 28, 29, 98

Nancisci I 103
narras (male) I 10
natura ?sound I 59; capacity, property I 54; creation (created things) I 54; native power I 2;)(opinio II 53; οὐσία I 43, 54, 61, 62, 66, 70; principle of growth I 56; sentiens I 118; natura atque uis I 54, 66; as universal parent I 118
ne affirmative I 74
-ne, force of II 26, 53, 62
ne with ellipse I 41, II 42; ne concessive II 14
ne...quidem I 11, 65, 71; not...either I 12, 14, 53, 54, 82, 88
nec...ne...quidem II 56
nec opinantes I 94
νεκυία I 37
νεκυομαντεῖον)(νεκυομαντείαν I 37
neque...et I 7, 54
nequeo)(non queo II 24
nescio quo modo I 24, 32, 33, 77
neuter, of more general reference I 56, II 62
nihil)(quidquam with negative I 118
nimirum I 52, 55
nominalism I 62
nominative in apposition to sentence I 65, 107
non)(ne I 17;)(nonne I 17; ?omitted I 34
non modo...sed I 13
non modo...sed ne...quidem I 87; inverted I 92
non quia...sed I 1
non quo...sed II 64
non quod...sed II 56
non-distribution of qualifying words I 2, 62, 74, 84, II 65
nosce te ipsum I 52

nudus I 86, II 33
nullus I 11, 21, 51, 87, 91, 94
num...an I 40
num...non)(num ne I 77
number, Pythagorean I 38
numbers rounded off I 3
numerals in MSS I 114
numine)(munere I 115
nutus I 40

Obducere I 96
obire I 109
obtinere I 26
occidere)(accidere I 85
occumbere I 102
octonarii I 106
oculus (in oculis esse) II 63
omittamus)(omittam II 58
omnino I 1, II 1, 62
omnis I 95, 105; omnis)(omni in MSS I 119
opifex I 34
opinio II 52, 63
opinor I 92
oportet I 12
optabilis I 116
optare II 30
optimus I 6, II 44, 45
oratio)(ratio I 73, 112
oratorius I 6
orators I 5
oratory, styles of II 3
order of words I 30, 33, 72
oxymoron II 1

Pacare)(placare II 22
Pacuuius, ? Iliona II 44; Niptra II 48
Palamedes I 98
Panaetius I 42, 79
pangere I 34
parenthesis I 40, 68, 88, II 3
Parmenides I 68
paronomasia I 95, 102
Parrhasius I 4
participle with general ref. I 91, 117
particles of inference II 62
partus II 20
Patricoles II 38
patritus I 45
Paullus I 89
per- (prefix carried on) II 30
percipere I 17
peregrinatio I 98
perfect, contracted)(uncontracted I 114;)(imperfect I 4, 38, 72; perfect and pluperf. forms I 114
perfectos)(professos II 12
perferant)(transferant II 5
pergere II 21
perhibere I 28
perinde)(proinde I 86, 94
Peripatetic view II 66
pestis II 21, 39
petesso II 62
Phalaris II 17
Phidias I 34
Philo II 9, 26
Philoctetes II 19
philosophia I 1
Pherecydes I 38
pius II 20
plane II 44
planets I 63
Plato, Apologia I 97; Meno I 57; Phaedo I 24, 57, 72, 73, 74, 79, 84, 102; Phaedrus I 53; Timaeus I 63, 64; views I 70; visits to Italy I 39
plebeii philosophi I 55
ploratus II 21
plumbeus I 71
plural, of abstract nouns I 36, 80; changing from sing. or uice uersa I 12, 40, 41, 42, 72, II 54, ? 58; force of I 116, 117; invidious I 3, 4; *maiestaticus* II 21
poeniri I 107
Polyclitus I 4
Pompey I 86, II 61
pondus I 40
ponere I 7
portenta I 11
Posidonius II 61
positive supplied from negative II 16
possem)(possum in MSS I 84, 88, 94, II 44, 45
post adverbial I 97
potest = fieri potest I 23, 77
potestas I 74
potior with acc. I 90
potius quam with subj. II 52
praebibere I 96
praecordia I 96
praegressio I 62
praesens I 28
praeter I 114
praeteritio I 2
premere I 88; (uerbo) I 13
preposition, with its case, attributive I 48, 51, II 7, 15; ? attrib. or conditional I 116; position of I 102, II 15; repeated I 20, 24, 27, ? 118; not repeated I 93, 94, 102, 111
present I 42, 57, 83, 108, II 2, 19, 23; of attempt I 92;)(future II 46;)(perfect I 3, 45, II 2, 49, 51; pres. subj. in Or. Obl. I 80
pressus (part.) I 106; (subst.) II 54
primum, without deinde-clause I 30, 57
primus I 81
princeps I 47
principatus I 20
principes I 34, 101
principium I 54
prius (= potius) I 16
probabilia I 47
προκοπή II 47
pronuntiatum I 14

properare I 76
proprius with gen. II 43
prorsus I 11
prosequi II 61
προσωποποιία II 45
protasis implied in sine-clause I 32
proverbs I 4, II 11
providence I 118
prudentia I 7
psychomantium I 115
publice I 86; publicus I 108
pudens II 50
pugnantia I 13
pulcher I 96
punctum II 62
purpurati I 102
putesco)(putresco I 102
Pyrrho II 15
Pythagoras I 20, 38, 49, 62, 68, 118
Pythius Apollo I 17

Quae)(quam in MSS I 109, 110
quam after plus II 37
quamquam I 109, II 47; ='and yet' I 3
quamuis I 47, II 38
quantity in O. L. I 105, II 38
quasi I 27, 46, 57, 68, 80, II 11, 61, 64; with subjunctive I 50, 80, 85, 86, 92; quasi uero I 50, 85, 92
-que I 4, 71, 80, 82, 95, 98, 104, 118, II 16
qui)(quis II 19, 28, 67
quia)(quod I 42
quidam I 27, 46, 64, 66, 95, II 10 (*bis*), 11, 16, 52, 64
quidem I 6, 67, 80, 83, 99, 116, 119, II 5, 15, 17, 30, 34;)(equidem in MSS II 14
quid dicam I 24
quid enim I 60
quid loquar I 2
quid tum II 26
quin I 78
quinta natura I 22, 41, 65
quisquam I 6, 13
quo)(cum in MSS II 57
quo—cumque (tmesis of) II 15
quod)(quo)(quoniam in MSS I 59, 82, 83, 84
quotations I 45, 48
quotus II 11

Ratio I 1, 23, 29, 53, 109, II 11, 42, 65;)(oratio I 73
ratione et uia II 6
re- in composition II 29
receptus I 3
recipere=se recipere I 107; recipere ferrum II 41
recognoscere I 57
referre I 37, 46
reflare I 119
relative, attracted I 54, 84; omitted in second clause II 61; with condition implied I 54
religio I 27
reor I 94
reperire)(inuenire I 114
res I 116
respondere II 32
retractare I 76
rigidus I 37
rime I 85
rursum I 40
rusticanus II 53

S final disregarded in O. L. scansion I 10, 11, 23, 36, 38, 41, 49
Salaminem)(Salamina I 110
Samnis II 41
sancire I 27
sapiens I 17
scholae I 7, 83, 113, II 26
scilicet II 27
Scipio (Corculum) I 18; Scipiones I 89; tombs of I 13
se omitted II 40
se)(sc.=scilicet in MSS II 16
secundus II 4
sed, with ellipse I 34; resuming II 3, 32, 40;)(et in MSS I 82;)(si in MSS II 1
seges II 13
self-devotions I 89, 116
senectus I 94
senex I 34
sensations of sight etc. I 46
sententiae I 64, II 3
septenarii I 106
sepultura I 102
sequence I 1, 5, 7 (*bis*), 14, 49, 100, 107, 112, II 4, 48
sequi II 28
serere rem publicam I 31
seuocare I 38, 72, 75
si ?fallen out after se II 60; before se I 92; before si I 97
si-clause, with compression I 116; dependent on si-clause II 67
si iam I 50
si quidem I 3
sic)(si in MSS I 3
significare II 46
Silenus I 114
simile II 13
similis, gen.)(dat. with I 34
Simonides I 59, 101
sin I 119
sine with its case in conditional clause I 32, 48, 63
sis II 42
situs I 41
siue II 51; siue...sin I 97
Socrates I 8, 71, 98, 99; Socratici II 8
Solon I 117
solstitium I 94

Somnium Scipionis I 53
soul, what it is I 19, 20, 41, 42, 60; of what composed I 19, 40, II 45; where situated I 18, 19, 41, 70; whence derived I 43; heats the body I 42; views of Plato I 20, 24, 80, II 47; can it perish? I 18, 79; Stoic view as to immortality I 42, 77. See also under heading 'immortality'
Spartan military music II 37
Spartiatae I 102, II 36
species II 54
specimen I 32
spectare I 31
sperare with perf. inf. II 67
spes with pres. inf. I 97
sphaera of Archimedes I 63
spinosum (disserendi genus) I 16
spirabilis I 40, 42, 70
spurcus II 41
Statius, Caecilius, quoted I 31
status)(statutus in MSS I 113
stereotyped expressions I 103
Stoic syllogisms II 60, 66; views II 15, 26, 30, 32, 42, 47, 60 (*bis*), 66; ἡγεμονικόν I 80
studiosus I 5
subject accus. omitted I 60; subject to be inferred from context I 91, 92, 111, 117; subject gradually changed I 116
subjunctive, denoting a quality or class I 12, 13, 14, 24, 60, 80, 85, 93, 106, 118, 119, II 1, 3, 12, 29; due to attraction, see under 'attraction'; concessive I 87, II 14; conditioned by hypothesis I 98; with conditional relative I 54, 87, 98; consecutive I 93; in cum-clauses, see under 'cum'; final I 1, 99, II 17; 2nd pers. with indef. subject I 12, 88, II 66; of indirect question I 31, II 47; of limitation I 38 (I 1); potential I 70, 109, II 57; potential of the past ?I 90; with potius quam II 52; with relative giving reason I 12, 29, 41, 65, 78, 91, 100, 103, 107, II 19; of reported speech or thought I 1, 7, 11, 13, 25, (?29), 30, 49, 80, 90, 92, 102, 114, II 9, 60; imperf.)(pluperf. I 27; perf. in prohibitions I 98
sublime I 40, 102; sublimus II 19
subtiliter I 41, 55, 88
suicide I 74, II 66, 67
superbus I 16
superiore e loco I 117
suscensere I 99
suscipere I 78
suus)(summus in MSS I 109
swans singing I 73
Synephebi I 31
synizesis II 13
Syrius)(Syrus I 38

Taeterrimus)(deterrimus in MSS I 96
tamen II 61, 64
tamquam I 88, II 55
tantum...quantum I 29, II 44
tantum ?tantulum II 58
temperare I 2
temperatio I 21, 68
templum I 48
tempora I 1, II 5
tempus est with infin. I 99
tene (exclamatory) I 98
tenere ut)(tenere with infin. I 100
Terina I 115
terror II 20
testamenta I 31
theatrum I 106, II 64
Theodectes I 59
Theodorus I 102
Titans II 23
towers of silence I 108
transition from act. to passive II 37; from or. obl. to or. recta II 62
tributus II 47
Triptolemus I 98
tristis II 20
tropaeum I 110
Tullia I 65, 84. See also under 'Consolatio'
tum)(tamen in MSS II 11;)(tunc I 113; force of I 71
tum denique)(tum demum I 29

Vacare II 64
uadere I 97
uaecors II 20
uarices II 35
ubique I 35
uel I 54, II 33, 46, ?62;)(aut I 54, II 58
uelle I 42, 57, 79, 92, II 31
uelocitas)(celeritas I 43
uelut II 2
uerbi causa I 12
uero I 93, 98, II 13, 26, 39; uero)(uiro in MSS II 50
uersura I 100
uertices II 21
uerum, adj. or conjunction? I 110
ueteres I 20
uidero I 23, II 42
uigere I 116, II 4
uir II 39, 53
uirtus I 91
uiscera II 19, 20, 34
uisere I 44, II 61
uix I 37
ullus, substantival I 2
umbratilis II 27
ungulis (omnibus) II 56
unus I 17, 27, II 43, 64
uolgo I 20, 86, 111
uolito per ora I 34
urere II 40

usu uenire I 73
usura I 77, 93
ut, concessive I 16, 23, 49; conditional in effect I 98; consecutive I 100, II 65; with ellipse I 64, 91, II 42, 45; (=ὡς) I 15, 104, II 65; ut-clause dependent on ut-clause I 118
ut ne)(ut non I 78
uti I 85

Verbal with conative force II 3
vocative from Gk nouns in -es II 38, 49

Women, Spartan)(Athenian II 36

Xenocrates I 20

Zeno, of Elea II 52; the Stoic I 15, 19, II 15
zeugma I 5, II 16, 26, 57
zones I 45, 68

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A. AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

on

875.1 .S4d C.1
M. Tulli Ciceronis TuscALH3265
Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 045 044 638

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Stanford, California

MAY 7 1981
AUG 10 2005
JUN 30 2005